

Enclisis, mesoclisism and inflection in Italo-Romance varieties: A minimalist analysis*

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Abstract

This contribution addresses a central theme in morphological analysis, namely the relationship between clitics and inflectional elements. Important contributions on the point are due to Anderson (1992) and Marantz (1988), who, in different ways, connect clitics and affixes. We will propose a solution based on the idea that clitics are part of the inflectional arrangement of the verbal head. Specifically, we will investigate two types of data coming from some Romance varieties in which enclisis and mesoclisism phenomena interact with word formation. These phenomena affect the expression of the Internal Argument and lead us to rethink the analysis of enclisis and mesoclisism in terms of the ability of the inflected verb to realize Phasal domains. In other words, morphology is part of the syntactic computation, and morphemic elements, endowed with interpretable content, are introduced by the operation of Merge.

Keywords: object clitics, inflection, enclisis, mesoclisism, morpho-syntax, amalgamation

1. Introduction

The relationship between morphology and syntax is problematic for syntactic analysis. The idea that morphology is in some way an imperfection of language is rooted in morphosyntactic literature. In this line, Aronoff (1998: 406) argues that ‘morphology is inherently unnatural, it is a disease, a pathology of language’. The question is why language should obscure the relationship between interpretive (Conceptual-Intentional, C-I) and sensory-motor (SM) interfaces (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2018) or make it more complex. Needless to say, other

* This article is fruit of a common conceptualization and elaboration, and reflects the research interests of Benedetta Baldi and Leonardo M. Savoia. It relies on a long series of field investigations, some of them in recent months, both in Piedmontese and Calabro-Lucanian centers, with native speakers. The informants were perfectly informed about the type of investigation and the oral questionnaire adopted. Abbreviations: C-I system = Conceptual-Intentional system, SM system = Sensorimotor system; DM = Distributed Morphology; SCl = Subject clitic; OCl = Object clitic; EPP = Extended Projection Principle requiring a NP/DP in subject position; WFR = Word Formation Rules; EA = External Argument; IA = Internal Argument; R = Root; CT = Categorizer; TV = Thematic Vowel; XP = X Phrase; NM = Negative Marker.

approaches to morphology are based on very different assumptions, which, as we can expect, assign morphemes an interpretive status. In fact, relying on a minimalist approach to language, we expect that morphology is, however, a natural component of languages, connected to the basic computation of syntactic structures.

Generally, in Romance varieties OCIs occur in proclisis both on the lexical verb and the auxiliary, as in Italian, (1a) and (1b) for clusters. Imperatives require enclisis in Italian, in (2), as well as in the other Italian varieties.

- (1)
- a. la ved-o
her I.see
'I see her'
- b. l(-a) ho vist-a
her I.have seen-FSG
'I have seen her'
- (2) chiama-lo
call-him
'Call him!'

Italian

While enclisis on imperative and, in many dialects, infinitive/gerund is widespread in Italian varieties, we find systems that, moreover, show enclisis also in finite declarative forms. In what follows we will focus on some phenomena in which clitics are combined with the inflectional part of the verb or are interpolated between the root and the inflectional exponents both in modal and in declarative forms. The data on which we will focus, come from eastern Piedmontese dialects, with enclisis in declarative forms and from southern Italian varieties spoken in the Lausberg Area between Calabria and Basilicata, with enclisis on the auxiliary and mesoclisism in the imperative.

2. Piedmontese: systematic enclisis of OCIs

Enclisis on the lexical verb in declarative sentences characterizes the north-eastern Piedmontese dialects, here exemplified by the data from Romentino and Trecate (Novara) in (3) and (4) respectively¹. (3a) and (4a) illustrate the enclisis of one clitic, (3b) and (4b) the enclisis of a complex clitic string. (3c) and (4c) illustrate the imperative; finally, (3d) and (4d) show the enclisis on the participle. In these dialects in transitive and unergative constructs, the past participle (PP) has an invariable form, for instance, *tʃa 'm-a* 'called', including the root followed by the Thematic Vowel (TV). As to the inflected forms of the verb, they are subject to morpho-phonological modifications, as shown by the comparison with the forms in isolation reported in (3a') and (4a'). For instance, in (3a), the vowel ending of the forms exemplified in (4a'), (5a') and (6a'), is deleted when followed by the enclitic. Analogously, in (3b) and (3c) the final

¹ Tortora (2002) provided a first analysis of this phenomenon in the dialect of Borgomanero; Manzini and Savoia (2005) present a detailed analysis of other similar systems, such as those of Trecate and Romentino examined here. Both approaches rely on the cartographic framework, even if with important conceptual differences.

exponent (indicated between brackets) is not realized in the presence of the enclitic. It is of note that negation in these varieties is realized by a negative minimizer (NM), such as *mia* in (3a), which follows the inflected verb (Zanuttini 1997, Manzini and Savoia 2005, Baldi and Savoia 2022).

(3)

- a. i tʃam- ta/ va/ u/ a/ ja (mia)
 SCL.1SG call-1SG 2SG/ 2PL/ 3MSG/ 3FSG/ 3PL NM
 'I call/do not call you/you (pl)/him/her/them'
- a'. i tʃam-a tɔ fra'de
 SCL.1SG call-1SG your brother
 'I call your brother'
- b. i de-n(u)- m- u/ a/ ja
 SCL.3PL give.3PL 1SG- 3MSG/ FSG/ 3 PL
 'They give it/them to me'
- c. tʃam-(a)- u/ a/ ja (mia)
 call-2SG- 3MSG/ 3FSG/ 3PL NM
 '(do not) call him/her/them'
- d. l a (mia) tʃa'm- a- m/ -r/ -r-a/ ji
 SCL.3SG have.3SG NM call-TV/ PP 1SG/ 3MSG/ 3-FSG/ 3PL
 '(s)he has (not) called me/him/her'

Romentino

(4)

- a. a tʃam- ma/ -ta/ -na
 SCL.3SG call- 1SG/ 2SG/ 1PL
 '(S)he calls me/you/us'
- a'. a tʃam-a i sɔ ma'te
 SCL.3SG call-3SG the his/her boys'
 '(S)he calls her/his sons'
- b. a da- v- r-u
 SCL.3SG give- Dat- 3-MSG
 '(S)he gives it to him/her'
- c. tʃam-(a)- r-u/ na
 call-2SG- 3-MSG/ 1PL
 'Call him/us'
- d. ɔ par'd-y- r/ r-a
 have.1SG loss-TV/PP- 3MSG/ 3-FSG
 'I have lost him/her'

Trecate

Finally, in these varieties, the clitic can be optionally placed on a nominal element, i.e. a negative or locative expression, subcategorized by the verb, as illustrated in (5) for Romentino and Trecate. In the examples the two possibilities are illustrated, i.e. the enclisis on the locative in (5a) and the enclisis on the verb in (5b) for Romentino. The examples from Trecate show these two positions in past-participial contexts. In (6a) the enclitic occurs on the locative to the right of the past participle, while in (6b) it occurs on the participle and the locative remains in the final position. (6c) illustrates the enclisis on the locative with an inflected lexical verb.

(5)

- a. i bõt-a (mia) ηfør-u
 SCL.1SG put-1SGL NM out-3MS
 ‘I (do not) bring it out’
- b. i bõt-u (mia) ηfõra
 SCL.1SG put-3MSG NM out
 ‘I (do not) bring it out’

Romentino

(6)

- a. ɔ by't-a fõr-ja/ la-r
 have.1SG put-PP out-3PL/ there-3PL
 ‘I have put them out/there’
- b. ɔ by'ta-r fõra/la
 have.1SG put-PP-3MSG out/there
 ‘I have put it out/there’
- c. ɔ by't-a fõr-ru
 SCL put-PP out-3MSG
 ‘I have put it out’

Trecate

In the imperfect indicative, in (7a), and the conditional, in (8a), for the dialect of Trecate, the person endings of singular and plural are syncretic. In the imperfect we find *-a* in the singular and *-u* in the plural. In the conditional, \emptyset in the singular contrasts with *-u* in the plural. The paradigm of the present indicative in (7a') has *-a* in the singular and, in the plural, distinguishes two specialized forms in the 1pl and 2pl, while in the 3pl *-u* occurs. The data in (7b) and (8b) show the enclisis on these strings, whereby the enclitic element is affixed to the inflected form, possibly enlarged by the insertion of the epenthetic vowel *-a-*. As to the structure of the inflected forms, we assume that in the imperfect *-e-* is the specialized TV (Thematic Vowel), and *-v-* the tense affix; in the conditional, *-a-r-* combines the TV and an inflectional element of the Irreality, while *-es* is the affix of the imperfect (cf. Savoia and Baldi 2022b).

(7)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|--------------------------|------------------|-----|-----|----|------------|----------------|
| a. | i | tʃam-e-v-a | ‘I called, etc.’ | cf. | a’. | i | tʃam-a | ‘I call, etc.’ |
| | te | tʃam-e-v-a | | | | te | tʃam-a | |
| | a | tʃam-e-v-a | | | | a | tʃam-a | |
| | i | tʃam-e-v-u (1PL/2PL/3PL) | | | | i | tʃa'm-u-ma | |
| | | | | | | i | tʃa'm-e | |
| | | | | | | i | tʃam-u | |
- b. ly/le a tʃam-e v- (a)- va/ r-u/ r-a
 he/she SCL call-TV- Imp- Vowel- 2PL/ 3-MSG/ FSG
 ‘He/she called you/him/her’

(8)

- a. i tʃam-a-r-es ‘I would call, etc.’
 te tʃam-a-r-es
 a tʃam-a-r-es
 i tʃam-a-r-es-u (1PL/2PL/3PL)

- b. te tʃam-a-r-es-a-ma
 SCl call-TV-Inf-Imp-Vowel-1SG
 'You would call me'

Trecate

A striking property of these dialects is the high degree of syncretism. Specifically, syncretism and other kinds of ambiguity imply an interpretive common denominator shared by the inflectional affixes. Similar conclusions are now further supported by Wood and Marantz (2011), and specifically by Collins and Kayne (2020) with regard to the relationship morphology/syntax. Thus, if we consider the morphological elements involved in (7) and (8), we have the pattern in (9a) for the inflectional morphology and (9b) for SClS. As to the nature of [plural], we identify it with the part-subset content (on the basis of Chierchia 1998), i.e. the inclusion operator [\subseteq], indicating that the argument can be partitioned into subsets (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2017, Savoia and Baldi 2022b). So, the exponent *-u* can be associated with this property; the SCl *i*, a definiteness marker, can also include the inclusion property, as in (9b). The exponent *a*, which occurs both as the inflection and the SCl, can be treated as a marker of specificity. *te*, the only specialized SCl, refers to the recipient. Finally, we characterize the TV as a nominal variable 'x', whose value is fixed by the subject.²

(9)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Inflections</p> <p>-a = specific</p> <p>-u = [\subseteq]</p> <p>-um(a) = 1st and [\subseteq] (1st PL)</p> <p>TV = nominal variable, x (2nd PL)</p> | <p>b. SClS</p> <p>i = definiteness, [\subseteq] (1st SG / 1st PL / 2nd PL / 3rd PL)</p> <p>te = 2nd SG</p> <p>a = specific (3rd SG)</p> |
|---|--|

Taking into account the paradigms in (7)-(8) we obtain the system of selection rules in (10), substantially specifying the speaker's knowledge with regard to the distribution of inflection elements. More precisely (10a,b,c) establish the distribution of TV and the person/number exponents; (10d,e,f) establish the distribution of the tense and mood exponents: *-v-* and *-ss-* combine with the TV, while the counterfactual *-a-r-* is merged with the root. *Elsewhere Principle* regulates the application of the rules in (10), whereby a more specific rule overrides the more general one, so, for example, (10a) precedes (10b).

(10)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. -um(a)_{Present} \leftrightarrow R] __</p> <p>b. TV \leftrightarrow R] __ 2nd pl / PP / Imperfect...</p> <p>c. -a / -u \leftrightarrow R or T/M/A] __</p> | <p>d. -V-Imperfect \leftrightarrow TV] __</p> <p>e. -SS-Imperfect Counterfactual \leftrightarrow TV] __</p> <p>f. a-I-Counterfactual \leftrightarrow R] __</p> |
|---|---|

Trecate

² The proposal that the TV corresponds to a nominal variable 'x', whose value is fixed by the subject has been formulated by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011a) and elaborated by Savoia and Baldi (2022b) in the analysis of the verbal systems. The idea is that the TV makes the root a predicate available to combine with the tense/aspectual/modal elements.

The interpretation, i.e. the disambiguation of the syncretic forms in (7)-(8), depends on contextual factors, syntactic or not. In other words, the inflectional paradigms are structurally ambiguous, a property that also characterizes the SCLs.

3. Clitics and inflection

A well-known generalization concerning inflectional morphemes in syntax is Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle, whereby the verb moves to combine with the inflectional suffixes, as in (11), representing the 2nd plural of the Italian imperfect *lava-va-te* 'you(pl) washed'.

(11) ... [_{AgrS} lava-va-te [IP [_I lava-va- [VP [_v lava- ...

(11) translates into syntactic operations the idea, traditional in generative grammar, that the composition of complex words is an ordered cyclic mechanism. At once, it associates the treatment of inflection with syntax. Nevertheless, the more popular morphological model, i.e. DM, identifies morphology as an autonomous component, which conceives sub-word elements (affixes and clitics) as 'dissociated morphemes'. They convey information 'separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker' (Embick and Noyer 2001: 557) and involve post-syntactic rules of Local dislocation (Embick and Noyer 2001). Thus, agreement and case morphemes are not represented in syntax but are added post-syntactically 'during Morphology' by the Late-insertion mechanism. In DM, Late Insertion and the manipulation of syntactic features by the morphological adjustment rules represent the indispensable means to treat the specific properties of morphology.³ An undesirable result of this model is that there may be morphological elements devoid of any syntactic and interpretive import, as in the case of the thematic vowels of Romance languages (Embick 2010). Moreover, morphological rules can modify or delete ϕ -features relevant to syntax.

Traditionally, the difference between pronominal clitics and person exponents is reflected in the lexicon by the fact that inflectional elements are subcategorized for the verbal word, while clitics occupy the argument site (XP positions?) in the structure. Actually, also clitics have a restricted type of occurrence and in many cases the decision regarding their status depends on the point of view of the approach. So, the morpheme-based model proposed by Anderson (1992) identifies clitics with affixes, more precisely, applies the same type of Word Formation Rules to both, where WFRs map stems into 'fully inflected surface words' (Anderson 1992: 122). More precisely, Anderson (1992: 201 ff.) distinguishes simple clitics, i.e. the phonologically determined cliticization, from 'special clitics', that 'display a distinctive syntax'. For example, the latter occur in special and restricted positions. This is the case of pronominal clitics in Romance and Balkan languages. His idea is that WFRs operate in the same way in both cases, inflection and special clitics, i.e. by inserting phonological and morphological material in

³ Late Insertion is a costly descriptive tool, to which we can assimilate the notion and the use of Late Merge, that Chomsky (2019: 267) criticizes as 'a complex operation of substitution of the newly Merged element in exactly in the place where it originally appeared'. Chomsky (2019: 266-267) concludes that 'everything which is done with what is called Late Merge: it's completely unacceptable, because it involves operations that are complex, unmotivated, [...]'.³

correspondence with the lexical heads / nodes of the structure. In the case of clitics, configurational properties of the phrase, such as the argument structure, are involved.

In DM the superficial distinction between clitics and inflectional affixes is preserved, although the featural properties of clitics make them substantially undistinguishable from the other morphological material (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994). Marantz (1988: 253) proposes that the morphological merger, as e.g. cliticization, is a type of realization of a syntactic relation between two heads, whereby ‘an independent syntactic constituent shows up phonologically as part of a derived word’. This idea closely resembles that adopted by Baker (1988) on the incorporation, seen as a way of realizing the syntactic relationship between the verb and its IA.

In the traditional approach, subject clitics (SCls), present in northern Italian dialects and in French, are inserted in their preverbal position where they realize the ϕ -features associated with the EPP position of Infl/T (see the discussion in Poletto 2000, Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007). OClS, according to many authors, move from their basic position within VP to functional heads in the domain of Infl, where they have specialized positions (Kayne 1991, Uriagereka 1995, Tortora 2002) or are directly inserted in these positions (Manzini and Savoia 2005). The enclisis of OClS in imperatives and in infinitival contexts is generally derived from the high position of the verb in the C-field (Rivero 1994, Rivero and Terzi 1995, Mavrogiorgos 2010, Manzini and Savoia 2011b), as in (12).

(12) [_{Imp} verb [_C ... [_T t_i [_{VP} t_i OCl

Manzini and Savoia (2011b) point out that no principled reason prevents inflection and clitics from being interpolated. In fact, the head raising of the root to C can leave free the positions to his right for clitics in-between C and I, where the inflectional exponent is inserted. It is interesting to note that the movement of the verb to C or Infl leaves the clitic behind anyway, whether we think it in a high or low position. The result is that the positioning of the OCl is uncertain in many cases, thus making the model too powerful and over-generating.

Perhaps, the most well-known type of mesocclisis in the Romance varieties is attested in European Portuguese. The analysis of enclisis and mesocclisis in European Portuguese proposed by Vigario (1999) argues in favor of a syntactic solution. In European Portuguese OClS can occur in enclisis on the inflected verb, as in (13a), and in mesocclisis, although limited to the future and conditional, that is in verbal complex forms that combine the infinitive with a reduced paradigm of *have* as in (13b). Although mesocclisis could suggest the inflectional nature of the clitic, the author opposes the idea that enclitics can be treated as inflections on the basis of the evidence whereby operators such as negation, *wh*-, complementizers, and quantifiers require the proclitic position, as in (13c)

(13)

- a. dou-te
give-PRES1SG-2SGDAT
‘I give to you’
- b. dár-te-íamos
give-2SGDAT-HAVE.1SG
‘We would give to you’

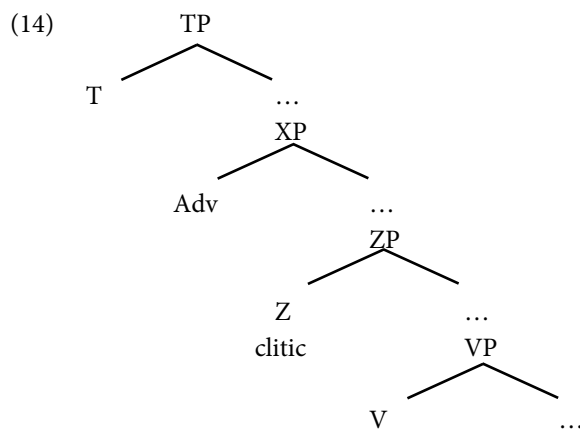
Vigario (1999: 223)

- c. não te dou
 not 2SGDAT give-PRES1SG
 'I do not give to you'

Vigario (1999: 231)

Vigario, on this basis, proposes that mesoclisism is nothing but a type of adjunction of the enclitic to the infinitive. As a result, a complex lexical combination is created, such as (13b), where both infinitive and *have* are different lexical heads, and pronominal cliticization must be considered a 'postlexical operation'.

It is unclear why we should assume the raising of the verb to C in modal contexts if enclisis is structurally possible even if the verb stays in Infl, as in the northeastern Piedmontese dialects in (3)-(4), and in Portuguese in (13). This possibility weakens the theory of movement to C and could suggest that enclisis is realized when OCl's remain in their original position. The only possible account is that OCl's have a position in the adverbial string between the inflectional position of the verb in TP and VP. So, we can expect that in some languages, the verb raising to a higher structural position, leaves OCl's and adverbs on its right, along the lines proposed by Kayne (1991) for the clitic order in Occitan. This is the cartographic solution adopted by Tortora (2002; cf. pf. 3.2) in analyzing a distribution similar to which that characterizes the Piedmontese dialects in (3)-(4) with enclisis on the verb, as in (14). In (14), from Tortora (2002: 737), Z is the position of OCl's.

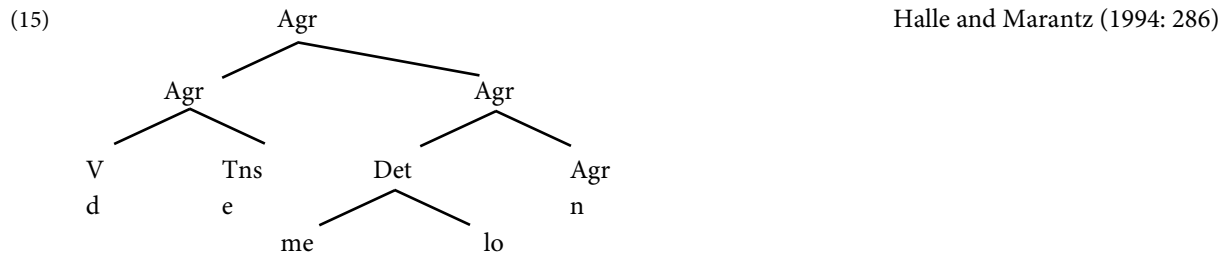


Nevertheless, Tortora concludes:

Unfortunately, I can offer no insight as to why the Borgomanerese clitic moves to the lower Z head, while the Italian object clitic moves to the higher T head [...], and the French object clitic moves to the intermediate *Inf⁰* head [...]. The idea that object clitics move to different functional heads in different Romance languages may seem unmotivated and without explanation.

Tortora (2002: 742)

Needless to say, mesoclisism increases the descriptive and structural problems for a cartographic approach to the distribution of OCl's. It is no accident that a solution is provided in a morphological model such as DM as proposed by Halle and Marantz (1994) for mesoclisism in Caribbean Spanish. In this variety, in the 2nd plural of imperative, unlike the standard *de-n-me-lo*, object clitics, in DET can be inserted between the stem and the inflection *-n*, within the Agr node, as in *de-me-lo-n* 'give-me-it-2pl', in (15).



The analysis of Halle and Marantz assumes that the reordering of clitics and inflectional exponents is derived by means of a post-syntactic rule that restores ‘the usual order of affixes in inflected words, with the plural suffix to the right of other feature complexes’ (Halle and Marantz 1994: 287). Halle and Marantz (1994: 286) see in the behavior of the pronominal clitics and plural inflectional suffix ‘an argument against ‘a-morphous approaches to morphology’ and supporting a syntactic treatment of morphology.

Crucially, all that we are considering refers to heads movement or merger; indeed, the formation of complex words is based on the Merge operation, which takes roots and affixes, i.e. sub-word elements, and combines them into a complex syntactic object. This procedure encompasses the ‘head raising’, which is the classic movement of the head, i.e. the mechanism by which verbal (and nominal) heads are combined with affixes and positioned in the cartographic structure. In Chomsky’s most recent reflection, conceptual reasons question the Probe-Goal agreement as a genuine syntactic mechanism (Chomsky et al. 2019, Chomsky 2019, 2020). Specifically, ‘head raising’ is seen as problematic insofar as it does not entail semantic effects and, structurally, it is counter-cyclic. In this sense, the approach to the agreement that we adopt is inspired by the idea of Chomsky et al. (2019: 238) that raising to the subject is an unnecessary operation:

The features invoked in the technical literature to license applications of MERGE are typically ad hoc and without independent justification, “EPP features” and equivalent devices being only the most obvious case. [...] Featural diacritics typically amount to no more than a statement that “displacement happens”; they are thus dispensable without empirical loss and with theoretical gain, in that Triggered Merge or equivalent complications become unnecessary [...] MERGE thus applies freely, generating expressions that receive whatever interpretation they are assigned by interfacing systems.

So, Chomsky (2021: 30 and 36 ff.), assumes that Merge operation can create the combination of morphemes in complex words:

The first step in a derivation must select two items from the lexicon, presumably a root R and a categorizer CT, forming {CT, R}, which undergoes amalgamation under externalization, possibly inducing ordering effects [...]. With head-movement eliminated, v need no longer be at the edge of the vP phase, but can be within the domains of PIC and Transfer, which can be unified. E[xternal]A[rgument] is interpreted at the next phase’.

The amalgamation gives rise to complex forms like [INFL [v , Root]], subject to externalization. The external argument is interpreted in the phase of T by the inflected form of the verb, and v is not involved in the procedure. In keeping with this approach, we conceptualize categorizers such as v , n , as the bundles of φ -features that characterize the functional content of words entering into the agreement operations (Manzini 2021, Baldi and Savoia 2022). Taking into

account Chomsky (2021), the movement of OCl appears to be a case of head-movement, and can be treated as a case of amalgamation, similar to that of inflectional heads. This solution agrees with what is, however, a traditional intuition, i.e. that clitics are morphological elements very similar to inflectional morphemes⁴.

In accordance with the previous discussion, we assume that morphological operations are part of the syntactic computation and there is no specialized component for the morphological structure of words (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, Manzini et al. 2020, Savoia et al. 2018; see also Collins and Kayne 2020). This is a long-standing intuition, for instance, formulated in Marantz (2001: 6), whereby ‘syntax perform[s] all merger operations including those between morphemes within a word’. In the approach that we will follow, lexical elements, including morphemes, are endowed with interpretive content, thus excluding Late Insertion and the other adjustments provided by Distributed Morphology, such as the manipulation of terminal nodes, impoverishment, and fusion of φ -features. The agreement is accounted for as the morphological manifestation of the identity between referential feature sets corresponding to the same arguments of the sentence.

4. Enclisis and mesoclisisis in Piedmontese dialects

Word formation involves the combination of agreement features and tense/aspect/mood inflectional affixes with roots, simple or enlarged by affixes by Merge. We wonder how clitics and inflectional exponents of the verb realize the φ -features associated with v and T . Consider first the proclisis on the verb, as in Italian *l-o chiam-a* ‘(s)he calls him’ in (1a). As the first step, the root of the verb is merged with 3rd person inflection *-a*, creating the amalgam in (16a); the inflected verb is merged with the OCl, yielding (16b), where the latter realizes the features of the IA associated with v . The amalgam *OCl+inflected verb* satisfies the features of EA and IA in T , as in (16c), so that, as suggested by Chomsky (2021: 36) ‘E[external]A[rgumernt] is interpreted at the next phase’, i.e. T . Morphological elements are combined under a selective restriction such as (16d), acquired by the speaker as part of her/his linguistic knowledge.

(16)

a. $\langle [R \text{ chiam}], a_{3sg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{v/\varphi} \text{ chiam-a}]$

b. $\langle l-o_{3msg}, [_{\varphi} \text{ chiam-a}] \rangle \rightarrow [_{\varphi} l-o [_{\varphi} \text{ chiam-a}]]$

c.
$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} C & & T_{\varphi} & & v_{3msg} & & V_R \\ & & l-o_{3msg} & \text{chiam-a}_{\varphi} & & & \end{array}$$

d. $l-o \leftrightarrow _ [T$

We could think that proclisis implies External Merging whereby the inflected verb and the OCl combine yielding the string *OCl+verb*, which realizes the features of T . Actually, nothing seems to prevent the amalgamation of the clitic head to the verb, with the difference that the merger is applied out of the internal structure of the word.

⁴ This is the case of the proposal of Roberts (2010, 2018), which analyzes Romance Cls as agreement heads, OCl of v and SCl of T .

Let us begin with the enclisis on the past participle in Piedmontese dialects, in (3a) and (4d), we note that clitics occupy the position immediately adjacent to the TV (that realizes the PP), exactly in the place generally assigned to the inflectional material. Some of these varieties, as in the case of Masserano, allow the comparison to be possible, showing enclisis in transitive forms, in (17a), and the inflectional element in unaccusative verbs, as in (17b).

(17)

- a. (a)l a tʃa'm-a- mi/ -l-u/ -l-a/ -i
 SCL.3SG have.3SG called-TV- 1SG/ 3-MSG/ 3-FSG/ 3PL
 '(s)he has called me/him/her/them'
- b. al ε n-y/ n-u-a
 SCL.3SG is come-TV/ come-TV/PP-FSG
 '(S)he has come'

Masserano

This suggests that the enclitic and the inflectional exponent are realizations of the same morphological slot and, substantially, of the same argument (IA). If that's the case, the enclitic element in (18a) is merged with the past participle in (18b), adjacent to the TV, as a component of the complex participial form. The amalgam is able to realize the interpretive properties of v in the domain of PIC and Transfer, as in (18c).

(18)

- a. l ε tʃa'm-a-r-a
 SCL.3SG be.3SG call-TV- 3-FSG
 '(s)he has called her'
- b. $\langle [_{\varphi} tʃam-a], ra_{3fsg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{v/3fsg} [_{\varphi} tʃam-a] ra]$
- c. C T v_{φ} participle (including OCL)
 $al_{EA} \quad \varepsilon \quad tʃam-a-ra_{\varphi}$

Romentino

Taking into account the enclisis on the participle, we conclude that the selective restriction on OCLs includes two possible contexts, as suggested in (19).

(19) $r(u) / r a$, etc. \leftrightarrow $_ [v \text{ or TV } _$

Romentino

We are assuming that enclitics are inserted as sub-word elements, like inflectional exponents: in the terms of Marantz (2007), Phases can be recognized 'within words'. This hypothesis allows us to account for the difference between proclisis and enclisis on inflected verb forms in declarative sentences.

4.1. Contexts of enclisis

As shown in (4a) and (4e), differently from participles, where the enclitic is adjacent to the TV, in the finite forms of the verb the inflection can be absent and the clitic is inserted in its place. The replacement of the inflectional ending by the enclitic is systematic in the Piedmontese dialects with enclisis, except for the 1st and the 2nd plural and, in a subset of these dialects, in the

3rd plural, in the present indicative. In these contexts, we find specialized inflections. The 1st plural includes the TV *-u-* and the specialized exponent *-ma*, as in (20a); the 2nd plural coincides with the TV, as in (20b) (cf. Baldi and Savoia 2022b). Finally, the 3rd plural can include a specialized exponent *-na* in turn preceded by the stressed TV, as in (20c).

(20)

a. i la'v- u- m- na
 SCl wash- TV- 1PL- 1PL
 'We wash'

a'. i la'v- u- ma
 SCl wash- TV- 1PL
 'We wash'

b. i la'v- e- v
 SCl wash- TV- 2PL
 'You wash yourselves'

b'. i la'v- e
 SCl wash- TV
 'You wash'

c. i la'v- e- n- sa
 SCl wash- TV- 3PL- REFL
 'They wash themselves'

c'. i la'v- e- na
 SCl wash- TV- 3PL
 'They wash'

Romentino

a. i tʃa'm- u- m(a) -r-u/ r-a/ ta
 SCl call- TV-1PL- 3-MSG/ 3-FSG/ 2SG
 'We call him/her/you'

a'. i tʃa'm- u- ma tytʃ
 SCl call- TV-1PL all
 'We call all'

b. i tʃa'm- ε- na/ -r-u/ r-a
 SCl call- TV- 1PL/ 3-MSG/ 3-FSG
 'You call us/him/her'

b'. i tʃa'm-ε
 SCl call-TV-2PL
 'You call'

Trecate

As detailed by the data in (20), the morphological structure is however adapted to accommodate the enclitic. This holds both for 1st and 3rd plural, which show reduced forms in (210a,c). Morpho-phonological constraints can optionally intervene to create more phonologically usual strings, as in (19a), where the sequence *...m-r...* may be avoided by inserting the epenthetic vowel *-a-* (EV).

All things considered, we conclude that enclisis on the inflected present indicative is formed by merging the enclitic element to the root. So, taking (4a) for Romentino, the complex word, yielded by the merger operation in (21a), is available to realize in T the agreement

properties associated with IA and EA, and to agree with the SCL, as in (21b), based on the Minimal Search criterion.

(21)

- a. $\langle [R \text{ t}^{\text{f}}\text{am}], \text{ta}_{2\text{sg}}/\text{u}_{3\text{msg}} \rangle \rightarrow [_{\varphi} [\text{t}^{\text{f}}\text{am}]-\text{ta}/\text{u}]$
- b. C \quad T_{3sg/3msg} \quad v_φ \quad V_R
 \quad a_{3sg} \quad t^fam-ta/u_φ

In the case of the tense/mood inflected forms like the imperfect indicative and the conditional in (6)-(7), the enclitic behaves like the inflectional exponents, combining with the rightmost element, i.e. -v- or -s-, as in (22). The enclisis is the amalgamation of OCl's with the root in the present, in (22a), or with the tense/mood-inflected form in (22a), in the other forms. The properties of v are realized by the inflected form in T, as in (22b).

(22)

- a. $\langle [[[R \text{ t}^{\text{f}}\text{am}] \text{e}_{\text{TV}}] \text{v}_{\text{Imp}}], \text{ru}_{3\text{msg}} \rangle \rightarrow [_{\text{T}/\varphi} [\text{t}^{\text{f}}\text{am}-\text{e}-\text{v}] \text{ru}]$
- b. C \quad T_{3sg} \quad v_φ \quad V_R
 \quad a_{3sg} \quad t^fam-e-v_{T/IM}-ru_φ

Trecate

Epenthesis of -a- (Epenthetic Vowel, EV) is documented also in imperfect and conditional, as, for instance, in (23):

- (23) te t^fam-a- r- e- s- a- ma
 SCL call- TV- Irrealis- TV- Imp- EV- 1SG
 'You would call me'

Trecate

4.2. Enclisis on locative words and negative markers

The occurrence of clitics on locatives or other adverbials associated with the verb as in (5) and (6), can in turn be treated as a combinatorial property of these morphemes. On this point, it is useful to start from the analysis proposed by Tortora (2002) as regards the enclisis on the postverbal adverbials in the dialect of Borgomanero. This variety belongs to the same area and type as the Piedmontese dialects discussed in this article; then, Borgomanerese has enclisis in declarative sentences on the verb or the following adverbial. For the latter context, only the negative markers and the manner element *già* 'already' are considered by the author. Tortora (2002: 744-745) notes that in the contexts *verb+adverb* enclisis is obligatory associated with the rightmost element, as in (24a), while the occurrence on the verb is prevented, as (24a'). In the case of participial contexts, enclisis on the participle is excluded if the participle moves to the left of the adverbial element, as shown by the contrast between (24b) and (24b'), where enclisis on the participle is blocked.

(24)

- a. i porti mi-lla
 SCL bring(1SG) NEG-it
 'I'm not bringing it'

Tortora (2002: 729)

- a'. *i porta-la mija.
SCL bring(1SG)-it NEG
- b. i o vüst piö-lla
SCL have.1SG seen anymore-her'
'I haven't seen her anymore'
- b'. *i o vüst-la piö Tortora (2002: 745)
SCL have.1SG seen-her anymore
'I have'nt seen her anymore'

Relying on the distribution in (24), Tortora (2002: 740 ff.) concludes that the movement of the clitic from its base position in VP, as in (14), depends on the *Right-most possible requirement*, whereby the clitic could not skip a possible host, as in (24a',b'). According to Tortora, this restriction suggests that the enclitic does not form a constituent with the verb or the participle but it 'occupies its own (head) position' and the process is syntactic.

Our data in (5)-(6) do not show such a restriction but we find optionally realized the enclisis on the locative, in (5a)-(6a), or on the verb, in (5b)-(6b). In other words, we do not observe any relevant structural constraint that interacts with the position of enclitics. Since the dialects in (5)-(6) exclude enclisis with negative markers, and we might think that negative markers have a special status, it is useful to consider data comparable with those of Borgomanero. In the variety of Galliate, similar to those of Romentino, Trecate and Borgomanero, enclisis affects not only locative or manner elements but also negative markers. (25a,a') illustrate the alternation between the enclisis on the verb to the left of the NM and the enclisis on the NM, exactly like with locatives, in (25b,b'), as we saw in (5) and (6) for Trecate and Romentino. So, enclisis does not depend on the 'right-most' requirement but can occur on the verb on the left.

(25)

- a. i tʃam- r-u mea
SCL.1SG call.SG 3-MSG NM
'I do not call him'
- a'. i tʃam-a mei-r-u
SCL.1SG call-SG NM-3-MSG
'I do not call him'
- b. i bət- r-u kilɔ
SCL.1SG put 3-MSG there
'I put it there'
- b'. i bət-a kilɔ- r-u
SCL.1SG put-1SG there- 3-MSG
'I put it there'

In auxiliary contexts, the canonical (and scopal) position of NMs between the auxiliary and the participle is the rule in these dialects, with the consequence that the final position of the NM is possible only as a focus. Enclisis is however on the participle, as in (26a,a'). This 'right-most' effect is only apparent because with locatives both types of occurrences reappear, as in (26b) and (26b').

(26)

- a. l a mea/ pjø tʃa'ma-r-u
SCL.3SG have.3SG NM/ no longer call-PP-3-MSG
'(s)he has not/never called him'

- a'. l a tʃa'ma-r-u pjø
SCL.3SG have.3SG call-PP-3-MSG no longer
'(s)he has not/never called him'
- b. u tʃa'ma-r-u ki'lo
have.1SG call-PP-3-MSG here
'I have called him here'
- b'. u tʃa'ma ki'lo-r-u
have.1SG call-PP- here-3-MSG
'I have called him here'

Galliate

The data in (25) and (26) are sufficient to conclude that no 'right-most' principle regulates the hypothesized raising of the clitic head. Only the lexical properties of the relevant vocabulary items seem to be involved. For instance, NMs are part of the sub-set of the elements admitting enclisis in the dialects of Borgomanero and Galliate, but not in those of Trecate and Romentino, while locatives admit enclisis in all our dialects except for the Borgomarese. The more restrictive behavior of NMs can be connected to the fact that NMs contribute to expressing the scope of the negative operator. More precisely, as suggested in the discussion around (3), NMs can be seen as minimizers in the scope of the negative operator \neg (Baldi and Savoia 2022), which leaves out definite referents. This fine-grained variation reflects the typical differences associated with morpho-lexical properties, while assuming different syntactic structures and parameters for head-raising appears totally ad hoc. In conclusion, the data in (25)-(26) argue in favor of treating enclisis as a morphological phenomenon governed by the properties of lexical elements

Coming back to the formation of *adverbial element+enclitic* structures, we see that locatives can include enclitics in contexts where they are subcategorized by verbs implying a spatial reading, of which they specify the coordinates. In *i bət-a ɲfɔr-u* 'I put it out' (from (5a)) for Romentino, the morpheme *-u* is merged to the locative in the place of its inflectional ending *-a*, as in (27a). The locative realizes (properties of) *v*, such as the spatial points and the IA, as suggested in (27b). The application of Merge in amalgamation takes into account the selective restrictions on the distribution of OCl's, as suggested in (27c).

(27)

- a. $\langle [R \ \eta f \partial r] \ -u_{3msg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{\varphi} [\eta f \partial r] \ u]$
- b. C $T_{1sg} \ v_{\varphi} \ V_R$
 $i_{1sg} \ b \partial t \ -a \ \eta f \partial r \ -u_{\varphi}$
- c. $u \ \leftrightarrow \ [R/V] \ ___$, where R encompasses verbal Root or locative words,

The same holds for (25a'), *i tʃam-a mei-r-u* 'I do not call him', where it is the NM that hosts the 3rd person inflectional element, as in (28). The comparison between (25a) and (25a') shows that also in the case of postverbal elements, enclisis can entail different alternants, as many inflectional mechanisms: here, *mea*, in isolation, alternates with *mei*-OCl.

(28)

- a. $\langle [R \ mei] \ -r \ -u_{3msg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{\varphi} [mei] \ r \ -u]$
- b. \neg C $T_{1sg} \ v_{\varphi} \ V_R$
 $i_{1sg} \ tʃam \ -a \ mei \ -r \ -u_{\varphi}$

c. $r-u \leftrightarrow [R/V] \text{ ___}$, where R encompasses verbal Root or negative and locative words.

A question apart is the order of (en)clitic pronouns in clusters. The order generally applied in Italian varieties, including those examined here, is *Oblique (Dative/Locative) – Object*. As discussed by Manzini and Savoia (2017), we can hypothesize the role of interpretive constraints, which could favor this order. A possible insight is that the first position of the Dative/Locative element is related to its scope properties over the object, in the sense that Dative/Locative includes the IA.

4.3. Mesoclis

Evidence in favor of the analysis we propose is provided by the mesoclis shown by the dialect of Trecate in the forms ending in *-u*, i.e. the 3rd plural of the present and the three plural persons of the imperfect and conditional. In these forms, the clitic is inserted between the root and the inflectional exponent *-u*, as illustrated in (29). An effect of mesoclis is that the vocalic endings of enclitics are blocked and replaced by *-u*; in particular, the distinction between the form of the 3rd singular feminine *-r-a* and singular masculine *r-u* is lost. (29a,b,c) exemplify mesoclis in the present, in the imperfect, and in the conditional.

(29)

- a. i tʃam- (a-) m-/ t-/ r- u
 SCL call- (EV) 1SG-/ 2SG-/ 3PS- PL
 ‘They call me/you/him/her’
- b. nyati i tʃam-e- v- (a)- v/r- u
 we SCL call-TV- Imp- (EV)- 2PL/3PS- PL
 ‘We called you/him/her’
- c. i tʃam-a- r- e- s- a- m- u
 SCL call-TV- Irrealis- TV- Imp-EV- 1SG- PL
 ‘They would call me’

Trecate

Mesoclis can be explained as a type of amalgamation of clitics and inflectional exponents, where the 3rd plural inflection is merged to enclitic elements in the final position. In (30a), the enclitic *-m(a)-* is merged to the Root. In (30b) the inflection of 3rd plural *-u* is amalgamated to this sequence yielding the complex inflected form, incorporating both the agreement features with the internal argument realized by *-m-*, and those with the subject, realized by the 3rd plural inflection *-u-*. This amalgam realizes the properties of T in (30c).

(30)

- a. $\langle tʃam_R, m(a)_{1sg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{\varphi} tʃam-m(a)]$
- b. $\langle tʃam-m(a), -u_{3pl} \rangle \rightarrow [_{v/T} tʃam-m-u]$
- c. C T_φ v_φ V_R
 $i_{\varphi} \quad tʃam-m-u \quad \text{‘they call me’}$

We can wonder why mesoclis is limited to the 3rd plural inflection *-u*. In these dialects, the inflectional paradigm is reduced (cf. Baldi and Savoia 2022b). In Trecate’s dialect, we have seen in Section 1 that the 1st and 2nd plural have specialized forms only in the present indicative, while

in the imperfect and conditional in (6)-(7) *-u* is extended to the whole plural paradigm, where the inclusion operator [\sqsubseteq] subsumes all plural references; the distribution of SCIs is different, and the SCI *i* is syncretic with the 1st singular. Hence, the plural inflection *-u* seems to be necessarily expressed for interpretive requirements, in its position at the right of the sequence of inflectional elements, fixing the scope of the event. The resistance of the plural exponent *-u* in Trecate can be related to the plural suffix in the mesoclitisis in Caribbean Spanish (Halle and Marantz 1994; see section 2). Halle and Marantz conclude that the reordering of clitics and the inflectional exponent is derived by a post-syntactic rule that has the effect to create ‘the usual order of affixes in inflected words, with the plural suffix to the right of other feature complexes’ (Halle and Marantz 1994: 287). The principle in question is the need for plural specifications of the verb to be preserved and recognizable.

5. Enclisis on the auxiliary

Enclisis shows up also in the varieties spoken in the Lausberg Area on the border between Calabria and Basilicata, here exemplified by the data of Cersosimo (Basilicata) and Albidona (Calabria). In these systems, enclisis is limited to the present indicative form of the auxiliary, while with lexical verbs the usual proclitic order occurs, as illustrated in (31a) and (32a). Enclisis affects only the 3rd person OCl, in (31b) and (32b), whereas the 1st and 2nd person OCl are inserted in proclisis, as in (31c) and (32c). Enclisis is excluded with the 3rd person singular and the 2nd plural of the auxiliary. In particular, in the case of the 3rd singular person, we find two alternants, i.e. ε which occurs alone or when preceded by the proclitic, in (31d), and *a* which also realizes the reference to the 3rd person IAs, as in (31d’). In the variety of Albidona both 2nd and 3rd singular persons exclude enclisis, as in (32d). Of course, in contexts where the IA is differently realized, as in intransitive ones, the auxiliary occurs in its simple form, as in (32e) and (31e).

(31)

- a. jillə u/ a/ i/ mə/ tə við-əðə
 he 3.MSG/ 3.FSG/ 3PL/ me/ you see-3SG
 ‘He sees him/her/them/me/you’
- b. ɛn- u/ a/ i cam-a-tə
 have.3PL- 3.MSG/ 3.FSG/ 3PL call-TV-PP
 ‘They have called him/her/them’
- c. m/ t/ v ɛnə cam-a-tə
 me/ you.SG/ you.PL have.3PL call-TV-PP
 ‘They have called me/you’
- d. m- ɛ ccam-a-tə
 me have.3SG call-TV-PP
 ‘(S)he has called me’
- d’. a ccam-a-tə
 have.3SG call-TV-PP
 ‘(S)he has called him/her/them’
- e. ɛnə vən-u-tə
 have.3PL come-TV-PP
 ‘They have come’

(32)

- a. mə/ tə/ u/ a/ i 'βiðə-nə
me/ you/ him/ her/ them see-3PL
'they see me/you/him/her/them'
- b. ɛddʒ- u/ a/ i βistə
have.1SG- him/ her/ them seen
'I have seen him/her/them'
- c. tə m- u datə
to.you have.1PL it given
'they have given it to you'
- d. l ε βistə/ l ε bbistə
her/him have.2SG seen/ her/him have.3SG seen
'You have / (s)he has seen her/him'
- e. (ɛ)ddʒə dərm-u-tə
have.1SG sleep-TV-PP
'I have slept'

Albidona

We can think that enclisis is nothing but a type of gender and number specification that the auxiliary is endowed with. The clear parallel with the nominal paradigm is confirmed by the fact that only 3rd person clitics are involved, that is clitics coinciding with the properties of gender and number. 1st and 2nd person clitics are regularly inserted in proclisis. It is of note that in some dialects of this group, the 3rd person referents can be also realized by means of a specialized form of the auxiliary, as it is the case for the 3rd person form *a* 'has' in (33a) that incorporates the 3rd person object, so contrasting with *ε* 'has' in the contexts where the object is a 1st/2nd person referent or is missing, as in (33b) (cf. Baldi and Savoia 2022a).

(33)

- a. a ccam-a-tə
have.3SG call-TV-PP
'(S)he has called him/her/them'
- b. m- ε ccam-a-tə
me have.3SG call-TV-PP
'(S)he has called me'

Cersosimo

Some facts emerging from the micro-variation affecting these phenomena in the related dialects of this area, support this conclusion. So, in the similar dialect of the near village of Albidona, we find the enclisis of the 3rd person OCLs, as in (32b). However, in the context of negation, the proclitic *lə* is inserted, but the agreement exponents are also present, as *-a* in (34a). It is interesting to note that in the masculine singular, in enclisis *-ə* occurs. We can think that *lə* include in itself all the specifications we characterize as msg. Other dialects, such as that of Cersosimo, do not imply insertion of the proclitic element in negative contexts, as in (34b)

(34)

- a. ə llə ddʒ- a/ ə βistə
neg 3SG have.1SG- 3FSG/ 3MSG seen
'I have not seen her'

Albidona

- b. ann εddʒ- u/a/i cam-atə
 Neg have.1SG- 3MSG/FSF/PL call-ed
 'I have not calle him/her/them'

Cersosimo

On the basis of the data we have discussed, in particular the split between 1st/2nd person clitics and 3rd person clitics and the occurrence of *-a* to the right of the auxiliary in (34a), we conclude that enclisis can be identified with an allomorph of the auxiliary. Merge combines the root with the agreement element, as in (35a). Its occurrence in Phase C/T realizes in T the referential properties of arguments, as in (35b).

(35)

- a. $\langle [_{R/\varphi} \varepsilon n]_-, u_{3sg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{T/\varphi} \varepsilon n-u]$
 b. C T v V
 εn-u_φ cam-a-tə

Negation, as in the discussion about (34), can entail the insertion of the definiteness base *l-*. The insertion of the definiteness root *l-* can be interpreted as a (variable) requirement whereby a 3rd person referent outside the scope of negation needs to be specified by a richer content (Manzini and Savoia 2017). Be it as it may, not in all dialects the root *l-* is required; where it is inserted, the auxiliary is however inflected, suggesting that the two mechanisms operate at a different level. The vocalic clitic is inserted within the word, as in (36a), while the clitic *lə* is combined with the verb, in (36b). The combination *lə+verb+inflection* realize the properties of T, as in (36c).

(36)

- a. ɔl lə ddʒ- a vistə
 a. $\langle [_{R/\varphi} \varepsilon ddʒ]_-, a_{3sg} \rangle \rightarrow [_{T/\varphi} \varepsilon ddʒ -a]$
 b. $\langle lə_{\varphi}, [_{T/\varphi} \varepsilon ddʒ-a] \rangle \rightarrow [_{T} lə [\varepsilon ddʒ-a]]$
 c. C T v V
 lə [εddʒ-a] vis-tə

We saw that only the auxiliary introduces the exponent corresponding to 3rd person IAs. We can connect this property with the nature of auxiliaries. In fact, we know that auxiliaries are verbs with special distribution and syntactic functions. In these dialects, the same auxiliary covers all verbal classes and presents specialized forms different from *have* and *be* (Manzini and Savoia 2005: pf 5.8; Baldi and Savoia 2022a).

Let us deepen this point. In Romance dialects spoken in the Lausberg Area, in addition to the dialects with enclisis, such as those in (31) and (32), we find dialects with alternation of the auxiliary depending on the person of the internal arguments (IA). So, for instance in the dialect of Morano (Calabria), in the active form of transitive verbs, the auxiliary alternates two allomorphs, one with the stem vowel *a-*, and one with *ε-*. The alternant *a-* incorporates the reference of the 3rd person IA in the shape of the feature [+back], as in (37) for Morano.

- (37) aʃʃ-u/ a:/ a: came:t-u/a/i
 (him/her/them)have-1SG/2SG/3SG called-MSG/FSG/PL
 'I have / you have / s(he) has called him/her/them'

Morano

We saw that this type of realization of the 3rd person reference appears also in dialects with enclisis, as, for instance, in that of Cersosimo, even if only for the 3rd person of the auxiliary, as exemplified in (31d'). The alternant ε - occurs in all other contexts, including unaccusative, reflexive, and unergative verbs, as in (38a,b)

(38)

a. ε_{JJ-u} vinut-u $/\text{rurmut-u}$
 have-1SG come-MSG /slept-MSG
 'I have slept'

Morano

b. ε $\text{v\v{v}onut\text{ə}}$ / $\text{dd\text{a}rmut\text{ə}}$
 have.3SG come/ slept
 '(s)he has come/slept'

Cersosimo

Moreover, ε - characterizes active contexts where a 1st/2nd person OCl or lexical DPs occur, as in (39a,b).

(39)

a. t ε_{JJ-u} vist-u
 you have-1stSG seen-MSG
 'I have seen you'

Morano

b. m ε $\text{ccam-a:-t\text{ə}}$
 me have.3SG call-TV-PP
 '(s)he has called me'

Cersosimo

Thus, we can treat a_{JJ-u} 'I have.it ...'⁵ in (37) for Morano, as an internally inflected stem selected in combination with the past participle. The head a_{JJ-u} is endowed with the φ -features identifying the IA of v in contexts where it is merged with the participle yielding (40a), based on sharing φ -features, able to refer to the same argument. The specialized $(\text{a})_{JJ-u}$ exponent is merged to T where it realizes the subject in (40b).

(40)

a. $\langle [{}_R \text{a}_{\varphi}(\text{JJ-u})], [\text{cam}\varepsilon\text{t-u}_{\varphi}] \rangle \rightarrow [{}_{T/\varphi} \text{a}_{JJ-u}][\text{cam}\varepsilon\text{t-u}_{\varphi}]$

Morano

b. C $T_{1\text{sg}}$ v_{φ} V
 $\text{a}_{\varphi JJ-u_{1\text{sg}}}$ $\text{cam}\varepsilon\text{t-u}_{\varphi}$

We can treat this type of auxiliary as a defective root specialized for T/v. In other words, the auxiliary in the aspectual construct realizes the event properties of v , and the enclitic element behaves like an inflection of the IA of 3rd person, typically inserting itself in the final position or requiring a specialized form of the auxiliary. Thus, differently from lexical verbs, auxiliary forms have as their content the features associated with v , both the aspectual and, possibly, the agreement features. The different interpretive status of 3rd person and 1st and 2nd persons

⁵ For the sake of clarity, we remind that in this dialect the ending $-u$ of the first person of auxiliary is the usual verbal inflection corresponding to the subject.

explains why the latter escape this type of agreement. Deictic elements are read in relation to the universe of discourse, determining a strong effect of DOM, and are introduced by independent specialized exponents.

5.1. *Mesoclis* in imperatives

These dialects present enclisis in imperatives as well as generally Italian varieties (see discussion in Section 2). A current analysis assumes that imperatives assign a property to a prominent argument, identified with the addressee, rather than denoting events (Platzak and Rosengren 1998). Han (2011) assimilates the imperative to a type of quantification over a set of possible worlds restricted by the event described by the verb. As we have seen in Section 2, usual structural representations of the imperatives express the special nature of the imperative sentence by assuming that it is embedded in a high position, in C (Rivero and Terzi 1995) or the Speech Act Phrase (Speas and Tenny's (2003). Be that as it may, we can think that the special morpho-syntactic structure incorporated by the imperative verb, externalizes its modal properties.

Coming back to the dialects we are considering, we see that, on par with many southern Italian dialects, the enclitic element or cluster in the final position modifies the prosodic structure of the word by attracting the main stress, as in (41a,b), where the bold type indicates the stressed vowel.

(41)

- a. pur't-a- llə
bring-TV-it
'Bring it'
- b. pɔrta-a- 'm-illə
bring-TV-me-it
'Bring it to me'

Cersosimo

- a. cam-ə- 'tɛ-mə
call-TV-2pl-me
'Call (pl) me'
- b. da- 'm-iλλə
give-me-them
'Give them to me'

Albidona

- a. ca'm-ɛ- lu
call-2SG- him
'Call him'
- b. rɔn-a- 'mi-lu
give-2SG- me-it
'Give it to me'

Morano

The prosodic re-positioning of the main stress in the enclitic forms gives rise to a left-headed foot such as *pɔrta- 'm-illə* 'bring it to me', as in (42), that is, the basic prosodic structure of words.

Selection constraints of the type in (46) will fix the distribution of the relevant morphemes, whereby the 2nd plural inflection is associated with both the string closed by the TV and the 1st person clitic, as in (46a). OClS, in turn, are anyway associated with an inflectional preceding element, as in (46b,c).

(46)

- a. $t(V)_{2pl} \leftrightarrow TV_ \text{ or } _1sg] _$
- b. $mi \leftrightarrow Infl] _$
- c. $lu \leftrightarrow Infl] _$

As we saw, only deictic clitics (1st person and dative) occur in the inner position, while 3rd person object clitics occur in the final position. Manzini and Savoia (2011b), Baldi and Savoia (2020) attribute this to the fact that the deictic interpretation does not need to be anchored to the eventive position *v*, unlike 3rd person elements. More simply, the 3rd person clitic is inserted in its canonical position at the end of the string, in the scope of the deictic elements, so that the two interpretive domains, deictic vs event-anchored elements, are split.

6. Concluding remarks

The idea pursued in this article is that we can explain a set of phenomena regarding the distribution of OClS, without resorting to the movement of the verb or the clitic in pre-determined positions. We have reported data from different Romance varieties that show instances of the close relationship between enclitics and inflectional affixes, bringing evidence in favor of uniform treatment. In this line, we followed an approach in which morphology is part of the syntax and complex words are formed by applying Merge to head elements, combining the root with inflectional affixes. The latter are included, in turn, in the lexicon as items endowed with semantic content.

Enclitics are conceived as sub-word elements merged to the root or the string *root + inflectional elements* in the same way as other agreement exponents. In other words, they contribute to forming the verb. This makes it possible to unify enclisis-related phenomena in a single treatment and to overcome the issue of the status and position of enclitics.

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