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Francisco Ordóñez - Lori Repetti

On the morphological restrictions of hosting clitics in Italian and Sardinian dialects

1. *Introduction*

The type of pronoun found in preverbal vs. postverbal position in Romance languages may be different. For example, in French *me* (but not *moi*) is available in preverbal position, while *moi* (but not *me*) is available postverbally.

1) a. Il **moi*/*me* parle 'he speaks to me'
   b. Parle-*moi*/**me* 'speak:2sg to me!'

Furthermore, even within the same position (for example, postverbal) the type of pronoun selected may vary depending on morphosyntactic factors, such as the form of the verb (2) or whether the pronoun appears alone or in a cluster (3).

2) Anzi (prov. Potenza; region: Basilicata) (Repetti and Ordóñez 2011: speaker 32)
   a. 2sg imperatives: mas.pl.acc. /vddə/[1]
   [vənn+í:ddə] 'sell:2g them!'
   b. 1pl and 2pl imperatives: mas.pl.acc. /lə/
   [vənní:mə+lə] 'let's sell:1pl them!'
   [vənné:tə+lə] 'sell:2pl them!

3) Viozene (prov. Imperia; region: Liguria) (Repetti and Ordóñez 2011: speaker 94)
   a. single pronoun: mas.sg.acc. /rú/ [da-rú] 'give:2sg it!'
   b. pronoun cluster: mas.sg.acc. /u/ [da-u-mé] 'give:2sg it to me!'

In this paper, we argue that the different pronouns are of different types – clitic vs. weak (§2) – and that the choice between them depends on the

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[1] The boundary between the verb and clitic is represented as /vənn+í:ddə/ with the stressed vowel associated with the clitic; however, the analysis does not change if we segment the morphemes as /vənní:+ddə/ with the stressed vowel associated with the verb.

inflectional projection under which they are hosted (§3). Furthermore, even clitic pronouns are of differing complexity: simple clitics vs. complex clitics (§2.5). The fact that we find some types of pronouns in enclisis and others in proclisis is due to the fact that the enclitics are hosted by imperatives and the proclitics by tensed verbs (§4-5). We end the paper with an implication of our analysis (§6).

Our research shows that the variability of pronominal forms can be better understood when looking at closely related varieties that share some common syntactic properties, but differ in quite interesting ways. The framework we use is the one initiated with Richard Kayne (1996) on micro comparative studies or microparametric syntax. In this respect this work shows that dialect research enriches our understanding of the possible variation among human languages. Nevertheless, despite such variability, some generalizations do occur in the comparison of the syntax, morphology, and phonology of pronominal elements of these dialects, showing that underlying principles of human language are at work. The research reported in this paper was conducted through fieldwork done in the Balearic Islands, Basilicata, Campania, Liguria, and Sardinia by both authors, and the data are available at Repetti and Ordóñez (2011). The data was retrieved through interviews with native speakers of the different varieties and translations of sentences from Catalan, French and Italian with pronouns in various contexts.

Data from Catalan and French are included in order to make a comparison with the languages spoken in Italy.

The analysis proposed here uses some crucial concepts of the minimalist program such as the framework of probe and goal in order to account for the distribution of clitics.

2. *Weak Pronoun vs. Clitic Pronouns*

We propose that the term 'clitic' has been used to refer to at least two different groups of pronouns that are morpho-syntactically distinct. The patterns observed in the data can be better understood if we divide postverbal pronouns into the categories of strong pronouns, weak pronouns, and true clitics (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) illustrate this tripartition among pronouns with data from Italian.

4)	strong pronoun:	Telefono a loro.	'I telephone them'
	weak pronoun:	Telefono loro.	"
	clitic pronoun:	Gli telefono.	"

We investigate the differences between weak pronouns and clitics, and begin with a discussion of four characteristics of weak pronouns identified by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). (We will not discuss strong pronouns.)

2.1. *Weak pronouns can be stressed (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: 172)*

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 172) claim that weak pronouns, but not clitics, can be stressed. We argue that the stressed pronouns in our data are weak pronouns[2], For example, in the Lucanian data below, the mas. sg. acc. postverbal pronoun used with imperatives can be stressed /íllə/[3] or unstressed /u/. Preverbally we only find unstressed /u/. (The pages in parentheses refer to Lüdke 1979.)

5) Lucanian

	stressed pronoun	unstressed pronoun
postverbal	[da mm íllə] (p. 34) 'give:2sg it to me!'	[fá mm u:] (p. 32) 'do:2sg it for me!'
preverbal	*[t íllə fátstsə]	[t u fátstsə] (p. 12) 'I do it for you'

The stressed pronoun /íllə/ can be considered a weak pronoun, and unstressed /u/ a clitic.

[2] The literature on a phonological approach to stress shift and gemination with enclitics is vast: Bafile (1991-1992), Bonet (2009), José and Auger (2005), Kenstowicz (1991), Kim and Repetti (2013), Loporcaro (2000), Monachesi (1996), Nespor and Vogel (1986), Peperkamp (1997), Torres-Tamarit (2010), Vogel (2009), just to name a few. See Ordóñez and Repetti (2006) for arguments against a purely phonological analysis of stress shift and gemination with enclitics. In this paper, we use the term "stress shift" to refer to different metrical patterns in verbs without enclitics vs. verbs with enclitics, although the analysis of how a syllable is given prominence (word stress shift, pitch accent alignment, etc.) is not discussed.

[3] The stressed postverbal pronoun /íllə/ derives from the Latin pronoun ILLUM.

2.2. *Weak pronouns are more complex than clitic pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: 178)*

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 178) argue that weak pronouns are more complex than clitics. If we compare two allomorphs of the third person accusative pronouns in the Campanian dialect of San Leucio (Iannace 1983, Repetti and Ordóñez 2011: speaker 33), we see that the stressed enclitic forms distinguish gender and number and have an added /l/ morpheme marking definiteness (Uriagereka 1995); however, the unstressed proclitic forms distinguish only gender and number.

6) San Leucio (prov. Benevento; region: Campania)

	a. enclitic (gender, number, definite):[4]	b. proclitic (gender, number):
mas. sg.	/íllu/	/u/
fem. sg.	/élla/	/a/
mas. pl.	/ílli/	/i/
fem. pl.	/éllə/	

We identify the more complex forms in (6a) as weak pronouns, and the simpler ones in (6b) as clitics.

2.3. *Weak pronouns are syntactically lower than clitic pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: 196)*

Using data from Italian, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) show that weak pronoun *loro* is syntactically lower than clitic pronoun *gli*.

7)	Italian:	clitic:	*gli*	telefono		'I telephone them.'
		weak:		telefono	*loro*	'I telephone them.'

We found a similar pattern in our data. The pronouns that we have identified above (§2.1-2.2) as clitics can appear in a high syntactic position, while those we have identified as weak pronouns cannot.

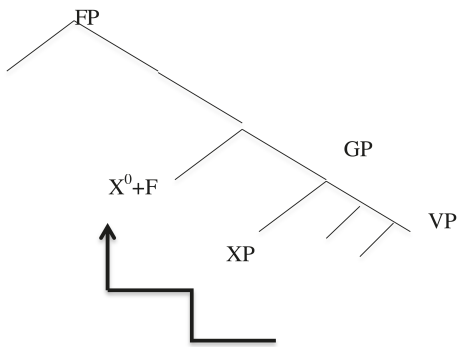
[4] Postverbal /íllu/ and /ílli/ are optionally pronounced with final schwa in rapid speech. In addition, the neuter form of the enclitic is /éllo/ (Iannace 1983: 35)

8)	Lucanian:	clitic:	t *u*	fátstsə		'I do it for you'
				fa	mm *u:*	'do:2sg it for me!'
		weak:	*t íllə	fátstsə		
				da	mm íllə	'give:2sg it to me!'

2.4. *Weak pronouns land in a Spec position, while clitics land in a head position (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: 64)*

Derivations for clitics proposed by Sportiche (1989), Belletti (1999), Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008), and others involve two steps: XP movement followed by head movement, resulting in clitic pronouns occupying a higher position than weak pronouns.

9)



This is illustrated with subject pronouns in French (taken from Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008: 543): weak pronoun *il* occurs in Spec position, while clitic *il* is taken to adjoin to the same functional head to which the verb moves in interrogatives to satisfy the wh-criterion.

10) a. [AgrSP il_k a [VP t_k bu]] (French declarative)
he has drunk

b. [YP a_i -t- il_k [AgrSP t_k t_i [VP t_k bu]]] (French interrogative)
has he drunk

2.5. *Two classes of clitic pronouns*

The tripartite distinction among pronouns identified above is not sufficient to understand all of the patterns we have found. Not all clitics behave in the same way, as shown in recent papers by Cardinaletti (2008, 2010)

where she distinguishes between morphologically complex clitics and morphologically simple clitics. For example, Italian *lo* has certain properties that differ from *l'* (Richard Kayne, p. c.)[5].

11) Italian

lo	*l'*	
[lo odio]	*[l odio]	'I hate it'
*[lo ɔ dato]	[l ɔ dato]	'I have given it'

These facts show that simple clitics are themselves divided in two types, depending on their morphological complexity. Some clitics are mono-morphemic and simple, and others are bi-morphemic and complex. This morphological division plays a role in clitic combinations as shown clearly by Cardinaletti (2008, 2010). Thus, the appearance of spurious *se* in Spanish is due to the impossibility to adjoin a simple to a complex dative clitic.

We have identified at least four different types of pronouns in the data we have studied, illustrated with Neapolitan data below for mas. sg. pronouns.

12) Neapolitan

strong:	[íssə]	[íssə parlə]	'he speaks'
weak:	[ýllə]	[rá mm íllə]	'give:2sg me it!'
clitic:	[lə][6]	[vínnə lə]	'sell:2sg it!'
	[o]	[o nténnə]	'I understand him'

The last two examples meet all of the criteria identified above for clitics, namely, they are unstressed, less complex than the others, and can appear higher than the weak pronouns.

In the following section we address the choice between weak pronouns and clitic pronouns in post-verbal position with imperatives, as well as the choice between complex and simple clitics.

[5] See Garrapa (2011) for vowel elision in Italian.

[6] We take the /l/ as the spell-out of an *n* or a *d* head (Cardinaletti 2010).

3. *Inflectional Projections Restrict the Types of Elements Hosted*

3.1. *Preverbal vs. Postverbal Position*[7]

In this section, we show that the choice between a weak pronoun and a clitic depends on their syntactic position. This is a very familiar situation in the Romance languages. For instance, French first person object pronouns have two realizations *me* and *moi*; the former is permitted proclitically with infinitives and finite verbs, while the latter is realized enclitically with imperatives.

13) a. Il **moi*/*me* parle 'he speaks to me'
b. Parle-*moi*/**me* 'speak:2sg to me!'

This syntactic difference (preverbal vs. postverbal) has a morphological correlation[8]. Cardinaletti (2008), Laenzlinger (1998), Van der Leeuw (1997), Kayne (2003), and others have proposed that the proclitics *me* (and *te*) have less morphological structure than the enclitics *moi* (and *toi*): *m-e* (and *t-e*) are monomorphemic (the *e* of *me/te* is epenthetic [Kayne 2003]), while *m-oi* (and *t-oi*) are bimorphemic. They distinguish between the former "clitic pronouns" and the latter "weak pronouns" (or "strong clitics"). Unstressed, monomorphemic *m-e* (clitic) is permitted proclitically with infinitives and finite verbs, and stressed, bimorphemic *m-oi* (a weak pronoun) is used enclitically with imperatives.

Note that this correlation between morphology (complexity) and syntax (position) cannot be reduced to a phonological explanation. Kayne (2003) observes that there is no phonological reason why *me/te* cannot be found in postverbal position, since the clitic *le* is allowed postverbally in imperatives.

14) a. Invite-*le* 'invite:2sg him!'
b. *Invite-*me* 'invite:2sg me!'

[7] See Finocchiaro (2005) for psycholinguistic evidence supporting the view of Italian enclitics as affixes and Italian proclitics as free-standing morphemes. See also Benincà and Cinque (1993).

[8] Kayne (2003) shows that *m-oi* and *m-e* have different properties with respect to binding theory. However, the effects can only be perceived when *m-oi* appears after a prepositional phrase in French. Since we are not looking at contexts with PP we are unable to test those binding differences in the languages we discuss. Our prediction though is that the effects should be similar to those discussed by Kayne (2003) for French.

A main goal of this paper is to show that the choice between clitics and weak pronouns in numerous Romance varieties, on a par with French, is based on morpho-syntactic – and not phonological – considerations. We will present data from dialects that have two sets of pronouns: clitic and weak. We differentiate the two on the basis of lexical differences (for example, Neapolitan clitic /o/ vs. weak /vllə/), morphological complexity (see §2.2), and the interaction with stress (for example, Neapolitan clitic /o/ does not interact with stress, but weak /vllə/ attracts stress). These are the same diagnostics used for French: clitic *me* is unstressed, monomorphemic, and lexically different from stressed, bimorphemic, weak *moi*.

We argue that weak vs. clitic pronouns have different syntactic distributions, and that their distribution depends on the inflectional projection of the host.

3.2. *Inflectional Projections as Probes*

In order to account for the facts above, we need to lay out our theory of clitic placement, both proclisis and enclisis. We assume, with recent approaches, starting with Kayne (1991), Sportiche (1996), Manzini and Savoia (2005) that clitics move to an inflectional projection in the spine of the clausal tree. Obviously, one can assume that the landing site varies according to the syntactic configuration we assume for tensed, imperative, or interrogative configurations. We will also assume that these different inflectional projections act as probes to the clitic elements in the VP. Each inflectional projection probes and triggers movement of the familiar type. It has long been assumed that clauses with tense verbs have the whole range of inflectional projections. However, not all configurations have all the inflectional projections.

Rizzi (2000) has shown that clitics are permitted with a past participle in absolutive clauses, but not in the context of tensed auxiliaries. His assumption is that past participles do not have the inflectional projection that can host the clitic when embedded under the auxiliary (see also Belletti 1999).

15) Italian
   a. Messolo sul tavolo, Gianni è uscito.
      put-it on the table, Gianni has left
   b. *Gianni ha messolo sul tavolo

However the lack of clitic probes is not the final answer to all the cases in which the clitic is not permitted. In some cases probes can trigger XP movement of a weak pronoun. Therefore, we assume that when the moved element is a head, it is a clitic (either a complex or simple clitic). If the moved element is an XP, then it is a weak pronoun. For instance, Cardinaletti (1991) has proposed that weak pronouns in Italian move to the Spec of AgrO projection below the tensed verb. On the other hand clitics move to Tense and adjoin to the projection where the verb lands. Reinterpreting these facts under a probe and goal framework we can suggest that AgrO is an attractor for weak pronouns (XP) and Tense is an attractor for clitics (X^0). Whenever the AgrO projection is inserted in the clausal spine, it will trigger movement of the weak pronoun to its specifier.

16) a. Gli+T ho dato il libro. 'I gave them the book.'
b. Ho dato loro+AgrO il libro. "

Once it is established that different probes attract different types of pronouns, one wonders how many probes for clitics and weak pronouns are available. There has been recent work in the theory of clitics that assumes that there are as many clitic positions in the clausal spine as possible combinations of them. For instance this is the original position taken by Sportiche (1996). The same is true for recent work by Kayne (2010) on clitic combination in enclisis in Spanish and their interaction with plural markers in different dialects. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to think that more than one clitic probe is available. For the case of weak pronouns there does not seem to be clear evidence that there is more than one weak pronoun probe, but nothing restricts that possibility. One interesting descriptive fact is that the probes of weak pronouns are lower than the probes of clitics, as shown by Cardinaletti (1991).

3.3. *Clitic Probes*

As mentioned, not all clitics have the same complexity. Some clitics are monomorphemic, while others are bimorphemic. This simple morphological fact underlies interesting differences in the distributional properties of these elements as shown by Cardinaletti (2008, 2010) for the possible combinations allowed in one case or the other. The theory of clitic probes should take into account this difference since the syntactic context determines one

type or other in many occasions. For instance, Catalan has two masculine accusative clitics: *e-l* and *l-o*: both pronouns contain the definiteness marker /l/. The masculine *e-l* contains an epenthetic vowel *e* and is a simple clitic. However, *l-o* also contains the vowel *-o*, which is not an epenthetic segment in Catalan. Interestingly, the distribution of these two clitics in standard Catalan is different depending on their syntactic position. Thus, *l-o* only appears in enclitic position, but never in proclitic position in central Catalan. Observe that this restriction is not due to a phonological restriction.

Central Modern Catalan, as Italian, requires enclisis with all infinitival verbs ending in *-r*. In that context, the more complex clitic *l-o* is required[9], and the simple clitic *e-l* is banned, as shown in the following contrast with the finite and infinitive verb. The two clitics are in complementary distribution.

17) a. *El/*lo* vol compar
cl wants to buy
b. Vol comprar-*lo/*el*
wants to buy-cl

In the Central Catalan example above, there is no phonological reason why the simple clitic form /l/ with the epenthetic vowel cannot appear in enclisis in (17b). In fact, this form is required with infinitives ending in *-re*.

18) Podries veure'*l/*lo*
you could see it

The complex clitic is permitted with the infinitival marker *-r*, while the simple clitic is found with the infinitival marker *-re*.

19) Central Catalan

infinitival marker	clitic
-r	-lo (complex)
-re	-l (simple)

[9] Note that we cannot consider *lo* a weak pronoun because it is unstressed. Since we take stress to be a property of word-like elements, any pronoun that bears stress is identified under our proposal as a weak pronoun by definition.

The distribution outlined in (19) indicates that there is a crucial relationship between clitics and infinitival markers. Not all infinitival markers must be analyzed in the same way.

These facts lead us to the conclusion that the theory of probes for clitics must be made sensitive to two factors: to the head versus XP status of the pronominal attracted; and also to the morphological make up of the clitic (simple vs. complex clitic). We formalize this by assuming that each inflectional projection that attract clitics must have a different feature composition that attracts the specific type of available pronoun in the numeration of that language. Thus, in Catalan, the probe for clitics in tensed verbs is a probe with the features [+def] with no specification of masculine gender which is assigned by underspecification, attracting *l* (the epenthetic vowel will be added in the phonology), or [+def, +fem], attracting *l-a*. (See Ferrari 2005.) For the infinitive probe with verbs ending in *-r* the feature composition will be richer and will contain the features [+def, +fem/+masc], and, therefore, we predict the forms *l-a, l-o*.

20) Central Catalan
a. *el/l-a* compro
podries veure' *l/l-a*
b. comprar-*l-o/l-a*

A similar analysis applies to the southern Italian dialects such as San Leucio (Iannace 1983, Repetti and Ordóñez 2011 speaker 33). The probe for clitics in tensed verbs has the features for gender and number (attracting /u/ and /a/), but not the specification for definiteness. The probe for (single) clitics in imperatives contains the features for gender, number, and definiteness (attracting /lu/ and /la/).

21)	San Leucio	simple clitic:	a vedo
			her I-see
		complex clitic:	kúsə-la
			sew:2sg-it:fem

Under this proposal, the richer the morphological specification of the probe, the more complex the attracted pronoun will be. Another important aspect of our proposal claims that languages must be provided with different numerations (or lexicon) containing different morphological shapes. The numeration for Catalan clitics must contain the definite marker /l/, the

exceptional masculine marker /o/ and the feminine marker /a/. In southern Italian and Sardinian dialects, clitics have a different composition. With this decomposition plus the different phonological process available in the different languages, for instance epenthesis, we can account for the different shapes of these clitics.

Crucial to this proposal is also the assumption that the type of probes that are available in finite verbs is different from the probes that are available for infinitives, and even within infinitives there are differences. The same can be seen for the imperative: there are different probes in the different persons in the imperative. In many southern Italian and Sardinian dialects, plural imperatives select simple clitic pronouns, while singular imperatives select complex clitics or weak pronouns. (See Romanello and Repetti (ms) for discussion of the data.) In the Potenza dialect of Albano di Lucania, 2sg imperatives select weak pronouns which trigger stress shift, while 1pl and 2pl imperatives do not.

22) Albano di Lucania

	imperative verb 'call'	imperative + mas.sg.acc.
2sg	/cáma/	/cam - íllə/ 'call:2sg her!'
2pl	/camátə/	/camátə - lə/ 'call:2pl- her!'
1pl	/camámmə/	/camámmə - lə/ 'call:1pl- her!'

Even more striking is the Sardinian dialect of Siliqua, in which 2nd person imperatives select a post-verbal, stress-shifting weak pronouns, while 1st person imperatives select preverbal clitics.

23) Siliqua

2sg	tserri	áɖɖu	'call:2sg him!'
2pl	tserri	éɖɖu	'call:2pl him!'
1pl	ɖu tserriáuzu		'call:1pl him!'

In conclusion, we see that the distribution of weak pronouns and clitics depends on the form of the verb. A microparametric analysis with different type of probes is needed to account for these patterns.

3.4. *Blocking Principle*

Probes contain not only morphological features, but can also contain EPP features that determine whether the moved element is a head or an XP element (weak pronoun counterpart). EPP on the inflectional heads requires an XP in its specifier. Only XP pronouns (weak pronouns) can occupy those Spec positions and satisfy that requirement. We assume heads (simple or complex clitics) cannot occupy the specifier position and do not satify the EPP feature of the inflectional projection. Thus, the Italian weak pronoun *loro* is attracted by a probe that will have the specification [+dat, +plural, +EPP], and Italian has a specific weak pronoun that moves to that position.

24) Ho dato [loro+AgrO $_{[+dat,\ +plural,\ +EPP]}$ il libro. 'I gave them the book.'

From this perspective, there is an interesting descriptive generalization. Clitic probes are higher than weak pronoun counterparts, as described by Cardinaletti (1991). Thus the closer you are with respect to your goal, the richer the feature specification of the probe that attracts the pronouns. A richer probe is the one that contains more features, including the EPP feature that requires that the XP moves to a Spec position.

According to our view, the shape and distribution of (simple or complex) clitics and weak pronouns depends on the morphological properties of the probes, the distribution of probes, and the number of probes. Thus standard Italian must make available two probes in finite sentences: one for the weak pronoun *loro* and another for the clitic counterpart *gli*. One probe must preclude the other as shown by the ungrammaticality of a sentence with both weak and clitic pronouns.

25) *<u>Gli</u> ho dato <u>loro</u> il libro.

Economy considerations have to be appealed to in order to choose the weak or clitic counterpart. For instance, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose that economy is responsible for the choice of a clitic over a weak pronoun, whenever possible. Their principle is based on the representation of the pronouns. The principle of economy chooses the clitic if the structure permits it (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, fn 68).

26) Economy of Representation (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999)
Minimize structure

In our framework, economy considerations translate into the choice of one type of probe over the other in terms of locality. We propose the following locality condition on probes.

27) Locality Condition on Probes:
Given two probes which share a given feature specification, choose the Probe closer to the goal.

According to our condition any probe closer to the goal will block any other probe with fewer feature specifications and farther from the goal. This is similar to the blocking condition proposed by Corver and Delfitto (1999).

28) Blocking Condition (Corver and Delfitto 1999)
If a set of C features is present at the level of representation *a* under the inflectional node X, and some of the features of C undergo morphological realization of X in *a*, then all the features belonging to C are spelled out in C.

Thus, the Tense projection which contains [Dat] will be blocked whenever a lower AgrO projection with [+Epp,Dat] is made available. Therefore, we assume that (29a) blocks (29b). Thus whenever AgrO is specified with [+Epp, Dat] the weak pronoun must be made available, and the clitic counterpart is blocked.

29) a. Ho dato [loro $AgrO_{[+Epp, Dat]}$] il libro.
b. Gli [Dat] ho dato il libro

To summarize, we have adopted the following points for our theory.

30) a. We assume an internal decomposition of pronouns in simple clitics, complex clitics, and weak pronouns. Each language might vary in the choice made for each case. Italian has a clitic and a weak pronoun for datives, but not for accusatives. Catalan has a complex and a simple clitic choice for accusative, etc.
b. Pronouns are attracted by probes in the clausal spine. Different probes contain different feature specifications that attract the corresponding simple, complex and weak pronoun counterpart. Weak pronouns are attracted when there is an EPP specification on the probe.
c. There is a locality condition that makes weak pronouns appear whenever a closer goal is available. This is similar to the blocking condition by Corver and Delfitto (1999).

4. *Imperatives with Enclisis*

We have noted that weak pronouns are available as enclitics with imperatives, but are not available as proclitics with tensed verbs. Similarly, clitic pronouns are available as proclitics with tensed verbs, but not as enclitics with imperatives[10].

31)

Neapolitan		imperative verb	tensed verb
weak	[ýllə]	[vənnə m íllə]	*[m íllə vínnə]
clitic	[o]	*[vínnə m o]	[m o vínnə]
		'sell:2sg me it!'	'you:sg sell me it'

This suggests that that the checking conditions in imperatives are different from the checking conditions in finite verbs. Our theory must be flexible enough to account for the variability found in the same language and across varieties. In Spanish and Italian, the available probes must have the same feature composition as the one in tensed forms since simple and complex clitics are equally available with no distinction. In French, on the other hand, the probes in imperatives cannot host simple clitics. Thus, French *l-e, l-a, m-oi, l-ui* are permitted, while *m-e, t-e, s-e* are banned. Only complex clitic or weak pronouns are permitted.

Dialects of Sardinian, Imperiese (Ligurian), Menorcan Catalan, Mallorcan Catalan, Gascon can go even go further. No simple or complex clitics are permitted in enclisis, only weak pronouns are permitted under the restrictions proposed above. This implies that these languages require weak pronouns that obligatorily trigger stress shift in all the examples.

Finally, Neapolitan is a rather different case. Neapolitan, like French, only allows complex clitics (like 3rd person complex clitic *l-a*) as a single clitic in enclisis. However, unlike French, Neapolitan requires a weak pronouns (like *ílla*, triggering stress shift) in clusters such as *m+ílla*[11].

[10] With some verbs, postverbal clitics are permitted with imperatives: Neapolitan: *lássə-lo = láss-o* 'leave:2sg him!' (Bichelli 1974: 131); Lucanian: *fà-mm-u = fà-mm-íllə* 'do:2sg it for me!'.

[11] Ledgeway (2009: 34) asserts that stress shift with one enclitic is optional in Neapolitan: /astúta/ + /la/ > /astútala/=/astutálla/ 'turn:2sg it off'.

32) Neapolitan imperatives:

a. single pronoun: 'sell:2sg it:fem!'

simple clitic: [a]	*[vínnə a]
complex clitic: [la]	[vínnə la]
weak pronoun: [ílla]	*[vənn ílla]

b. pronoun cluster: 'sell:2sg me it:fem!'

clitic + simple clitic: [m + a]	*[vínnə ma]
clitic + complex clitic: [m + la]	*[vínnə mla]
clitic + weak: [m + ílla]	[vínnə mílla]

Since stress shift happens when two pronouns are in enclitic position in Neapolitan, clitics probes in imperatives can attract at most one clitic. With two pronouns, the lower probe attracts a weak pronoun. Probes must be made sensitive to this factor.

The next question is why a combination of pronouns such as /m-a/ is not permitted postverbally in imperatives Neapolitan (but see footnote 10). We appeal to morphological conditions on clustering clitics in specific probes. There is a specific restriction in the probe of clitics in imperatives in Neapolitan that bans clitic /m/ from combining with clitic /a/. Thus the probe should be made sensitive to this specific morphological restriction. However, /m/ can adjoin to the weak pronoun /ílla/. Under our proposal, the weak pronoun is sitting in a lower probe, not the same probe: clitic /m/ + weak pronoun /ílla/ > /m-ílla/.

The Neapolitan facts pose the important question on the condition on clustering and probing clusters. Neapolitan shows that there is only one probing position for complex clitics; whenever there is more than one pronoun, a different probe for weak pronouns must be introduced.

The Corsican dialect of Bastia (data from Manzini and Savoia 2005) is relevant to show how probes behave differently according to whether the pronoun is complex, simple or appears in combination. Like Neapolitan, radically simple clitics are not permitted in enclisis in imperatives, contrary to proclitics in finite clause. We find /i/ preverbally with finite verbs, but /li/ postverbally with imperatives.

33) a.

i	bortu	tutti	
them	I bring	all	'I bring them all'

b.

porte-li	qui / *porte-i qui	
bring-them	here	'bring:2sg them here!'

Similarly, preverbally with finite verbs we find the cluster /m-a/, while postverbally with imperatives, only /m-ila/ is attested.

34) a. m a ranna
to me it (fem) they give 'they give me it:fem'

b. dá mm ila / *damm'a
give to me it (fem) 'give:2sg me it:fem!'

The difference between the Bastia dialect and Neapolitan is that Bastia does not impose a limit on the number of clitics permitted in imperatives. Thus no stress shift occurs and the combination of two clitics is permitted.

Here are the four types of enclitic contexts in imperatives that we have identified:

35) enclitic contexts
a. Languages that probe for simple and complex clitics available (i. e., no stress shifting occurs, as in italian).
b. Languages only have probes for complex clitics or weak pronouns (French *invite-moi* versus *invite-le*).
c. Languages only have probes for complex clitics or weak pronouns, but there is only one position for complex clitics. Beyond one clitic position, a probe for weak pronouns is required (Neapolitan).
d. Languages have no probes for complex or simple clitics, only probes for weak pronouns are permitted (i. e., consistent stress shifting languages like some varieties of Sardinian, etc.).

The typology presented above suggests a clear asymmetry between finite verbs with proclisis and imperatives with enclisis. Proclisis in modern Romance languages requires simple or complex clitics uniformly. However, enclisis in imperatives presents many more possibilities. We can conclude that the probes for pronouns in imperatives are not the same. Tense is not projected in imperatives. The idea that tense is not present in imperative clauses has been adopted by Zanuttini (1997) and Rizzi (2000). The lack of a tense projection in imperatives explains, for instance, the impossibility of a negative head, according to Zanuttini (1997). If tense is not available in imperative clauses, a different probe must be provided. Rizzi (2000) proposes that clitics in Italian imperatives are C-related. Thus it seems that standard Italian and standard Spanish both have two probes – C and T – that attract the same type of simple/complex clitic.

Here we will entertain the hypothesis that contrary to T,

C[12] with illocutionary force may vary from language to language and have different morphological specification from tense (contrary to standard Spanish and Italian). Thus C in imperatives in some languages might require only complex pronouns (for instance, Bastia). Or in some languages it will not be available as a probe at all. In that case we assume that a lower probe is made available. This lower probe can attract weak pronouns. This follows the intuition by Cardinaletti (1991) that weak pronouns are lower in the structure. Updating her proposal, we can assume that this probe is *v*. Thus in languages in which C is not available, weak pronouns are probed by a lower *v* probe. We can account for the asymmetry between finite verbs and imperatives in these languages because different probes are triggered, and these two probes impose different morphological restrictions on what they probe.

According to this new proposal, T is a probe for clitics, C is probe for clitics, *v* is a probe for weak pronouns. In finite tensed clauses, tense is available for probing clitics. In imperative clauses, C is also a possible probe for clitics. When C is not a possible probe for clitics in a given language, then *v* becomes a possible probe and triggers attraction of weak pronouns. This is, for instance, what we found in some varieties of Sardinian. Neapolitan is more complex since it can host weak pronouns only in combinations. For that we assume that C in Neapolitan can only host one clitic.

Summarizing this section, we have provided a typology of possible probes for clitics and their restriction of distribution in finite clauses and imperatives. For tensed clauses, the host for pronouns is Tense, and it is the most deficient probe attracting simple as well as complex pronouns. Imperatives lack tense, and only C or *v* are possible hosts for pronouns.

5. *Analysis of Enclisis in Imperatives: A Typology*

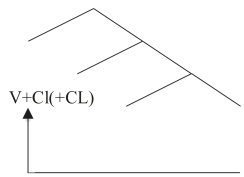
Up to this point, we have provided a typology of possible hosts for pronouns without discussing how enclisis or proclisis can be analyzed. Could the choice of clitic versus weak pronoun be related to proclisis and enclisis? The analysis so far suggests that the choice between clitic versus weak pronoun depends on the probe: C or T attract clitics, *v* attracts weak pronouns. We discuss this point further.

[12] We leave aside the question of what happens with C in interrogatives. C in interrogatives affects subject clitics; however, it does not seem to affect object clitics, as in imperatives. See Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008) and references therein for further discussion. We assume that all imperatives in all languages contain a C with illocutionary force.

In this paper, we assume the line of research established by Kayne (1991) and followed in Kayne (1994), Rizzi (2000), etc., who reject the notion that there is right adjunction of clitics to explain proclisis versus enclisis. According to these authors, proclisis and enclisis crucially depend on the amount of verb movement relative to the clitic site. If a verb moves above the cliticization site, we find enclisis. When the verb stays below the cliticization site, we find proclisis.

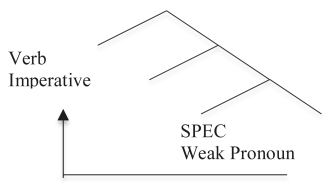
For finite verbs, the clitics are hosted in a T. In imperatives, recent analyses have suggested that the verb moves to C to pick its illocutionary force. Movement of the verb to C occurs above the position of the clitic probe. In languages like Italian and Spanish in which C can host clitics the verb moves either to the same C head or above that C head.

36) Verb + Clitic(s) (no stress shift)



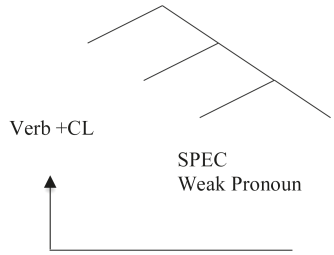
In a language with stress shift, the verb moves to C as well, above the *v* head responsible for the weak pronoun. Thus, the verb adjoins to a projection between C and *v*, which attracts the weak pronoun. Once the verb moves to this intermediate head, it proceeds to C.

37) Verb + Weak Pronoun (stress shift)
(verb and weak pronouns are in different inflectional projections)



Neapolitan is more complex since a clitic position is available for the C head, but there is a restriction of only one clitic that can be hosted. Therefore, verb movement proceeds as expected, and the V + clitic + weak pronoun order is obtained.

38) Verb + Clitic + Weak Pronoun (stress shift)



The analysis of verb movement proposed predicts the following:

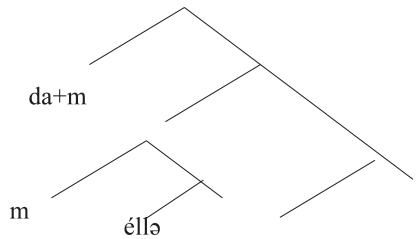
- Stress shifting occurs with weak pronouns because of their phono-morphological make up.
- Weak pronouns are always lower than the clitic in a combination (*v* head is lower than the C or T that is responsible for being probes of attraction of complex or simple clitics). C is responsible for the probe of clitics in imperatives.
- In languages in which C is not available, *v* attracts weak pronouns. No clitics are ever permitted, and stress shift takes place.
- There are languages in which C might only host a specific kind of clitic. The C head in Neapolitan is more restricted than the C head in Standard Italian since it only permits one clitic. Therefore, a combination can only correspond to the structure with one clitic and one weak pronoun.
- We have not been able to find combinations with three pronominals in postverbal position in imperatives with weak pronouns. However, we have found examples in which the clitic appears to be reduplicated.

39) Volturino (N. Puglia) (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 516)

[da-mma-m-éllə]	'give:2sg me me it!'
[fa-mma-m-éllə]	'do:2sg me me it!'

These examples could possibly correspond to a case in which the clitic + weak pronoun form a cluster, and a copy of the clitic is in a higher inflectional projection. These examples make us think that the clitic + weak pronoun form a constituent separate from the verb.

40) da + m [m [éllə]]



6. *An interesting prediction: Tobler-Mussafia*

Our hypothesis makes an interesting and testable prediction. We have shown that finite inflections probe clitics, *v* and C can impose further restriction on what can be attracted. For instance, *v* attracts weak pronouns. If the head targeted by clitics in proclitic finite sentences is the same as in enclisis in Tobler-Mussafia contexts, we make a clear testable prediction: whatever type of pronoun is attracted in proclisis should also be attracted in enclitic Tobler-Mussafia contexts. Thus, we expect no asymmetry between proclisis and enclisis in Tobler-Mussafia contexts, contrary to what we encountered in languages in which proclisis and enclisis are asymmetric in terms of the availability of clitics versus weak pronouns. This was explained by appealing to different probes: T in finite contexts versus C or *v* in imperatives. Therefore, we have a clear test to find out whether probes for clitics in Tobler-Mussafia contexts are the same as probes in proclitic contexts.

Some authors assume that Tobler-Mussafia examples involve a specific F position (Uriagereka 1995). Benincà (1995) proposes that clitics move to C in V-2 contexts in Medieval Romance Varieties. Others have assumed that tense is involved. Assuming that the probe in Tobler-Mussafia contexts is T or C, the prediction our proposal makes is the following: a clitic is available in preverbal and postverbal position. This situation can be schematized as shown.

41)

	finite projections
preverbal	*clitic*
postverbal (Tobler-Mussafia contexts):	*clitic*

If this prediction proves to be correct, this clearly confirms the proposal that the clitic versus weak distinction is a restriction on the inflection hosting this pronominal element.

In order to test this prediction, we must study data from old varieties of Romance languages that had clitic and weak pronouns as well as Tobler-Mussafia syntactic contexts, for example, Old Neapolitan (Formentin 1994, Ledgeway 2009). If we use singleton /l/ vs. geminate /ll/ as an indication of clitic vs. weak pronoun, respectively, we predict that neither preverbally nor postverbally in Tobler-Mussafia contexts will we find /ll/, while postverbally in imperatives we will find /ll/.

42) Prediction:

preverbal:	/l/
postverbal (Tobler-Mussafia contexts):	/l/
postverbal (imperatives):	/ll/ (and /l/)

Our preliminary findings are inconclusive. In most documents, the realization of a pronoun as /l/ or /ll/ was determined by the type of pronoun (i. e., mas. sg. acc.) or the metrical context (i.e., following a *monosillabo (non) rafforzante* '(non) geminating monosyllable'), but not by the position of the pronoun relative to the verb (i. e., preverbal or postverbal).

43) /l/ or /ll/ in Old Neapolitan (pages refer to Formentin [1994])
a. type of pronoun: [*Regimen* document]
/l/ < Latin ILLUM (obj.) 100% in all occurrences (p. 197)
/ll/ < Latin ILLI (obj.) in all cases except one (p. 200)

b. metrical context: [*Hist. Tr.* document] (p. 197-199)
Latin ILLUM >
/l/ 100% of preverbal contexts following a non-geminating monosyllable
/ll/ 95% of preverbal contexts following a geminating monosyllable

Focusing solely on enclitic Tobler-Mussafia contexts, we again see much variation that seems to be random. For example, in the *Bagni* document, we find the following reflexes for Latin ILLUD (neuter): *vede-lu* and *dice-llo* (p. 205). Similarly, in the *Hist. Tr.* document the same pronoun is realized with a singleton or geminate consonant in Tober-Mussafia contexts: *averria-lo* and *averria-llo* (p. 206). An examination of allomorphs that are differentiated in a way other than consonant germination produce similarly inconclusive results.

In Old Neapolitan texts from the 16th century that differentiate preverbal clitics from postverbal weak pronouns, Tobler-Mussafia is no longer a robust phenomenon (Ledgeway 2009: 333). We will continue to pursue this investigation in future research.

7. *Conclusions*

In this paper we have argued the following points:

- We assume that the pronouns that affect stress are weak pronouns, not true clitics. The evidence is found in asymmetries between preverbal vs. post-verbal pronouns and between postverbal pronouns that affect stress vs. postverbal pronouns that do not affect stress. In many of the studied dialects the stress-shifting post-verbal pronominal element has a richer morphological structure.
- There is a tripartition among deficient pronouns: weak, complex clitic, simple clitic.
- The choice of a weak counterpart (over a clitic) is due to the lack of the appropriate inflectional position that the clitic would need to check.
- If there is a choice between weak and clitic, the clitic is always higher in the clausal spine.

- There are different types of enclitic configurations. The stress shifting ones involve verb and a weak pronoun in a lower inflectional projection.

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