

On the Syntax of Romance Clitics and selective Clitic Climbing*

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While the primary goal of this article is to discuss a number of parametric differences in the syntax of Clitic Climbing (section II), we preliminarily lay out in section I what we tentatively take the syntax of Romance clitics to be. In the final appendix we also suggest that the different orders of clitics in different closely related varieties cannot be directly derived via movement from the canonical Merge position of the corresponding full complements (as the latter are arguably merged in the same positions in all varieties while the order of clitics varies substantially among the different varieties).

I. On the syntax of Romance clitics.

Benincà and Tortora (2009) proposed that clitics in Romance can enter one of three zones of the clausal spine, as shown in (1) (**we take these zones to contain clitics which do not form a constituent with a verb**). The lowest zone, for example, is where the (en)clitics of Borgomanerese (Tortora 2000, 2002, 2010, 2014a,b) are typically found, between the projection hosting *piö* ‘anymore’ and that hosting *sempri* ‘always’ in the sequence of adverbs in (2). See (3), from Tortora (2002: 729f) and her argument for locating the Borgomanerese clitics in that position: namely, the fact that the clitic can (phonologically) encliticize on any of the adverbs to its left ((3)a.-c.), or the finite verb ((3)d.), whichever happens to be contiguous, but cannot on those to its right ((3)e.-f.) (and can be separated from the finite verb when it encliticizes to an adverb).¹

(1) [CP ... {clitics} ... [IP ... {clitics} ... [XP {clitics} ... [VP]]]]

(2) ..**V** [mija [già [piö **CL** [sempri [mal .. [VP]]]]]]
NEG already anymore always badly

(3)a. I vœnghi piö-**lla**

SCL see(1sg) anymore-her ‘I don’t see her any more.’

b. I vangumma già-**nni** da dü agni

SCL see(1pl) already-us of two years ‘We’ve already been seeing each other for two years.’

c. I porti mi-**lla**

SCL bring(1sg) NEG-it ‘I’m not bringing it.’

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¹ Borgomanerese also has adverbial clitics, of the type to be discussed below.

- d. I porta-**la**
SCL bring(1sg)-CL ‘I’m bringing it.’
- e. *I mcengi sempra-**la**
SCL eat(1sg) always-it
- f. *I trati mal-**lu**
SCL treat(1sg) badly-him

In other Romance varieties clitics can also appear in the middle zone of the clausal spine, where they may be separated from the verb by a number of adverbs,. See (4): [we use Italian adverbs for convenience]

- (4) .. **CL** [mica [già [più [ancora [sempre [completamente [tutto/troppo/tanto **V** [bene [presto
NEG already anymore still always completely everything/too/much well early

This is, for example, the case of the northeastern Italian dialect of Trieste (see (5)):²

- (5) Triestino (Benincà and Cinque 1993: 2325; Benincà 1997: 129; and Sergio Iannitti, p.c.)
- a. No el *se gnanca vedi*.
not.it/he refl_{cl} not.even sees
‘One doesn’t even see it/him’
 - b. Mario *te za conossi*.
Mario you_{cl} already knows
‘Mario knows you already.’
 - c. La *me sempre dizi* (che..)
she me_{cl} always says (that..)
‘She always tells me (that..)’
 - d. nol *me gninte piazzi*.
not.he me_{cl} nothing appeals
‘I don’t like him at all.’
 - e. La *ghe massa piazzi*
she to.him_{cl} too much appeals
‘She appeals to him too much.’
 - f. el *me sai piazzi*.
he to.me_{cl} much appeals
‘He appeals to me a lot.’

Virtually the same classes of adverbs (a negative adverb, ‘already’, ‘anymore’, ‘always’, ‘also’, ‘still’, ‘a lot’, ‘a bit’, ‘too much’) appear to be able to intervene between clitics and the finite verb in the central Italian dialect of Antrodoco (see (6), from Scorretti 2012: 183f), and in the southern Italian dialect of Cosenza (see (7), from Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 84 and 87).³

² The finite verb can also optionally raise above any of the adverbs.

³ Similar classes of adverbs appear between clitics and the finite verb in Romanian (*mai* ‘(any)more/still/again’, *prea* ‘too much’, *și* ‘already/also’, *tot* ‘always’). E.g. *A nu-l mai tot căuta* ‘Not to look anymore always for it’ (Mîrzea Vasile 2014: 396). Traditionally they are taken to be clitic, but see Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005: fn.12), and Donazzan and

- (6) Antrodochese (Scorretti 2012: 183f)⁴
- a. *éssa non če mika krée*
she not to.it_{cl} not believe
'She doesn't believe it at all.'
 - b. *če nkóra dda í*
there_{cl} still has to go
'He has still to go there.'
 - c. *če sémpre pozzo parlá*
to.him_{cl} always can talk
'I can always talk to him.'
 - d. *lòko če tántu fecéa ko llú síkkju*
there cl. a lot was doing with the bucket
'He was(n't) doing a lot there with the bucket.'
 - e. *íssu če zze póku píggja*
he to.him_{cl} refl. a bit takes
'He doesn't get on well with him.'
 - f. *íssu ze nne tróppu ntenne*
he refl_{cl} of.it_{cl} too much knows
'He knows even too much about it.'

- (7) Cosentino (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 84 and 87)
- a. *un vi mancu cchiù sempre fissìa cum' a na vota*
Not you_{cl} not anymore always he.mocks like to a time
'He no longer always makes fun of you as in the past.'
 - b. *'i risposte, iddra 'i già sempre canuscìa tutte*
the responses she them_{cl} already always she.knows all
'the answers, she always already knows them.'
 - c. *t'ancora parra*
to.you_{cl} still he.speaks
'(S)he still speaks to you.'
 - d. **ciu bonu/torna cuntú*
to.him_{cl}-it_{cl} well/again I.tell
'I'll tell him everything/well/again.'

In Medieval Romance varieties, and modern Galician/Portuguese, which have a V2 syntax (see Benincà 1995, 2006), clitics also appear to be merged in the third, high, CP zone. See for example (8), and especially (9), where the clitic is found preceding the IP subject, and is not contiguous to the verb, which has not raised to CP.

- (8)a. ..[_{FocP} trenta anni [_{CliticP} **le** [_{CP} possette [_{IP} parte Santi Benedicti (Old Italian - Placiti capuani)
30 years them owned party of S.Benedict 'The party of S.Benedict owned them for 30 years'
b. [_{FocP} Respondio- [_{CliticP} **les** [_{IP} el [que lo non farie]]]] (Old Spanish – Benincà 2006: 67)

Mardale (2010: 255) for a different analysis. Also see Ordoñez (2012: §3) for the intervention of particles in Latin American Spanish:

- (i) *Me lo dizque arregló* (Mexican Spanish)
1st 3rd.acc Evidential repaired
'Apparently he/she said that he had fixed it for me.'

⁴ Benincà (1997: 129) reports that in the dialect of Antrodoco also *tuto* 'completely' can intervene between a clitic and the finite verb.

answered them he that it neg would-do ‘He answered that he wouldn’t do it.’

c. [_{FocP} Muitas vezes [_{CliticP} a [_{CP} tinha [_{IP} ele beijado]]]] (Galician - Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 661) ‘Many times had he kissed her.’

- (9)a. ..para lo mejor conplir [_{CP} que [**lo** [_{IP} ella non mando]]] (Old Spanish - Rivero 1986: 777)
 for the better accomplish that it_{cl} she not ordered
 ‘In order to accomplish it better than she ordered it.’
 b. [_{CP} A bon fado [**a** [Deus encomende!]]] (Galician – Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 649)
 to good fate her_{cl} God entrast ‘May God entrust her to a good fate!’
 c. [_{CP} Cántas veces [**a** [_{IP} Pedro veu!]]] (Galician - Uriagereka 1995: 98)
 how.many times her_{cl} Pedro saw ‘How many times has Pedro seen her!’

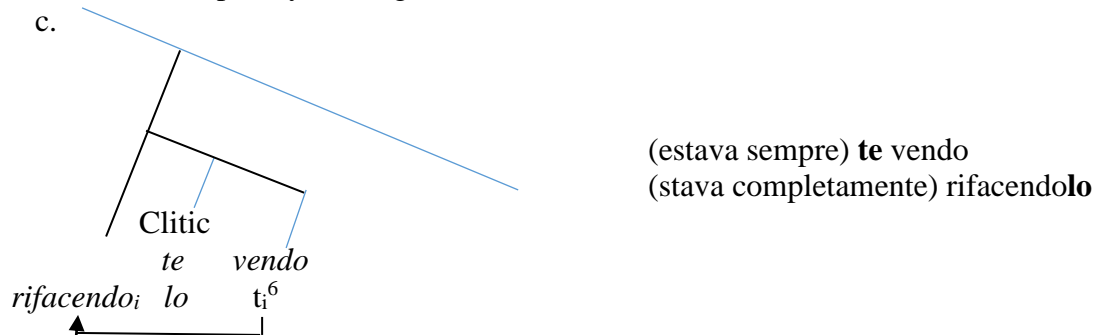
In addition to these three zones, Romance varieties give evidence that clitics may also be (internally) merged with the lexical verb, with which they make up a constituent.⁵ This constituent may raise to different positions within the adverb hierarchy, depending on the verb’s form.

- (10) They can be (internally) merged
 a. with the **gerundive** form of the lexical verb in the progressive periphrasis (see (11)),
 b. with the **active past participle** form of the present perfect/anterior past (see (14)),
 c. with the **infinitival** form (see (16)),
 d. with the **finite** form (see (18))

We assume, for simplicity, that the morphological form of the verb is merged as such and raises with the clitic to the relevant projections to check its features. In the b. variants of (11), (14), (16) and (18) the verb further raises above the clitic, within the lateral subspine containing the verb. See the trees in c.:

Gerundive (in the progressive periphrasis):

- (11)a. Estava sempre [**te vendo**] (Brazilian Portuguese - Galves 2000: 148)
 I.was always you_{clitic} seeing ‘I was always seeing you’
 b. Stava completamente [**rifacendo_ilo t_i**] (Italian)
 He.was completely redoing it



⁵ Cf. Kayne (1989) ‘Romance clitics have two options: attachment to V or attachment to I’ (p.240). When making up a constituent with the lexical V the clitic is not necessarily an argument/circumstantial of that V, as in *ne lessi la descrizione* ‘Lit.: of.it I.read the description’ (cf. Emonds 1999: §1.1).

⁶ This local movement within the subspine, here as well as in (14), (16) and (18), may derive the fact that ‘..with no adverb is it possible to have the order *..Inf Adv Cl..’ (Kayne’s 1991: 652). The adverbs are outside of the subspine.

In Brazilian Portuguese [clitic + V_{gerundive}] raises obligatorily above *completamente* ‘completely’, *tudo* ‘everything’, *bem* ‘well’ and *cedo* ‘early’, and optionally above each of the following: *sempre* ‘always’, *ainda* ‘still’, *mais* ‘anymore’, and *jà* ‘already’ (Aquiles Tescari Neto, p.c.).

- (12) | [jà_i | [mais | [ainda | [sempre | [completamente | [tudo | [bem | [cedo | [cl + V_{gerundive}] (Braz. Port.)

 already anymore still always completely everything well early

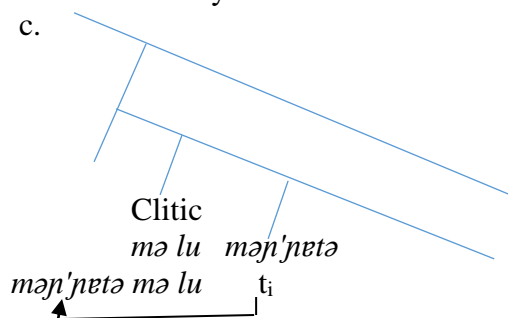
In Italian, instead, the [V_{gerundive} + clitic] of the progressive periphrasis raises obligatorily above *presto* ‘early’, *bene/male* ‘well/badly’, *tutto* ‘everything’, and optionally above each of the following: *completamente* ‘completely’, *sempre/mai/spesso* ‘always/never/often’, *più* ‘anymore’, *già* ‘already’, and *mica* ‘neg’.

- (13) [già | [più | [ancora | [sempre | [completamente | [tutto | [bene | [presto | [V_{gerundive} + cl] (Ital.)

 already anymore still always completely everything well early

Active past participle:

- (14)a. 'ajə dɔʒa [mə lu məŋ'ɲətə] (Sanvalentinese - Benincà and Pescarini 2014: 57)⁷
 I.have already to.me= it= eaten
 b. 'ajə dɔʒa [məŋ'ɲətə; mə u t_i]
 I.have already eaten =to.me =it
 ‘I have already eaten it’
 c.



mə lu məŋ'ɲətə (Sanvalentinese)
 məŋ'ɲətə mə lu (Sanvalentinese)

- (15) | [micə | [dɔʒa | [cchiù | [nkóra | [sémpre | [tuto | [bonu | [<cl> active pp. <cl>]⁸

 NEG already anymore still always everything/completely well

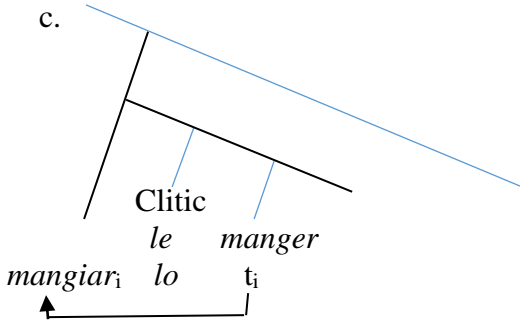
Infinitive:

- (16)a. pour [le manger].. (French)

⁷ For other Romance varieties displaying the order clitic-past participle see Kayne (1991: fn.30).

⁸ This order and the obligatory and optional movements of the past participle is reconstructible from the data provided by Garzonio and Poletto (2014), Cuonzo (2018) and Pescarini (p.c.) for different varieties of Abruzzese.

b. per [mangiar;lo ti].. (Italian)⁹
 ‘In order to eat it.’



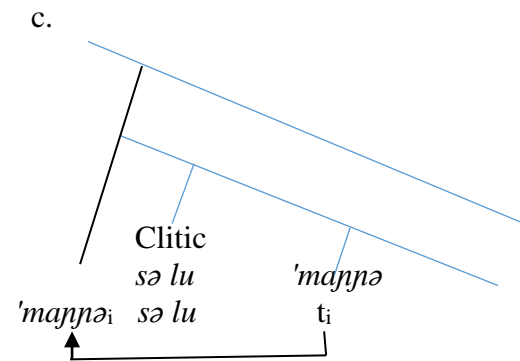
le manger (French)
 mangiarlo (Italian)

(17)₁ [pas₁[dejà₁[plus₁[toujours₁ [complètement₁ [tout₁[bien₁ [tôt [$\langle cl \rangle$ V_{inf}]]¹⁰
 |---*---|---%---|---%---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
 NEG already anymore always completely everything well early

Finite V:

(18)a. 'do:ʃə ka [sə lu 'majnə] 'semprə (Sanvalentinese - Benincà and Pescarini 2014: 51)
 says that to.him/her-self= it= eats always

b. 'do:ʃə ka ['majnə; sə lu ti] 'semprə
 says that eats =to.him/her-self =it always
 ‘He/she says that he/she always eats it’



sə lu 'majnə (Sanvalentinese)
 'majnə; sə lu (Sanvalentinese)

⁹ Given the complementary distribution of the final vowel -e of the infinitive and of clitics encliticized to the infinitive in Italian (*mangiar-e - mangiar(**e)-lo*) we take the clitic (cluster) to be in competition with the final vowel -e (cf. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004, but also see Sanvalentinese *farelu* in (i) below). We differ from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) in not limiting the number of clitic positions in a single clause to the lexical/semi-lexical verb and I^o (see Cinque 2006: 45f and the examples in (20) below), and in not assimilating the severe ungrammaticality of the retention of -e (**), which recalls the obligatory word internal elision of *stabil(**e)mente* – Rizzi 2000: fn.5), to the milder deviance (??) of retaining the final vowel with restructuring infinitives (??*Paolo potrebbe sembrare dormire tranquillamente* ‘P. could seem to sleep quietly’, ??*Giorgio potrebbe preferire dormire nell'altra stanza* ‘G. could prefer to sleep in the other room’ - Longobardi 1978: 173,187; Cinque 2004: fn.44). The infinitival -e and the clitic is not in complementary distribution in Sanvalentinese either. See (i)

(i) *Giàne vòce nu miràcule pe nen fàrelu fumä cchjü* (Pescarini p.c.).
 ‘A miracle is needed to have Gianni stop smoking.’

¹⁰ In French [clitic + V_{infinitive}] can optionally raise above *bien/mal* ‘well/badly’, *tout* ‘everything’, *complètement* ‘completely’, *guère* ‘not much’, and *toujours/jamais/souvent* ‘always/never/often’, and obligatorily above *tôt*, and can raise in certain styles above *déjà* ‘already’, and *plus* ‘anymore’, but never above *pas* ‘neg’. See Engver (1972), (Cinque 1999: Appendix 1,A1), and Schifano (2018: §3.2.3.1). It also optionally raises past *à peine* and *presque* (Pollock (1989: 417). On the obligatory and optional raising of infinitives in Italian see Pollock (1989: 412), Belletti (1990: 70ff) and Cinque (1999: Appendix 1,A1).

Putting together Benincà and Tortora’s (2009) three (free) clitic zones and the clitic positions merged with each verbal form, one arrives at the different possibilities illustrated in (19), activated or not activated, depending on the language and on the specific verbal form (the constituents [cl V] can also raise to different positions within the adverb sequence):¹¹

- (19) [CP {CL}... [IP {CL}... [XP {CL} [... [cl V_{fin}].]]]]
 [cl V_{inf}].
 [cl V_{part}].
 [cl V_{gerund}].

If Clitic Climbing is taken into consideration there are possibly more [clitic V_{inf}] constituents which can be activated within IP (see (20), where the clitic can be enclitic to each of the infinitives (a.,b. and c.) or proclitic to the finite verb (d.)) (the independent climbing of *loro* ensures that all of the examples in (20) are ‘restructured’/monoclausal sentences) :

- (20)a. Avrebbe **loro** voluto poter andare a consegnarlo prima
 b. ?Avrebbe **loro** voluto poter andar**lo** a consegnare prima
 c. Avrebbe **loro** voluto poter**lo** andare a consegnare prima
 d. **Lo** avrebbe **loro** voluto poter andare a consegnare prima
 ‘They would have liked to be able to go to deliver it earlier.’

II. Parametric differences in Clitic Climbing

(21) represents some micro-parametric differences of clitic climbing.

- (21)a. obligatory clitic climbing
 b. optional clitic climbing
 c. impossible clitic climbing
 d. **selective clitic climbing with core restructuring verbs**
 e. **selective clitic climbing with peripheral restructuring verbs** }
 f. **clitic splitting**
 g. **clitic climbing with clitic reduplication**

II.1 We briefly touch on the first three parameters and devote a little more space to the other four (in particular (22)d.-e., which show the presence of a specific generalization that needs to be derived).

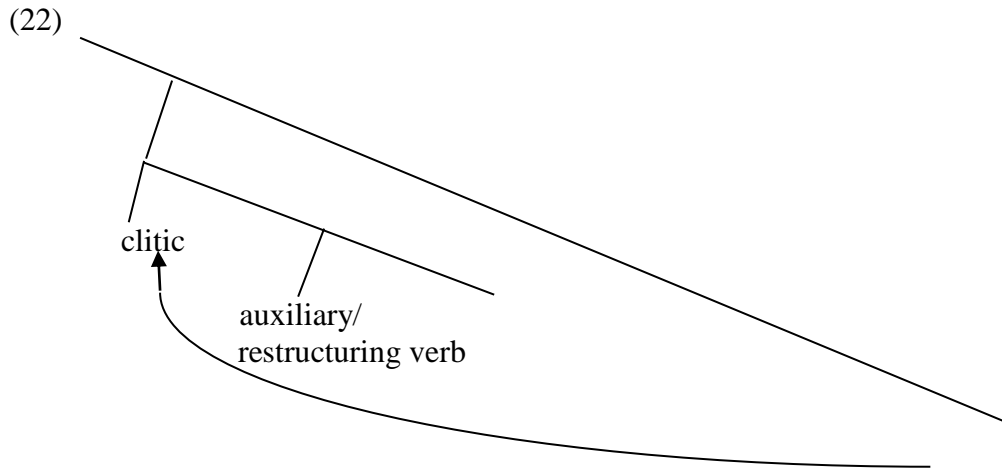
For obligatory CC with restructuring verbs (Southern dialects of Italy; Old Catalan - Fischer 2002: 41-43), optional CC (standard Italian, Spanish, etc.)¹², and impossible CC (colloquial vs. literary

¹¹ Merger in one of the free clitic zones and merger to a verbal form correspond to the two different types of adjunction made available by the Linear Correspondence Axiom of Kayne (1994; see §3.3). Also see fn.5 above.

¹² In Istro-Romanian Clitic Climbing is obligatory with aspectual verbs (*pošne* ‘start’, *fini* ‘finish’, *provēi* ‘try’), and optional with modal verbs (*morei* ‘must’, *putē* ‘can/may’, *vre* ‘want/will’). See, for example, (i), from Zegrean (2012):

(i)a. Io voi (vo) putē (vo) vedē (*vo) (Zegrean 2012: 119)
 I will-1SG (her) can-1SG (her) see-INF (*her)

French, Brazilian Portuguese), we take the verb to obligatorily, or optionally, attract (or not attract), clitics to the subspine (cf. (22)), forming with the clitic a constituent, which can raise further, to CP (as evident from (23)):¹³



- (23)a. [CP **L'**avessimo_i [IP noi t_i invitato ad entrare..
 him had we invited to enter..
 'If we had invited him to enter..']
 b. [CP **Lo** dovessimo_i [IP noi t_i invitare ad entrare..
 him should we invite to enter..
 'Should we invite him to enter..']
 c. [CP **Ne I'**as-[IP tu pas vu]]?
 'Haven't you seen him?'

In the next two sections we examine some cases of a number of Romance varieties where climbing affects only a subset of the clitics of the language, and we suggest that such a selective climbing obeys a specific generalization.

II.2 Selective clitic climbing with core restructuring verbs

French:

Pollock (1978,fn18) notes “the survival of an Italian-like structure” with *en* and *y* (cf. (24)a-b, “which are only felt slightly more literary than [(25)a-b]”):

- (24)a. J'**en** voudrais voir beaucoup 'I would like to see many of them'
 b. J'**y** voudrais aller 'I would like to go there'

- (25)a. Je voudrais **en** voir beaucoup
 b. Je voudrais **y** aller

(cf. also Kayne 1975: 79fn7 and Taraldsen 1983: 300).

'I'll be able to see her'

b. Io voi (vo) pošni (*vo) prontivei (*vo). (Zegrean 2012: 120)
 I will her-CL.ACC start her-CL.ACC prepare-INF
 'I will start preparing it'

¹³ Note that under the c-command definition of Kayne (1994,16) internal Merge of the clitic to the edge of the subspine represented by the auxiliary or the restructuring verb constitutes an extension of the tree as the clitic c-commands out of the subspine.

En and *y* Climbing appears possible (in non colloquial styles) with core restructuring verbs like *vouloir* ‘want’, *devoir* ‘must’, *pouvoir* ‘can’, *falloir* ‘to be necessary’, *finir*, *terminer de* ‘finish’, but for some speakers (Jean-Yves Pollock and Dominique Sportiche) not with *commencer* or *savoir où* (which still permit Long Movement in easy-to-please constructions):

- (26)a. *Il **en** a commencé à lire trois ‘he started to read three of them’
 b. *Il **y** a commencé à penser ‘he started to think of it’
 c. *Il **en** a su où classer trois ‘he knew where to classify three of them’

For all speakers CC is impossible with verbs like *avouer*, *dire*, *admettre*, *déclarer*, *certifier*, etc., whose analogues are “non-restructuring” in Italian.

In literary French *y* and *en* (vs. all other clitics) can also appear separated from the infinitival verb by virtually the same class of (low) adverbs/modifiers which can separate the clitics from the finite verb in the dialects of Trieste, Antrodoco and Cosenza. See (27) and the examples from (28) to (36):¹⁴

- (27) *en/y* [pas [dejà [plus [toujours [complètement [trop/ beaucoup/tout/rien/ [bien **V_{inf}**
 NEG already anymore always completely too much/ much/ every/nothing well

- (28)a. n'**en pas** parler (Kayne 1991: fn.19)
 NEG of.it not to.speak
 b. Il essayait de n'**y pas** penser (Engver 1972: 53)
 he tried not to think of it

- (29)a. je voudrais **en déjà** posséder deux (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
 I would like to already own two of them
 b. je voudrais **y déjà** habiter (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
 I would like to already live there

- (30)a. je vous ai promis de n'**en plus** parler (Engver 1972: 52)
 I have promised you not to speak of it anymore
 b. je voudrais n'**y plus** penser (Engver 1972: 53)
 I would like not to think of it anymore

- (31)a. ?Je voudrais **en toujours** parler. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
 I would like to always talk about it

¹⁴ *Y* and *en* (unlike other clitics) can also ‘climb’ to the left of the verb *croire* out of its small clause complement:

- (i)a. On **y** croit [Jean fidèle] (Kayne 1975: 306; Radford 1977: 257)
 People think Jean faithful to them
 b. Tout le monde **en** croit [Jean digne] (Kayne 1975: 306; Radford 1977: 257)
 Everyone thinks Jean worthy of it
 c. *La plupart de gens **lui** croyait [Jean inférieur] (Kayne 1975: 306)
 Most people thought Jean inferior to her

It is unclear whether CC and adverb intervention between clitics and the infinitive really go together as there are cases of adverb intervention with clitics (object clitics), which cannot undergo CC. See:

- (ii)a. de ne **le** pas aimer (Martineau 1994: 56)
 ‘not to love him’
 b. Ils ont été affligés de ne **vous** point voir (Pollock 2006: 617)
 ‘They were sorry not to see you.’

- b. ?Je voudrais **y toujours** habiter. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
I would like to always live there
- (32)a. ..**en complètement** détruire trois. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
..to completely destroy three of them
b. ?Je voudrais **y tout** mettre (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
I would like to put everything there
- (33)a. ..**en bien** lire deux.. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
..to read two of them well
b. Il pense **y très bien** vivre. (Jean-Yves Pollock, p.c.)
He thinks he can live there very well
- (34)a. Craignant d'**en trop** dire . . (Kayne 1975: 79fn7)
Fearing to say too much about it
b. ..n'**en presque rien** dire (Kayne 1989: note3)
almost nothing to say about it
- (35) *Craignant de **lui trop** dire.. (Kayne 1975: 79fn7)
Fearing to say too much to him
- (36) *J'aimerais mieux ne **les point** voir (Taraldsen 1983: 308)
I'd rather like not to see them

II.3 Selective clitic climbing with non-core restructuring verbs

Italian:

In Cinque (2004: fn.27) it was observed that certain more peripheral 'restructuring' verbs (*stentare a* 'to hardly be able to', *sembrare* 'seem', but we may also add *smettere di* 'stop', *tentare di* 'try', *osare* 'dare')¹⁵ allow a highly selective form of 'clitic climbing': pro-proposition/pro-predicate *lo* (henceforth 'neuter *lo*') impersonal *si* and *ne* can climb but no other clitic can:

Stentare a 'to hardly be able to'

- (37)a. **Lo** stento a credere.
'I can hardly believe it.'
b. **Lo si** stenta a credere.
'One can hardly believe it.'
c. **Se ne** stenta a capire il motivo.
'One can hardly understand the reason for that.'
- vs.
- d. ***Lui si** stenta a fare avanti.
'He can hardly come forward.'
e. ***Ci** stenta ad entrare in testa.
'It can hardly enter our head.'
f. ***Lo** stento a prendere sul serio.
'I can hardly take him seriously.'

¹⁵ And depending on the speaker *preferire* 'prefer', *sperare* 'hope', *detestare* 'detest', *odiare* 'hate', *amare* 'love', *scordare/dimenticare di* 'forget', *imparare a* 'learn'.

Sembrare ‘seem’

(38)a. Non **lo** sembra apprezzare abbastanza. (Cinque 2004: 143)¹⁶

‘(S)he does not seem to appreciate it sufficiently.’

b. **Ne** sembra essere davvero convinta.

‘She seems to be really convinced of it.’

vs.

c. *Lui non **si** sembra preoccupare.

‘He does not seem to worry.’

d. *Non **ci** sembra essere molta gente.

‘There does not seem to be a lot of people.’

e. *?**Gli** sembra piovere sulla testa. (Rizzi 1978: 148)

It seems to rain to.him on the head

Smettere di ‘stop’

(39)a. L’istante esatto in cui **lo**_{neuter} smetti di fare..

‘The very moment in which you stop doing it..’

b. L’istante esatto in cui **lo**_{neuter} **si** smette di fare..

‘The very moment in which one stops doing it..’

c. Ma poco dopo **se ne** smise di parlare.

‘But after a while one stopped to talk about it.’

vs.

d. *?**Lai**_{animate} smette di battere a macchina. (cf. Rizzi 1976: nota 3)

‘(S)he stops to typewrite it.’

e. *Da quando **gli** ho smesso di parlare..

‘Since I stopped talking to him..’

f. *Quando **se ne** smetterà di andar via in quel modo?

‘When will (s)he stop going away in that manner?’

Tentare di ‘try’

(40)a. Se **lo** tento di aprire col browser..

‘If I try to open it with the browser..’

b. Mentre **lo si** tenta di attraversare..¹⁷

‘While one tries to cross it..’

c. **Ne** tentò di inviare più d’uno.

‘(S)he tried to send several of them.’

vs.

d. *Lui **si** tentò di avvicinare a noi.

‘He tried to get closer to us.’

e. ***Mi** tenta sempre di convincere.

‘He always tries to convince me.’

f. ***Ci** tentò di dire che non sarebbe venuto.

‘He tried to tell us that he would not have come.’

Osare ‘dare’ (cf. *I dare say..*)

(41)a. Per mancanza di coraggio non **lo**_{neuter} osava fare.

¹⁶ Napoli (1981: 841) and Burzio (1986: 392,354) also give examples with clitic climbing of a neuter clitic with *sembrare*. Also see Contreras (1979: 162 and fn.2) on Spanish *parecer*.

¹⁷ <https://www.scarpa.net/selvaggio-blu.html>

- ‘For lack of courage he did not dare to do it.’
- b. Se non **lo**neuter si osa fare..
‘If one does not dare to do it..’
- c. Non **ne** osiamo immaginare l’impatto.
‘We do not dare to imagine its impact.’
- vs.
- d. *Vedo che non **ti** osi presentare.
‘I see that you do not dare to introduce yourself.’
- e. *Non **se ne** osò andar via.
‘(S)he did not dare to go away.’
- f. *Da allora non **si** osa fare avanti.
‘Since then, (s)he does not dare to come forward.’

Catalan:

With restructuring verbs that have inherent clitics (*anar-se* ‘n go-SE-EN ‘leave’, *disposar-se* ‘get ready to’, *atrevir-se* ‘dare’ *descuidar-se* ‘forget’), clitic climbing is possible, but in a limited way: only the locative clitic **hi** can climb (the examples in (42) are from Solà 2002; Gemma Rigau and Jaume Mateu share Sola’s judgments):¹⁸

- (42)a. Se n’**hi** va a viure. /*Se n’**ho** va a veure.
SE-EN-*there*-go-3sg to to-live SE-EN-*it*-go-3sg to to-see
‘S/he’s going there to live there.’ ‘S/he’s going there to see it.’
- b. S’**hi** disposava a anar. /*S’**ho** disposava a fer.
SE-*there*-get-ready-PAST-3sg to to-go SE-*it*-get-ready- PAST-3sg to to-do
‘S/he was getting ready to go there.’ ‘S/he was getting ready to do it.’
- c. No s’**hi** atreueix a anar. /*No s’**ho** atreueix a fer/*No se **n** atreueix a sortir.
not SE-*there*-dares to go / not SE-*it*-dares to do/‘S/he does not dare to do it.
‘S/he doesn’t dare to go there.’ ‘S/he doesn’t dare to do it.’
- d. S’**hi** ha descuidat d’anar. /**Se s’ha descuidat d’afaitar.
SE-*there*-has forgotten of-to-go SE-*SE*-has forgotten of to-shave
‘S/he forgot to go there.’ ‘S/he forgot to shave himself.’
- e. *No se **li** atreueix a dir res.
not SE-DAT-dares to to-say nothing
‘S/he does not dare to tell her/him anything.’

There appears to be a generalization uniting selective clitic climbing in French, Italian, and Catalan: the restructuring verbs appear to activate the lowest (rightmost) clitics, the idea being that a restructuring verb can activate clitic positions starting from the lowest and stop at a certain point, but cannot activate higher clitic positions ‘skipping’ lower ones):

- (43)a. **French**¹⁹: se me le lui **y en** (cf. Perlmutter 1971:57; Seuren 1976: 34)

¹⁸ Paradís (2019: 305) observes ‘a kind of implicative scale’ (see (i)). In general the rightmost clitics (*hi*, *en*, *ho*) are found to climb more easily than the other clitics:

(i) hi / en1 > ho > em/et > es > li/els(hi) > el/la/els/les > en2
(loc)/ part acc.neut 1st/2nd refl. dat.3 acc.3 part

¹⁹ We find unconvincing the conclusion of Authier and Reed (2008,2009) that French lacks ‘restructuring’ altogether, given 1)-5) (and if “restructuring” is universal):

1) the existence of CC with *en* and *y* (at least in non colloquial French) (Kayne 1975: chap.2, fn.7 and Pollock 1978: fn.18), and, for some varieties, even *le* with *finir/achever* ‘finish’ and *commencer* ‘begin’: *Je l’ai pas encore fini d’écrire* ‘I’ve not yet finished to write it’ (Yves Charles Morin and Marielle St-Amour, cited in Radford 1977: 290).

b. **Italian**: mi/ti/gli > ci > si_{reflexive} > lo/la/li/le > **lo**_{neuter} **si**_{impersonal} **ne** (cf. Monachesi 1998: §2.2; Pescarini 2010: fn.4 except for the separation of **lo**_{animate/inanimate} and **lo**_{neuter})²⁰

c. **Catalan**: es – 2 – 1 – 3dat – 3acc – **en ho/hi** (Hualde 1992: 346; Bonet 2002: 973): only **hi** with inherently reflexive restructuring verbs (Solà 2002), and **en ho/hi** with other restructuring verbs (Paradís 2019: §5.3.2.1)

II.4. Clitic splitting²¹

In some languages clitics cannot split
Standard Italian (Rizzi 1978: fn.26)²²

(44)a. Piero voleva darmelo

Piero wanted to give.me.it

b. Piero **me lo** voleva dare

c. *Piero **mi** voleva darlo

d. *Piero **lo** voleva darmi

‘Piero wanted to give it to me.’

Catalan (Picallo 1990: fn.12)

(45)a. **Els hi** volia posar

them there I.wanted to put

b. ***Els** volia posar-**hi**

‘I wanted to put them there’

In others they can (Kayne 1989: §4.2.6; 1991: §5.1.3), in which case it is the leftmost, higher, clitic that climbs, not the rightmost, lower one:

Franco-Provençal

(46) **T**’an-tè prèdzà-**nen**? (Kayne 1991:66, from Chenal 1986: 398)

you_{DAT}-have they spoken-of-it ‘Have they told you about it?’

2) the existence of ‘long passivization’ with restructuring predicates like *finir/achever* ‘finish’ (references cited in Cinque 2002: fn.8): *Une boîte qui n’était pas tout à fait finie d’installer*.

3) the fact that French ‘easy-to please’ constructions are possible with two infinitives if “the higher infinitive [is] of the class that allows clitic climbing [in Italian].” (Kayne 1989: 250),

4) the fact that the modals *pouvoir, devoir, vouloir* (at least in non colloquial French) can raise to T (past *pas*), like auxiliaries, and differently from non-restructuring verbs (Pollock 1989: 375 and 389-391).

5) the fact that French “HCI (Hyper-Complex Inversion) is possible to one degree or another with an infinitival embedding [...] only with matrix verbs/predicates of the ‘restructuring’ type” (Kayne 2017: 6).

²⁰ Catalan shows a morphological distinction between the pro-proposition/pro-predicate clitic, *ho*, and the animate/inanimate clitics *el/la/els/les*. Following Bonet (1995b: fn.3) we use the term ‘neuter’ for the pro-proposition/ pro-predicate clitic. In Catalan *ho* is located in the clitic sequence more to the right than the latter. In the French spoken in the Franco-Provençal area the neuter accusative clitic is also morphologically distinct from the animate/inanimate accusative clitics (*J’y sais* ‘I know that’ vs. *Je le vois* ‘I see it (the umbrella)’. See Kristol (2016: 361).

²¹ Also see the clitic splitting in French *y/en* climbing across lower adverbs:

(i) ?N’y plus **en** trouver serait surprenant. (Kayne 1991: note 44)

Neg there no-longer of it to-find would-be surprising

‘It would be surprising to no longer find it.’

²² But see the following dialogue (colloquial Italian of Padua) caught by Paola Benincà at a kindergarten between father and daughter:

(i)a. (5 year old daughter) *Mi puoi aprirlo?* Lit.: to.me_{cl} can.you open.it_{cl}

(father) *No, devi dire: "Mi puoi aprirmelo?"* ‘No. You.have to say: “to.me_{cl} can.you open.to.me_{cl}-it_{cl}’

Both: ‘Can you open it for me?’

Occitan

- (47) **Te'l** volem portar-**lo**. (Parry 1997: 256)
2sgOCL-3sgOCL we.want to.bring-3sgOCL 'We want to bring it to you.'

Fassan Ladin

- (48) **Me** son **n'**ascort. (Benincà and Pescarini 2014: fn.8)
1ps.refl I.am of.it been.aware
'I realized it.'

Judeo-Spanish

- (49) María **nos** debe decir**lo**. (Tuten, Pato and Schwarzwald 2016: 405)
M. has to tell us that

This is also what one finds in those Slavic languages that allow both clitic climbing and clitic splitting (Serbian and Slovenian):²³

Serbian (Stjepanović 1997, 2004; though not for all speakers)

- (50)a. Marija želi da **mu ga**/ ***ga mu** predstavi (Stjepanović 2004: 182)
Marija wants that him_{DAT} him_{ACC}/him_{ACC} him_{DAT} introduce
'Marija wants to introduce him to him'
b. Marija **mu** želi da **ga** predstavi (Stjepanović 2004: 182)
Marija him_{DAT} wants that him_{ACC} introduce
'Marija wants to introduce him to him'
c. ***Marija ga** želi da **mu** predstavi (Stjepanović 2004: 182)
Marija him_{ACC} wants that him_{DAT} introduce

Slovenian (Golden 2003: §3):

- (51)a. Janez **mu ga** je zeel predstaviti na sprejemu.
Janez him-DAT him-ACC is wanted to-introduce at meeting
'Janez wanted to introduce him to him at the meeting.'
b. Janez **mu** je zeel [**ga** predstaviti na sprejemu]
c. ***Janez ga** je zeel [**mu** predstaviti na sprejemu]

An apparent counterexample: Vaudois (cf. Kayne 1989: §4.2.6)

- (52)a. **Lo** vu **vo** mandâ (Reymond and Bossard 1979: 94)
it_{acc} I.want you_{dat} communicate 'I want to communicate it to you'
b. **Vo** vu **lo** dere (Reymond and Bossard 1979: 94)
you_{dat} I.want it_{acc} to say 'I want to say it to you'

But Reymond and Bossard (1979: 93) observe that in Vaudois two orders of dative and accusative clitics are possible. In addition to the traditional Acc > Dat (see (53)a.) the order Dat > Acc ((53)b.) "influencé par le français" is also possible; so the two split orders they give may well reflect the two alternative orders of the Accusative and Dative clitics:

- (53)a. **lo vo** dio (Reymond and Bossard 1979: 93)
it you I.say 'I say it to you.'
b. **vo lo** djuro (Reymond and Bossard 1979: 93)
you it I.swear 'I swear it to you.'

²³ On clitic climbing in Slavic see Franks and King (2000: §6.3).

Split Clitic Climbing may provide an argument for the movement nature of Clitic Climbing. Only if CC involves movement can Relativized Minimality offer an account of the generalization that of two clitics, cl_1 cl_2 (where cl_1 c-commands cl_2), only cl_1 not cl_2 can be found on the higher verb, as already suggested in Picallo (1990: fn.12).²⁴

II.5. Clitic Climbing with clitic reduplication²⁵

Spoken Italian

(54) e **lo** volevo farlo a giugno (Vanvolsem 2000: 178)²⁶
and it I.wanted to do it in June

Cairese

(55)a. A'm sun fòme in fazin (Parry 2005: 178)

I to.myself am made.to.myself a cake

'I baked me a cake.'

b. I l'an catòle (Parry 2005: 179)

they it have bought.it

'They bought it.'

c. I m'aveisi pusciume gitème (Mair Parry, p.c.)

you me had could.me helped.me

'You could have helped me.'

Chilean Spanish

(56) **Los** vamos a verlos (Uriagereka 1995: fn.21)

'We are going to see them'

Argentinean Spanish

(57) **Vámonos** acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco (Nunes 2011: 310)

'We are getting accustomed to this country little by little.'

²⁴ A potential problem for a Relativized Minimality treatment of split cliticization is represented by the optional climbing of the embedded object across a matrix impersonal *si* in such cases as (i), especially considering the fact that the object clitic targets a head higher than *si* (rather than left-adjoining to *si*) as shown by the possibility of coordinating the constituent after *lo* (cf. (ii)) :

(i)a. **Si** può farlo.

Lit.: one can do.it

b. **Lo** **si** può fare ti.

Lit.: it one can do

Lo [**si** fa e **si** rifa] in continuazione.

Lit.: it one does and one re-does continuously

'One does and redoes it continuously.'

²⁵ Clitic reduplication is also possible in older and dialectal varieties of Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994: 76fn24). For other languages with clitic reduplication, see the references in note 37 of Kayne (1989).

²⁶ Cited from De Mauro et al. (1993) *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato: corpus Milano*.

Catalan

- (58) **Hi** vaig haver-**hi** de continuar-**hi** anant (Bonet 2002: 984).²⁷
there I.had-there to continue-there to go
'I had to continue to go there.'

If Clitic climbing involves internal Merge (movement) rather than external Merge (see below), clitic reduplication must be an instance of spelling overtly the copy left behind by the climbing of a clitic.

III. Possible conclusions

(59)a. Activation of clitic positions:

in addition to the 3 zones of free standing clitics in (1)

i) **clitic positions may be activated by lexical verbs, auxiliaries and core restructuring verbs (core modals, core phase aspectuals and core motion verbs) and selectively activated by non core restructuring verbs in their respective subspines (the verb and the clitic attracted by the verb form a constituent which may raise along the adverb hierarchy).**

ii) **the activation of the hierarchy of clitics must begin with the lowest and can stop with non core restructuring verbs at some point of the hierarchy.**

b. Clitic climbing involves movement:

i) **Clitic splitting is subject to Relativized Minimality. If clitic splitting involved external Merge in two distinct clitic zones it would not be clear why only a higher clitic could be found in the higher zone.**

ii) **Clitic climbing applies stepwise** (cf. de Andrade and Bok-Bennema 2016: §2.3).

(60)a. Tentò di andarsene

(S)he.tried to go.refl.from.there

b. *Se ne tentò di andare

refl.from.there (s)he tried to go

'(S)he tried to go away.'

(61)a. Deve andarsene

(S)he.must try to go.refl.from.there

b. Se ne deve andare

refl.from.there (s)he must go

'(S)he must go away.'

(62)a. Deve tentare di andarsene

(s)he must try to go.refl.from.there

²⁷ "Reduplication seems possible with certain clitics, not with others, as illustrated in [(i)]:

(i) *Les voldriem veure-les demà.

3rd.-pi.-ace. would-like(1st.pl.) see 3rd.-pi.-ace. tomorrow 4

'We would like to see them(fem.) tomorrow.'" (1995a: 75)

Interestingly, it is only possible with *hi*, which is the only possible clitic in the selective clitic climbing with inherently reflexive restructuring verbs seen above.

- ‘(S)he must try to go away.’
- b. *Deve tentarsene di andare
(s)he must try.refl.from.there to go
- c. *Se ne deve tentare di andare
refl.from.there (s)he.must try to go

If the climbing were not stepwise (thus incurring in the same violation of (60)b.), it would be mysterious why (62)c. is ungrammatical, given the grammaticality of (61)b.

Appendix: No direct correspondence between complements and clitics (also see Bonet 1991,1995a,b; Manzini and Pescarini 2022: §2)

a) the different orders of clitics in different closely related languages is difficult to derive via movement from the canonical order of the complements (which are arguably merged in the same positions in all varieties). On the other hand, the direct generation in different Clitic projections can easily accommodate the different orders of different closely related languages.

- (63)a. Li lou (central Occitan dialects) (Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016: 345)²⁸
b. Lou li (eastern, northern and southwestern Occitan dialects) (Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016: 345)

- (64)a. Ce lo (Italian)
b. L’y (French)

- (65)a. Lo si_{impersonal} (Italian)
b. Se_{impersonal} lo (Paduan)

- (66)a. Ci si (mangia molto bene, qui) (Italian)
b. S’ hi (menja molt bé, aquí) (Catalan)

b) in those varieties of Italian or Catalan which allow the co-occurrence of *mi ti/te me* the sequence can be interpreted as both Acc > Dat and Dat > Acc, with no focus difference (see (67)a.-b., from Wanner 1987: 421f, and (68)a.-b. from Hualde 1992: 345, respectively). Again this is hard to reconcile with movement from the canonical order of Acc and Dat:²⁹

- (67)a. Mi ti presento come la scelta più logica.
‘I present myself to you as the most logical choice’
b. Mi ti presentano come l’unica scelta possibile.
‘They present you to me as the only possible choice’

- (68)a. te m’has oferit.
‘you have offered yourself to me’

²⁸ In the case of Italian *glielo* vs. French *le lui* it could be thought that *lui* is not a clitic but a weak pronoun, thus rendering the order *le lui* irrelevant. Yet, in some varieties of French it can double a dative PP (see (i)a.), which appears to be impossible with bona fide weak pronouns like *loro* in Italian (see (i)b.):

- (i)a. Je le lui donne à Pierre (Ossipov 1990: 156)
I it to.him give to Pierre ‘I give it to Pierre.’
b. *L’ho loro dato ai tuoi figli. vs. Gliel’ho dato ai tuoi figli.
it have.I to.them given to your children ‘I gave it to your children.’

²⁹ Unlike what is found in Paduan, where both *me te* and *te me* are possible where the first clitic is accusative and the second dative:

- (i)a. El me te presenta
He introduces me to you
b. I te me presenta
they introduce you to me

b. *te m'he oferit.*

'I have offered myself to you'

c) when one and the same clitic can stand for more than one type of complement (*vi* 'you pl.' or 'there') (*ci* 'us pl.' or 'there') (*ne* 'from it', partitive 'of them', or genitive 'of it/them'), if it could be merged in place of the complement, we should expect more instances of the same clitic to be possible, but this is not the case (Lepschy and Lepschy 1977: 212; Laenzlinger 1993: §5.4; Cinque 1995: 195f). See (69) through (73):

(69)a. *Voi vi siete trovati bene lì.*

Lit.: You yourselves found well there

b. *Lui vi si è trovato bene*

Lit.: He there himself found well

c. **Voi vi vi siete trovati bene* (Cinque 1995: 196)

(70)a. *Loro ci metteranno lì*

Lit.: They us will put there

b. *Loro ci metteranno noi*

Lit.: They there will put us

c. **Loro ci ci metteranno*

(71)a. *Uscì fuori dal camino una fumata bianca*

Lit.: Came out from the chimney a white smoke

b. *(Dal camino) Ne uscì fuori una fumata bianca*

Lit.: (From the chimney) from.it came out a white smoke

c. *(Di fumata) Ne uscì fuori dal camino una bianca*

Lit.: (Of smoke) of.it cam out from the chimney one white

d. *(Dal camino, di fumata)*Ne ne uscì una bianca* (ok: *ne uscì una bianca*)

Lit.: (Fom the chimney, of smoke) from.it of.it came out one white

(72) **D'amics meus, de la reunió, ne'n van expulsar quatre* (Hualde 1992: 346)

Lit.: Of friends my, from the meeting, from.it of.then they expelled four

(73)a. *Ho riempito un bicchiere di questo vino* (cf. Desouvrey 2000: 194 for the corresponding French cases)

Lit.: I.have filled one glass with this wine

b. *Ne ho riempito uno di questo vino*

Lit.: of.it I.have filled one with this wine

c. *Ne ho riempito un bicchiere*

Lit.: With.it I.have filled one glass

d. **Ne ne ho riempito uno*

Lit.: With.it of.it I.have filled one

This suggests, in the case at hand, that there is only one clitic (*vi*, *ci*, *ne*), merged in the clausal (sub)spine and paired with one or the other complement.³⁰ That the impossibility of *vi vi*, *ci ci*, and *ne ne* is not due to the application of some kind of obligatory haplology is shown by the possible co-occurrence of two identical clitics when they are homophonous but distinct, like *ne* (1st person pl.) *ne* (partitive 'of them') (see (74)) and *se* (impersonal subject) *se* (reflexive) (see (75)) in Paduan, and other Venetan dialects.³¹

(74) *I ne ne mandarà tre*

they to.us of.them will.send three

'They will send three of them to us'

³⁰ In the case of *ci* Kayne (2009: §11) provides evidence that it is just an (expletive) locative clitic, accompanied by a silent *ne* when it stands for 'us'. See Manzini and Savoia (2010) for a partly different account.

³¹ As well as from such cases *Se se lo compra...* 'Lit. If to.himself he it buys' in standard Italian.

- (75) Co se se lo compra,..
 when one to.oneself it buys,..
 ‘When one buys it for oneself,..’

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