

1.2. CLITIC PARADIGMS

P = clitic morphologically marked for 1/2 person

N = clitic morphologically marked as singular

Q = clitic morphologically marked as plural

- = null subject (= no clitic)

* = underspecified form

HOMO = clitic derived from HOMO

(7)

	1sg	2sg	3sgm	3sgf	1pl	2pl	3pl	
A.	*	P	N		*	*	Q	
B.	-	P	N		-	-	Q	
C.	*	P	N		HOMO	*	Q	
D.	-		N		HOMO	-	Q	
E.	*	P	N		*	*	*	(*unique form)
F.	*	P	N		*	*	*	(*different forms)
G.	-	P	N		-	-	-	
H.	*	P	N	*	*	*	*	(*unique form)
I.	*	P	N	*	*	*	*	(*different forms)
J.	*	P	N	*	*	*	Q	
K.	*	P	*	N	*	*	*/Q	
L.	-	P	-		-	-	-	

[M&S 2005: 117]

(see the Appendix for the list of places corresponding to capital letters)

1.2.1 Cooccurrence/complementary distribution of SCL and verbal inflection

- Typology according to Roberts (2009, in press) (see also Kayne 1983):

- (8)
- | | | |
|----|------------|---------|
| a. | SCL [+agr] | V[+agr] |
| b. | SCL [+agr] | V[-agr] |
| c. | SCL [-agr] | V[+agr] |
| d. | SCL [-agr] | V[-agr] |

[+agr] = full set of morphological person/number distinctions. A full set can contain at most one zero exponent and one syncretism)

V [+agr] = null subject language

- 8 a. (SCL [+agr]; V[+agr]) fully redundant null subject system
the clitics and the verbal endings co-vary

- (9) (E) parlo Si parla [Florentine]
Tu parli Vu parlate

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | E parla
La parla | E parlano
Le parlano | [Roberts 2009:135] |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
- 8 b. (SCL [+agr]; V[-agr]) non null-subject system; the verbal inflection is unable to identify a null subject and the pronoun paradigm is fully realized.
- | | | |
|------|---|----------|
| (10) | je dors
tu dors
il/elle dort
nous dormons
vous dormez
ils/elless dorment | [French] |
|------|---|----------|
- 8c. (SCL [-agr]; V[+agr]) null-subject system; fully differentiated verbal inflection but syncretism and gaps in the clitic paradigm.
- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (11) | dormi
ta dormat
al/la dorma
dormum
dormuf
dorman | [Como]

[Roberts 2009:136] |
|------|---|--|
- 8 d. (SCL [-agr]; V[-agr]); neither the subject-clitic paradigm nor the verbal inflection paradigm alone show a full set of forms, but together they form a single complementary (or near-complementary) pattern.
- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (12) | a dorm
t dorm
i/al dorm
a durmin
durmit
i/al dormn | [Carrara]

[Roberts 2009:136] |
|------|---|---|

1.3. INTERROGATIVE INVERSION

Declaratives: SCL-V

Interrogatives: V-SCL

SCL + V --> V+ SCL (interrogative inversion)

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| (13) | <i>tu</i> | <i>a</i> --> | <i>As-tu?</i> |
| | SCL 2sg | have | have-SCL2sg |

- (14) *la ghe ze* --> *ghe ze la?*
See Cardinaletti & Repetti (2008)

1.3.1. Geographical distribution of interrogative enclitics

- originally found in all NIDs

- (15) a. Ètu? [Old Milanese]
 are-youSCL
 b. Votu fare?
 want-youSCL do?
 c. Vatu?
 go-youSCL

[Ledgeway 2006: 4]

- nowadays:

- a. Western/Lombard dialects lack interrogative inversion (Ligurian, Turinese, Ticinese, Milanese, Triestino)

- b. Eastern and Friulian varieties present interrogative inversion:

(16)

BOLOGNESE		VICENTINO	
<i>Assertive proclitic</i>	<i>Interrogative enclitic</i>	<i>Assertive proclitic</i>	<i>Interrogative enclitic</i>
me a deg	deg- ia me?	mi a vendo	vendo- i mi?
te t di	di- t te?	ti te a vendi	vendi- tu ti?
lo al di3	di3- el lo?	lu el vende	vende- lo lu?
li la di3	di3- la li?	ela la vende	vende- la ela?
no a d3aŋ	d3aŋ- ia no?	nu a vendemo	vendemo- i nu?
vo a d3i	d3i- v vo?	vu a vendi	vendi- o vu?
laur i dizen	dizen- i laur?	lori i vende	vende- li lori?

[Ledgeway 2006:4]

1.4. TYPES OF SCL

Poletto (1996, 2000): 4 types of clitics

CP field clitics:

1. invariable clitics (usually *a*): related to Topic/Focus
2. deictic clitics, partially *d*: distinguish between deictic and nondeictic persons (1/2 vs 3 p)

IP field clitics

3. number (and gender) clitics
4. person clitics (split into 2: hearer and speaker)

Poletto (2000) clitic field:

[LDP inv SCL_i [CP deic SCL [WHP t_i [IP [NegP [NumbP SCL [HearerP SCL [SpeakerP inflV [TP]]]]]]]]]]

person hierarchy: frequency; obligatory~optional nature; morphological form
[from Ledgeway 2006:2]:

(21)

		Obligatory			Optional		
system 1	Friulian	2					
system 2	Milanese	2	3				
system 3	E. Lig, CR, PD, VE, UD, TS	2	3	6			
system 4	Franco- Provençal	2	3	6	5	4	
system 5	W.Lig, TO, Ticinese, E-R, Lad	2	3	6	5	4	1
system 5		distinct			identical		
		distinct	identical		identical		
system 4		distinct					
system 3		distinct					
system 2		distinct					
system 2		distinct					

Other tendencies identified by Renzi & Vanelli (1983), Benincà, Renzi & Vanelli (1985):

- System 5 dialects generally have distinct verb endings for all 6 persons
- SCL 2 always obligatory, though person 2 verb forms always distinct
- Person 4 and 5 verb forms always distinct and 4/5 SCL optional and less frequent
- Absence of morphological neutralisation:
 - SCL with identical forms have corresponding distinct verb endings
 - Identical verb forms have distinct SCLs
[not completely true: see Roberts' typology in 1.2.1.]

POLETTI (2006, 2008)

- (i) if DPs are doubled in a given dialect, tonic pronouns are also doubled
- (ii) if QPs are doubled, both DPs and tonic pronouns are doubled as well
- (iii) if variables in wh- contexts as relative, interrogative and cleft structures are doubled, then doubling is always obligatory with all other types of subjects.

3. OPTIONALITY OF THE PHENOMENON

In NIDs, clitics may be optionally present in some varieties. See table in (21).
Nome in Abruzzese is optionally present.

4. SEMANTIC/PRAGMATIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE PHENOMENON

Poletto (2000): deictic and invariable clitics (=vocalic clitics) have interpretational effects. Invariable clitics are in the CP domain:

(22) [C1 ch [C2 [deictic SCL [AgrC3 SCI [CP4 [SpecC4 pa] [C°4 ch/lo]]]]]]

The activation of each of the FPs above corresponds to a different interpretation:

- C1: modal interrogatives
- C2: “surprise” interpretation
- C3: “out-of-the-blue” question
- C4: rhetorical interpretation

Agreement clitics do not contribute any special pragmatic or semantic content to the sentence.

5. CORRELATION WITH OTHER MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES IN THE VARIETIES IN QUESTION

5.1. AGREEMENT MISMATCH PARADIGMS WITH INVERSION

In some varieties:

Subject-SCL-V: both the SU and the SCL agree with the verb

SCL (expl)-V-Subject: the V agrees with the expletive (3rd sg). No agreement with postverbal subject.

(23) a. le ᵰarele i e vijude
 the-fpl girls-fpl SCL-3 is/are come-fpl
 ‘The girls have come’ [*Incudine, Val Camonica*]

 b. l e vijny le ᵰarele
 SCL-expl is come-msg the-fpl girls-fpl
 ‘The girls have come’ [M&S 2005:40]

5.2. CO-OCCURRENCE OF SCL AND VERBAL INFLECTION

(see 1.2.1.)

5.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NULL-SUBJECT PARAMETER

(see section 8)

6. POSSIBILITY OF TRIPLING

M&S (2007) report some cases of tripling:

(24) ᵰᵰ drwᵰm-ᵰᵰ tu surelb [*Castellazzo Bormida*]
 she sleeps-she your sister
 ‘Does your sister sleep?’ [M&S 2007:37]

7. POSSIBILITY OF UNDERLYING DOUBLING IN THE PRESENCE OF A SINGLE OVERT ELEMENT

Not discussed in the literature, for what I could see

8. TYPES OF ANALYSES OF THE PHENOMENON AND ARGUMENTS IN THEIR FAVOUR

8.1. THE NATURE OF SCL

Are SCL pronouns or inflectional features?

Rizzi (1986): NID SCLs are inflectional features.

Evidence:

- agreement markers may follow preverbal negation, but not pronouns
- agreement markers are compatible with negatively quantified subjects, but not pronouns (left dislocation of neg Q: *noone, he left)
- agreement markers must appear in both conjuncts of a coordinate structure, pronouns must not
- agreement paradigms may contain gaps; pronoun paradigms do not.

NID SCL are agreement markers. French SCL are pronouns.

Implication: NIDs are pro-drop; French is non pro-drop (Rizzi 1986, Brandi & Cordin 1989).

Poletto (1996, 2000): SCL are heads, encoding different features. These features must be checked by the subject which moves through Spec, SCL.

Roberts (2009): SCLs are the spell-out of Agree b/w T and the subject.

Pronouns: $i\varphi$

Clitics: $u\varphi$

Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2007): SCLs are pronominal in nature, but also verbal inflection is.

8.2. THE POSITION OF SCL

Rizzi (1986) and ff. : SCLs move with V to T. They are incorporated on the T-V head

Poletto (2000): SCLs have dedicated F heads

Manzini & Savoia (2005): clitics and inflectional heads are the same thing. SCLs are D heads (= EPP heads).

Roberts (2009): SCLs are on T

8.3. DOUBLING THEORIES

- Big DP
- “Lexical-pronominal” agreement head
- (Partial) copying
- Spell-out of agreement features

SUBSET of features: Most of these analyses (with the exception of M&S) capitalize on the observation that the clitic features are a subset of features of the full pronoun (or DP).

8.3.1. BIG DP

The clitic and the full subject (or full pronoun) originate together in one big DP. The two parts are then separated by movement (Sportiche 1988, Uriagereka 1995, Kayne 1994, Belletti 2005).

Different versions of the big-DP analysis:

STRIPPING.

Poletto (2006, 2008):

No special big DP but movement of the DP to the spec of a projection immediately above KP (containing the clitic):

(25) [[KP [K⁰ scl][DP]]

(26) [[_{XP} DP [_{X⁰} [_{KP} [K⁰ scl] [~~DP~~]]

- the remnant KP (containing only the clitic) is moved to the IP layer;
- the DP can be moved higher to a spec position in IP/CP

Internal structure of a DP:

(27) [FP1 [FP2 [FP3 [Lex cat]]]

- F1 is stripped and moved (hence copied) onto a projection in the IP/CP area of the clause to be checked against its corresponding head in the IP/CP area;
- F1+F2 are stripped and moved

Prediction: the two doublers are never identical: one contains only a functional part, the other contains the rest of the DP with the lexical head.

Claim: the more features need to be checked, the more likely stripping becomes.

Pros:

- no need to postulate a special big DP which is not attested otherwise
- it accounts for the fact the clitic is functionally ‘lighter’ than the DP it doubles
- it applies both to subject pronoun doubling and to subject DP doubling

- it justifies stripping with checking (i.e. clitic movement is motivated)

Cons:

- it cannot account for tripling
- it cannot justify why stripping does not always take place and why it is more likely when more features need to be checked
- why no pied piping?

DOUBLE SPELL-OUT

(van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008)

classification of pronouns according to Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002). pro-DP contains pro- φ P, which contains pro-NP.

Parallel double spell-out of both DP and φ P. Spell out of DP--> full pronoun; Spell-Out of φ P--> clitic

Pros:

- it capitalizes on the subset relation between features on clitics and pronouns (doubling of features)
- it explains why DPs can't be doubled in Germanic (but not in Romance)
- it can account for coordinate structure doubling
- it does not need to postulate a special big DP

Cons:

- it cannot account for tripling
- it cannot account for DP doubling in Romance (more assumptions needed on the DP structure, but not impossible)
- the mechanism of "combined feature specification" on the head doubling the conjuncts is not too obvious
- why no pied piping?

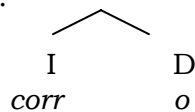
8.3.2. "LEXICAL-PRONOMINAL" AGREEMENT HEAD

(Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007,)

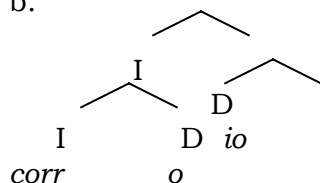
Inflection in null-subject languages is pronominal. Agreement inflection on the finite verb corresponds to D material.

No difference between morphological features and syntactic categories. The verb inflection has exactly the same status as a pronominal subject (SCL).

(28) a.



b.



Pros:

- no need to classify clitics vs inflection
- it can account for tripling
- clitics as independent heads can account for inversion (no excorporation)

Cons:

- the relation between (reduced) clitics and their full counterpart, pronouns, is blurred
- in constructions with only one SCL and the V it is not clear how the two connect ('an interpretative process' is a bit vague)

8.3.3. (PARTIAL) COPYING

Barbiers *et al* (2007), Holmberg & Nikanne (2008)

- Pronouns have phrasal structure;
- movement is making a copy of features already merged in the tree
- copies can be partial

In subject doubling the SCL is a copy (usually reduced) of the features of the DP or the pronoun which is doubled.

Pros:

- it accounts for the fact that SCLs are often reduced forms
- good explanation for the order SCL V subj
- it can account for tripling
- no need to stipulate a not attested big DP
- variation depends on optional pied piping

Cons:

- problem with explaining the default order in NIDs doubling Subj SCL V (which requires extra stipulations)
- variation depends on optional pied piping (shifting the optionality problem)

8.3.4. SPELL-OUT OF AGREEMENT FEATURES

Roberts (2009): SCLs are $u\phi$ on T. They get valued via Agree with the subject and are spelled out on T.

Haegeman (2008): pronoun with underspecified features that Agrees with the subject

Pros:

- neat account of the agreement between subject, V and SCL
- possibility to account for lack of agreement with postverbal subjects in terms of intervention effects

- possibility to account for clitic clustering morpho-phonological effects given that clitics are “incorporated” on one head

Cons:

- distribution of clitics (inversion) seems to indicate different merge sites for clitics; the verb might need to incorporate in V-to-C contexts

9. REMAINING DESCRIPTIVE AND ANALYTICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PHENOMENON

Optionality of subject doubling in some forms.

Cooccurrence of SCL and inflection and cooccurrence of SCL and full subjects (null-subject parameter). Null-subject status of the languages which have SCL doubling

Why do some languages allow SCL doubling and others don't? What is the difference?

How to implement the intuition about the relation between agreement and SCL?

APPENDIX

A. Olivone- V. Blenio; Semione; Quarna Sopra; Moncalvo; Valmacca; Breme; Castellinaldo; Inveruno; Carnago...

B. Corte/Sjef; Colle S. Lucia; Pescùl; Moena; Zoldo Alto; Chioggia; S. Maria di Sala; Longare; Povegliano; Velo Veronese; Cazzano di Tremigna...

C. Grumello; Borgo di Terzo; Trepalle-Livigno; Cavigno-Maggia; Soazza.

D. Cologno al Serio; Premana; Pagnona; Passirano; Strozza V. Imagna, Adrara S. Rocco; Bormio; Tresivio-Piedo...

E. Fornero Strona; Forno Strona; Boccioleto; Cravagliana; Briga Novarese; Borgomanero; Galliate; Romentino; Trecate...

F. Piverone; Masserano; Castellazzo Bormida; Oviglio; Calizzano; Garessio.

G. Calasetta; Varese Ligure; Olivetta S. Michele; Como.

H. Viguzzolo.

I. Comeglians; Pinzano; Travesio; Grizzo; Mombercelli; Montaldo; Cortemilia; Spigno Monferrato; Serravalle Scrivia...

J. Vito d'Asio; Montereale; Barcis; Forni di Sotto; Forni di Sopra; Garbagna...

K. Ala di Stura; Cantoira; Mezenile; Traves; Coazze; Fontane; Guardia Piemontese; Felizzano; Buggio...

L. Sarre; Tetti; Bonifacio.

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