

The nature of the agreement inflections of the verb*

M. Rita Manzini - Leonardo M. Savoia
Università di Firenze

The unification of morphology and syntax, that we adopt from Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press, forthcoming) leads us to the conclusion that the morphological structure of the verb within which the inflection is inserted reproduces the syntactic structure of the sentence hosting the subject; thus the inflection has exactly the same status within the verbal constituent as a clitic subject within the sentence. This proposal is supported by several sets of data presented in section 2. The model we propose requires a different theory of agreement and chains, discussed in section 3.

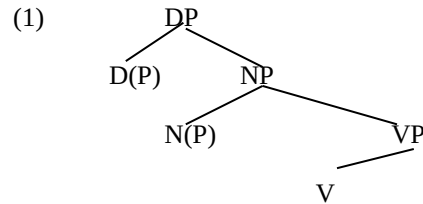
1. The basic structure of the sentence and of the Noun Phrase and the present proposal

We adopt the conventional assumption that a sentence includes several different positions for the verb, the lowest one of which, i.e. V, corresponds to the predicative content of the event. It is again conventional to assume that the V position projects a set of arguments, including at least the object and the subject. We take it that the crucial property of the subject is a denotational property, which we provisionally notate D. In other words we identify the EPP property, which defines the subject, with the D property, an intuition which we share with Chomsky (1995). The so-called object essentially corresponds to the point of saturation of the obligatory internal argument of the predicate. We take it that this property can be characterized by the category N, a label to which we return below.

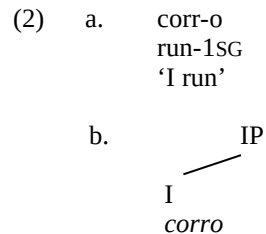
The exact merger structure obtained by putting together V with its object N and its subject D, in this order, depends on what assumptions we adopt about phrase structure configurations. Our basic assumption is that each merger of new lexical material, whether a lexical item or a phrase, does project its own label, essentially as proposed by Starke (2000). A system of this type has the advantage of predicting the generalization first formulated by Koopman (1996) under the name of generalized Doubly Filled COMP Filter, namely that head-Spec configurations never overtly (or covertly) arise. A further advantage is that

* The research reported in this article has been financed partially through the Programma di ricerca cofinanziato of the MIUR 'La cartografia strutturale delle configurazioni sintattiche e le sue interfacce con la fonologia e la semantica' for the years 1999-2001 and 'Categorie linguistiche: dalla mappatura strutturale all'architettura delle rappresentazioni mentali' for the years 2001-2003. The article is a result of the collaboration of the two authors in all respects. Nevertheless, for administrative purposes, Rita Manzini takes responsibility for sections 1 and 2.2 and Leonardo Savoia for sections 2.1, 2.3 and 3.

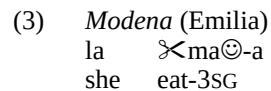
such a system does not require empty heads to be projected just to accommodate a phrasal specifier. Therefore connecting the V predicate with its N object and D subject yields a tree structure of the type in (1).



It is a familiar assumption that the fundamental position of the inflected verb within the sentence is not V, but rather a higher one, conventionally I. Thus consider a finite sentence. Its structure minimally includes (2b), where the verb is in I.



Consider what would be the counterpart of (2) in a language where, contrary to Italian, a lexicalization of the subject is needed. This is the case also in languages with a considerable amount of verbal inflections, such as Northern Italian dialects, where in declarative sentences the subject is lexicalized at least by a so-called subject clitic, as in (3):

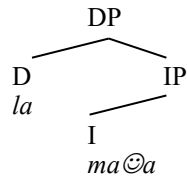


On the basis of much evidence concerning Romance as well as Albanian dialects, Manzini and Savoia (1999, 2002a, 2002b, in press) arrive at the conclusion that each one of the fundamental positions of the verb, which include V and I, projects its own full set of nominal positions, which include of course N and D. This holds for I, V and also for C, giving rise to a sentential schema of the type in (4):



In these terms subject clitics, or eventually full noun phrases, give rise to representations of the type of (5):

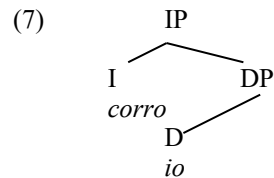




Consider then a sentence like (6), containing a postverbal lexical subject in Italian, a so-called inverted subject:

- (6) corr-o io
run-1SG I

If we keep to the assumptions embodied by the structure in (4), the so-called inverted subject is the lowest D projection in the sentence, as in (7).



The idea for which we argue in this article is that the so-called agreement inflection of the finite verb corresponds to D material. Consider a finite verb, whose inflection alone represents the subject in a language like Italian, as in (2a), yielding a case of so-called null subject. It is widely accepted in the literature that the inflection in a null subject language is pronominal (Rizzi 1982) and that it alone suffices to satisfy the EPP requirement (Pollock 1996). Our proposal represents a development of this line of thought, with some important differences.

In the first place we adopt the conclusions of Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press) that morphological structures are identical to syntactic ones. In the traditional conception, reflected by generative theory and by the minimalist model (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004), syntactic categories and morphological features represent two different subsystems. In particular the traditional conception of feature distinguishes the feature itself from its value, which is binary (Jakobson 1966, Chomsky and Halle 1968). To begin with, we can observe that the distinction between feature and value can be dispensed with. Thus instead of saying that there is a Number feature whose value can be positive (plural) or negative (singular), we can say that the Number feature identifies with the plural. As a consequence the notion of default and markedness is excluded from our grammar; for example if Number coincides with the plural, it is not possible to treat the singular as a default value of the feature, but only as its absence. If so, a morphological feature comes to have the same formal nature as a syntactic category.

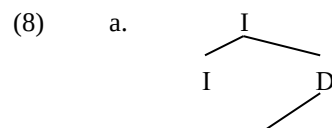
For Romance dialects Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press) reach the conclusion that the Case, Person, Number and Gender features generally employed in the description of pronominal clitics are inadequate. Our proposal

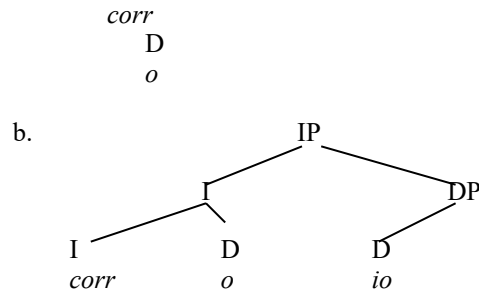
is instead that clitics can be adequately described in terms of syntactic categories, namely D, already introduced above for subject clitics, and several categories for object clitics. These include R (Referentiality) for properties of specific quantification; Q for properties of indefinite quantification; P for Person, i.e. reference to speaker and hearer, Loc transparently for locatives. Again N has been introduced above for objects; the independent categorization of P elements makes it clear that this category is in fact restricted to the 3rd person.

The categories just mentioned coincide with those independently postulated by many theories for the internal structure of the Noun Phrase. In other words they do not constitute a separate list of morphological categories, but they are the same as syntactic categories. Given this identification of morphological and syntactic categorization it is natural to assume that morphological structure, understood descriptively as the structure of words, is articulated into the same hierarchies as syntactic structure.

The unification of morphological and syntactic structures can be crucially applied to verb inflection. The traditional and generative approach to verb inflection and to its role in the structure of the sentence is well illustrated by the theory of Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) according to which the verb inflection consists of an unspecified set of features associated to the verb in I, whose value is set by the corresponding, valued features of the sentential subject. The unification of morphology and syntax, that we adopt from Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press) leads however to the conclusion that the verb inflection has exactly the same status as a pronominal subject, in particular the clitic subject in (5). Thus, as we anticipated above, we take the verb inflection to be categorizable as D. What is more, we assume that it is inserted in a D position within a morphological structure which exactly reproduces the syntactic structure of the sentence.

Concretely, for a verb like the one in (2), we propose the analysis in (8a), where the verbal root *corr-*, corresponding to the predicative content of the verb, is generated in I whilst the inflection occupies the D position. Crucially the structure in (8a) is to be understood as word-internal, whilst a structure like (7), which most directly compares with it, is to be understood as syntactic in the conventional sense of the term. The two combine as indicated in (8b). In essence, the verb in the sentential I position takes a DP subject to its right; in turn the verb in the sentential I position has a structure that strictly parallels that of the sentence, with the verb root in I and its inflection in the D position to its right. Note that in keeping with traditional phrase structure notation, we indicate projections of syntactic categories as XP while for morphological categories we employ the simple X label. However it should be clear that this is just a notational convention that we maintain for readability's sake. In minimalist terms, in particular, no such devices as bar levels (or XP levels) have any substantive content; the label of a projection is the same, i.e. I, D etc, as one of its constituents. Once this is taken into account, then (8a) and (7) are clearly identical.





The present proposal concerning the relation of morphology and syntax has an important point of similarity with the Distributed Morphology model of Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), namely the presence of a syntactic-like hierarchical structure within the morphological component. This property of Distributed Morphology holds of the present system as well; but in other respects the two models differ. First, Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994) distinguish two sets of categories for morphology and syntax, forcing the two components to be separate in turn. On the contrary, in the present model there is a unique set of categories and structures and therefore a completely integrated morphosyntactic component. We shall devote this article to providing empirical evidence in favor of this conclusion, as it concerns the internal structure of the verb and of the sentence. At the same time it seems to us that it gives rise to a simpler grammar than the one envisaged by Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994). Indeed to the extent that their morphological and syntactic components largely overlap, there is considerable redundancy between the two, which is absent from our theory.

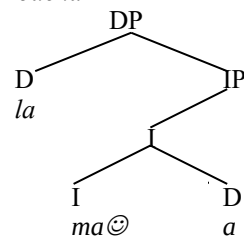
The second important difference is that in Distributed Morphology there is Late Insertion, in other words the insertion of lexical items applies at the end of the morphosyntactic derivation; Late Insertion is furthermore governed by the Underspecification principle, according to which a lexical element can be inserted under a terminal node only if its features are a subset of the features of the terminal node itself. This means that different lexical items are in principle available for insertion under the same node; therefore the element that is actually inserted is the most highly specified one, on the basis of a conditions akin to Kiparsky's (1973) Elsewhere. For cases in which this condition is apparently violated, Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994) posit a rule specific to the morphological component, namely Impoverishment, which deletes features from a terminal node. In this respect Distributed Morphology has the same power as theories employing ranking of constraints, such as Optimality Theory.

Our model is based instead on the minimalist idea that linguistic structures are projected from lexical material, thus excluding the existence of a morphosyntactic structure independent of the lexical items that it will eventually host, and a fortiori the existence of readjustment rules such as Impoverishment. It seems to us that such a model is once again more restrictive in that it does not have the power of extrinsic ordering provided by constraint ranking in Optimality Theory and by readjustment rules in Distributed Morphology. We argue elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia 2002b, in press) that our model is able to account for phenomena which are classically taken to argue for the alternative

models such as the *Spurious se* of Spanish, where the *se* clitic apparently replaces the specialized dative in combination with an accusative.

In introducing the syntactic representation in (8) for a sentence such as (2), we noted that the idea that the verb inflection has a pronominal status is adopted by much current literature for null subject languages, though without an explicit formalization. The treatment we propose for verb inflection however is meant to be universal and not bound to the null subject status of languages like Italian. Thus the *Modena* structure in (5), with the subject overtly lexicalized by the clitic *la*, is to be completed as in (9) with the same internal structure of the verb proposed above in (8) for standard Italian.

(9) *Modena*

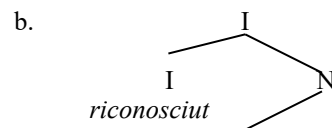


With this much background, we can now return to the N formalization for the object of the sentence, that we have proposed in (1) without further discussion. As is well-known (Burzio 1986, Kayne 1989), a language like Italian has at least one verbal form, i.e. the perfect participle, which does not agree with the subject, but rather with the object, as can be seen in examples of the type of (10):

- (10) *la ha-nno riconosciut-a*
 her have-3PL recognized-SGF
 ‘They have recognized her’

Taking the lead from Kayne (1993) we assume that the participle defines its own sentence, exactly as the finite verb does. If so, in the participial clause, the *-a* morpheme in (10) represents the sole lexicalization of the object, as is more clearly the case in the participial adjunct clause in (11a), of a type described by Belletti (1991). For a participial sentence of the type of (11a), as for the participial clause embedded under the auxiliary in (10), we suggest the structure in (11b), where the so-called agreement is the N argument of the verb, i.e. its object.

- (11) a. *riconosciut-a Maria corse via*
 recognized-SGF Mary ran away
 ‘Having been recognized, Mary ran away’

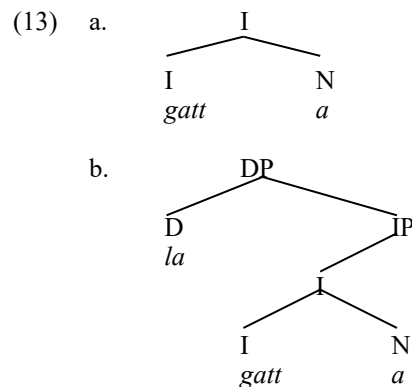


N
a

The current literature (Marantz 1997) has familiarized us with the idea that a lexical item, say *love*, can equally correspond to the basic predicative content of the sentence or the noun phrase; thus Verb or Noun are not primitive syntactic categories but rather the label that we stick to the result of embedding such a primitive predicate in a given functional structure. In an Italian Noun Phrase such as (12a), the base that expresses the predicative content of the Noun Phrase, *gatt-*, is followed by an inflection *-a* which has the same properties as the inflection of the perfect participle in (10). What is more the article *la* is recognizably the same element that appears as a so-called subject clitic in Northern Italian dialects, as is confirmed by the *Modena* example in (12b).

- (12) a. *la gatt-a*
 the cat-SGF
 b. *Modena*
 la gat-a
 the cat-SGF

Based on the parallelism with the perfect participle, we suggest that the structure corresponding to the Noun in (12a), i.e. *gatta*, is as in (13a), where the nominal root is in an I position, whilst the inflection that follows it is in N. When the Noun is inserted in the Noun Phrase, the structure is as in (13b), strictly comparable to the *Modena* sentence in (9). Indeed the Noun is inserted in the I position of the Noun Phrase, while the definite determiner precedes it in D.



Let us then return to the nature of N. Our idea is that the Noun is characterized as such by the fact that the predicative head has inflectional properties of the N type. It is essentially the observation that there is morphological coincidence between object agreement, as seen in the perfect participle, and the inflection of the Noun that brings us to identify the ‘internal argument’ property with the ‘Noun’ property, as in (1). This conclusion is strengthened for instance by the fact that where so-called nominative and

accusative morphology are distinguished on Romance clitics, the latter systematically coincides with the presence of nominal class (gender) features absent on the former (Manzini and Savoia in press). In the same way the identification of the EPP property with the D(efiniteness) property amounts to the conjecture that D is the property that in many languages (though not in all) obligatorily closes off the I/C domain of the Noun Phrase and of the sentence alike.

We conclude this introduction to the main concepts presupposed by the empirical discussion to follow, recalling that according to Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press) the internal structure of clitics and of Noun Phrases is articulated not only in terms of the categories D and N, which have been identified with categories present in the sentence as well, but also in terms of categories such as R, Q, P, Loc. In fact, we assume that the whole sequence of nominal positions is represented between the D and N positions in each verbal domain. In other words, the hypothesis in (4) is to be refined as in (14). In (14) we give the nominal sequence for the highest verbal domain, while the dotted lines have to be understood as being filled by the same string. We refer the reader to Manzini and Savoia (2002b, in press, forthcoming) for further details on the string of nominal positions in the sentence.

(14) [D [R [Q [P [Loc [N [C... [I... [V

2. Empirical evidence

As outlined in section 1, the thesis that we intend to support empirically in this article is that the so called agreement inflection of the verb is categorized exactly as a subject clitic; what is more it bears a structural relation to the verb root which parallels that of a subject clitic (or any other subject) to the verb. The main evidence in favor of this proposal is provided in this section, while section 3 will return to some relevant consequences of the conclusions we have reached for the theory of agreement of Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) and hence for the theory of movement (chains) in general.

2.1 Morphological identity between clitics and nominal inflections of verbs

One argument in favor of the conclusion that the inflection of the verb has the same morphosyntactic status as subject clitics, and lexical subjects as well, is simply that in many languages there is morphological identity between so-called clitics and so-called inflections.

The first case in point concerns *t* inflections in the 2nd person singular of the verb, in dialects of Northern Italy where the same morphology characterizes the subject clitic as well, as illustrated in (15). In Lombard dialects such as *Strozza*, *Olivone*, *Pozzaglio* this morphology is found in the present, past imperfective, and conditional, while in a dialect of the Romagna such as Forlì the relevant morphology is restricted to the imperfective past. In the examples in (15) and throughout this paper, for morphologically complex forms of the verb we shall indicate only the segmentation relative to the agreement morphology; we refer to Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) for a treatment of other tense, mood and aspect inflections compatible with the present framework.

(15) *Strozza Valle Imagna* (Lombardy)

te ʒmaɔdɕ-et
you eat -2SG
te maɔʒdɕa-et
you ate -2SG
te maɔdɕeʒres-et
you would.eat -2SG

Pozzaglio (Lombardy)

t ʒdʒrm-t
you sleep-2SG
t durʒmiv-t
you slept -2SG

Olivone (Grisons)

tu ʒlɐv -at
you wash-2SG
tu laʒvev -at
you washed-2SG
tu lavaʒris -at
you would.wash-2SG

Forlì (Romagna)

t durʒmif-ta
you slept -2SG

The *t* inflection for the 2nd person singular is on the other hand attested also for null subject languages, such as the Sicilian dialects in (16). The *Camporeale* example shows that the *t* morphology is present in these languages for 2nd person object clitics.

(16) *Milena* (Sicily)

pur'tava-to
brought-2SG
pur'tasse -to
would.bring-2SG

Camporeale (Sicily)

t ɲ lavava -tɲ
you washed-2SG
'you washed yourself'

Modica (Sicily)

kunʒtau-tu

told -2SG
 kunʒ<tassu -tu
 would.tell-2SG

Much the same as we saw for the *t* morphology of 2nd person singular, holds for the *v* morphology of 2nd person plural, as exemplified in (17) both for Northern Italian dialects with subject clitics, like *Olivone*, *Strozza*, *Forlì*, and for null subject Southern Italian dialects. In each case we have provided comparisons with the 2nd person plural object clitic. Note that by a straightforward phonological process word-final *v* surface as *f* in the *Olivone* and *Strozza* dialects.

(17) *Olivone*

- a. a laʒ<vev -uf
 CLS washed-2PL
 a lavaʒ<ris -uf
 CLS would.wash-2PL
- b. u v al 'da
 he you it gives
 'He gives it to you'

Strozza Valle Imagna

- a. maʃ<dʒ-if
 eat -2PL
 maʃ<dʒa-ef
 ate -2PL
 maʃdʒeʒ<res-ef
 would.eat -2PL
- b. ʃl ve l ʒ<da
 he you it gives
 'He gives it to you'

Forlì

- a. a vdiʒ<rʃ④ -uv
 CLS would.see-2PL
- b. a v la'vi:
 CLS you wash.2PL
 'You wash yourselves'

Camerota (Campania)

- a. aʒ<via-vi
 had -2PL
- b. vi ʒ<viʃu
 you see.1SG
 'I see you'

Putignano (Apulia)

- a. durʒ<mivʒ-vʒ
slept -2PL
durʒ<mistʒ-vʒ
slept -2PL
maʃ<dʒi-bbʒ
ate -2PL
- b. vʒ ʒvʒdʒnʒ
you see.3PL
'They see you'

Melissano (Apulia)

- a. ʎta llu viʒ<ti -bbʒ
is him saw-2PL
'You(pl) were seeing him'
- b. bbʒʒ iti skarʒ<fati
you have.2PL warmed
'You have warmed yourselves up'

Camporeale

- a. vʒʒ laʒ<vava -vʒʒ
you washed-2PL
'You washed/were washing yourselves'
- vʒʒ laʒ<vaʎtʒʒ-vʒʒ
you washed-2PL
'You washed yourselves'

Modica

- a. kunʒ<tau-bu
told -2PL
kunʒ<tassi -bu
would.tell-2PL
v aʒ<vjeu -bu laʒ<vatu
you had -2PL washed
'You had washed yourselves'

In (18) we have reproduced some examples illustrating the lexicalization of the *n* morphology for the 1st person plural, in dialects of the Salento which also have a *n* clitic for the 1st person plural object.

(18) *Giurdignano (Apulia)*

- a. maʃ<dʒau-nʒ
ate-1PL
- b. nʒ llaʒ<vamu
us wash.1PL
'We wash ourselves'

Melissano

- a. ♦ta lu viʒ<tia-n
 is him saw -1PL
 ‘We were seeing him’
 b. n pitt^hiʒ<namu
 us comb.1PL
 ‘We comb ourselves’

As for the 1st person singular, a relevant piece of data is represented by the *i* inflection in dialects of the Friuli (cf. Benincà and Vanelli 1975) and in Rhaeto-Romance varieties such as *La Pli*. In both of the examples in (19), it can be seen that this *i* inflection coincides with the subject clitic form.

(19) *S.Giorgio della Richinvelda* (Friuli)

- i mi ʒ<lav -i
 I me wash-1SG
 ‘I wash myself’

La Pli de Mareo (Alto Adige)

- i 'dorm-i
 I sleep -1SG

Finally, clear cases of coincidence of the inflection of the verb with nominal morphology are to be found in the 3rd person plural. In particular in the dialect of *Airole* in (20) the *n* element forms both the 3rd person plural of monosyllabic verbs such as *sun* ‘they are’, *an* ‘they have’ and the plural of the subject clitic which in this language is *in*. The same type of phenomenon is known for Old Italian where we find *ellino* (cf. Rohlfs 1968 [1949]) or *eglino* clearly formed from the *egli* ‘he’ pronoun of 3rd person singular and the *-no* ending. The latter still is the inflection of the verb in the 3rd person plural in standard Italian, cf. *dormo-no* ‘they sleep’ etc.

(20) *Airole* (Liguria)

- a. iʒ su-ʒ veʒ<©y/ veʒ<©ye
 they be-3PL come/come-PLF
 ‘They have come’
 b. iʒ l a -ʒ t♠aʒ<mau
 they him have-3PL called
 ‘They have called him’

The coincidence between the plural morphology of the pronoun and the 3rd person plural inflection of the verb suggests that the *n* form is best categorized as a pure plural. This conclusion is further strengthened by a dialect such as *Casaccia* where *n* characterizes the (3rd person) plural of all verbs, as well as the plural of nominal constituents of the feminine class. In (21) in particular we illustrate the occurrence of the *n* ending on the definite article, on the (morphologically identical) object clitic as well as on the verb. It will be noted that in (a) the *n* ending does not appear on the noun; similarly comparison

between (a) and (b) shows that the *n* ending characterizes the object clitic but not the subject one. These distributional phenomena are considered by Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming).

(21) *Casaccia* (Grisons)

- a. l -a_n <dona
the-PLF woman
'the women'
- b. a l -a_n <ve
CLS them-PLF see
'I see them(f)'
- c. i 'd_n m-a_n
they.M sleep-3PL
'They sleep'
- d. la 'd_n m-a_n
she sleep -3PL
'They(f) sleep'

In the dialect of *Soazza* in (22) the *n* morphology within the noun phrase appears on the head noun, while the article lexicalizes just the feminine nominal class. In (23c) the same morphology is seen on the enclitic object. The data in (23a)-(23b) on the other hand indicate that this morphology appears on the verb as well; but what is most interesting is that it combines with the 3rd person plural verb in the presence of a feminine subject but not in the presence of a masculine one. Thus both within the noun phrase and within the sentence the *n* morphology is associated with the feminine nominal class. The example in (23d) highlights the fact that the *n* morphology of the verb can be interpreted also as pluralizing the feminine direct object, when it is a proclitic. In other words, the inflection of the finite verb behaves in this respect like the inflection of the participle, exemplified in (23e). We shall return to the *Soazza* dialect in section 2.3.

(22) *Soazza* (Grisons)

- la ka'b_n l -a_n
the chair-PFL

(23) *Soazza*

- a. i <be:f
they.M drink
'They(m) drink'
- b. la <bev -a_n
she drink-PLF
'They(f) drink'
- c. 'tama-l -a_n
call -she-PLF
'Call them(f)!'
- d. la <tam-i -a_n
her call -1SG-PLF
'I call them(f)'

e. tu m^ol a -i -^o por^otad-^o
 you me her have-2SG-PLF brought-PLF
 ‘You have brought them(f) to me’

Apart from the cases in (20)-(23) in which the *n* morphology for plural can be seen both on the noun and on the verb, there are many cases in which it can be seen on the verb. In fact this is the normal lexicalization for the 3rd person plural inflection in Romance languages, as can be seen also from the wide geographical spread of the dialects in (24).

(24) *Scuol* (Grisons)
 i s ^olav -a^o
 they self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Pinzano (Friuli)
 a ^oi 'lav -i^o
 CIS self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Castiglione d’Adda (Lombardy)
 i se ^olav -u^o
 they self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Briga Novarese (Piedmont)
 i z 'lav -^o
 they self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Modena
 i ^o ^ol^ov -en
 they self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Sartè (Corsica)
 si ^ola^o-ani
 self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Avigliano Umbro (Umbria)
^obe -ono
 drink-3PL

beʒe -ano
 drank-3PL

Castelsardo (Sardinia)
 si ʒlav -ani
 self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

Conflenti (Calabria)
 sʷ ʒlav -anu
 self wash-3PL
 ‘They wash themselves’

2.2 Mesoclis in the imperative

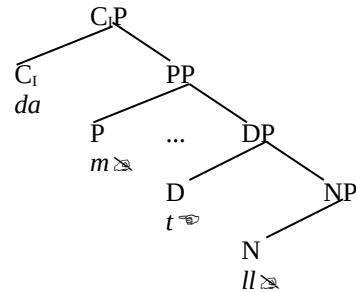
Under a ‘syntactic’ view of clitics and a ‘morphological’ view of inflections, the clitics should always be external to the inflection of the verb. However Romance dialects provide evidence that clitics do appear between the verb stem and its inflection. In particular mesoclis of the object clitic is found in the plural forms of the imperative, notably in a set of dialects of the Lucania-Calabria border (the so-called Lausberg area). For example in the dialect of *Albidona*, mesoclis characterizes both plural forms of the imperative, i.e. 1st person as in (25a) and 2nd person, as in (25b)-(25d). In these forms, the dative clitic as in (25a)-(25b), P clitics, i.e. 1st and 2nd person ones as in (25c), and the *se* clitic (which is among other things the reflexive) as in (25d), appear between the verb stem and the inflection. The accusative clitic remains excluded from the mesoclis position, appearing after the verb inflection.

- (25) *Albidona* (Calabria)
- a. pʰɔrta-ʔ -‘mu-ll
 bring-him-1PL-it
 ‘Let us bring it to him’
 - b. da -ʔʔ-ʒ<tʰ -ll
 give-him -2PL-it
 ‘Give(pl) it to him’
 - c. da -m-ʒ<tʰ -ll
 give-me-2PL-it
 ‘Give(pl) it to me’
 - d. ʃav-s-ʒ<tʰ -ll
 wash-yourself-2PL-it
 ‘Wash it (for yourselves)’

Following much literature on the subject, in particular Rivero (1994) we assume that the imperative appears in a high position in the sentence, i.e. within the C field, associated with the modal properties of the verb. We propose that in the examples in (25) the verb stem occupies the relevant position within

the C field, while the inflection is stranded in a lower position. Given that the inflection is ordinarily inserted in D within the verb structure, it is natural to assume that the position where it is stranded is a sentential D position. If we assume that clitics in Romance dialects are ordinarily inserted in the nominal positions above I or higher, then in an example like (25c) N of the I domain is the position of the accusative clitic *l*, as illustrated in (26). In turn the stranded verb inflection can have exactly the same position as the subject clitic in Northern Italian dialects, namely D of the I domain itself. This means that the C field is articulated in at least two C positions (cf. Rizzi 1997). We keep calling C the lower position, while the higher one will be labelled C_i to suggest that its properties relate to modality, understood as some indefiniteness/ quantificational property. The verb stem will then appear in the higher C_i position, while the intermediate $m\propto$ clitic will appear in the nominal string projected above the C position, as illustrated in (26):

(26) *Albidona*



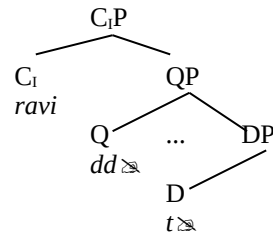
All of the examples in (25) refer to plural imperative forms in combination with clitic clusters. When a single clitic of the P type, Q type etc. appears without the accusative, we may expect that it is in mesocclisis as well. In reality dialects of the *Albidona* type generally display simple enclisis, as illustrated in (27c) for *Senise*, though mesocclisis of the clitic as in (27a) and doubling of the clitic in mesocclisis and enclisis as in (27b) can also surface.

(27) *Senise* (Lucania)

- a. ra'vi ʔdd ʔ ʔ tutt
give-him-2PL everything
'Give him everything'
- b. ra -ʔmi ʔt -m kwist
give-me-2PL-me this
'Give me this'
- ┌ ʔ pur'tæ-t -d ʔkwist
bring -2PL -him this
'Bring him this'

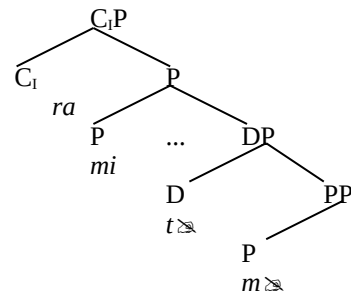
The structure of (27a) will follow the same lines as that postulated in (26); having proposed that the verb stem is inserted in the high C_i position, we take it that the clitic is in the C domain, while the verb inflection lexicalizes D of the I domain, as in (28).

(28) *Senise*



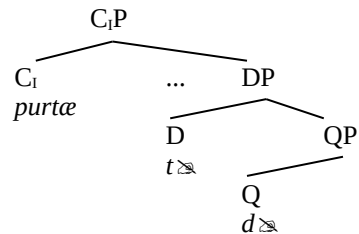
In turn examples of doubling of the clitic as in (27b) are some of the best evidence for the recursion of nominal projection domains that characterizes the present model. These can straightforwardly be assigned a structure like (29) in which the two copies of the clitic appear in the appropriate position of two different clitic strings.

(29) *Senise*



The analysis in (29) provides an independent argument for assigning to simple enclisis a structure like (30), which maintains the split between the position of the verb stem and the verb inflection and lexicalizes the clitic in the I domain.

(30) *Senise*



As is well-known from the literature (in particular Zanuttini (1997) on Italian dialects), 2nd person singular imperatives in general do not combine with the negation; thus the negative form of the imperative involves a different verbal mood. In the *Albidona* dialect in (31) the form employed is the infinitive, as it is

in standard Italian; in the absence of an infinitival ending, the infinitive is still recognizable from the stress pattern.

(31) *Albidona*

- a. ʒpʰrtʰ ʒkwʰssʰ
 bring this
 ‘Bring this’
 b. ʒ ⊗ ⊗ u pʰrʰta
 not him it bring
 ‘Don’t bring it to him’

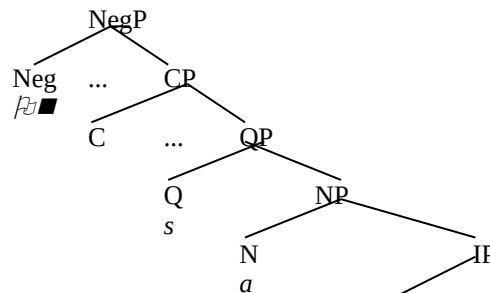
The classical explanation for patterns of the type in (31) is based on Minimality (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1995), i.e. on the idea that movement of the verb to a high C position is blocked by the intervening Neg operator (Rivero 1994, Roberts 1994). In representational, rather than derivational terms, we could say that the verb must be within the scope of the negation and not outside it, if their combination is to be interpretable. In fact mesocclisis, depending on the high position of the verb stem in C_I does not cooccur with negation. The presence of the negation triggers the positioning of clitics between the negation itself and the verb, as in (32):

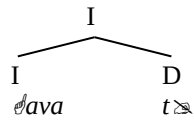
(32) *Albidona*

- ✓ ʒ ʒ ʒ ⊗ ⊗ u ʒva:-tʰ
 not him it give-2PL
 ‘Don’t give(pl) it to him’
 b. ʒn s a ʒva:-tʰ
 not self it wash -2PL
 ‘Don’t wash it (for yourselves)’

Following an idea first suggested by Zanuttini (1997), we assume that in examples like (32) it is the negation itself that, by being inserted in a high modal domain, satisfies the modality requirements of an imperative sentence. The verb will then appear in the normal position in which inflected verbs appear in declarative sentences, i.e. I. In such a structure clitics appear in the string of nominal projections immediately above I, leading to proclisis, as in (33). The Neg label in (33) is used here in a purely descriptive way; for a treatment of negation within the present framework, see Manzini and Savoia (2002c).

(33) *Albidona*





It is worth noting that the explanation just put forth, namely that Neg itself satisfies the requirement for the lexicalization of modal properties, effectively voids the explanation based on minimality. Quite simply the verb is in I to satisfy the lexicalization of eventive/ inflectional properties and, putting it in derivational terms, is not required at any point to move to C_I. The account of the suppletion pattern for the 2nd person singular in terms of Minimality is itself open to question. Thus in many Italian dialects, including standard Italian, there is no reason to believe that the infinitive is any lower than the imperative, given that clitics are in enclisis; indeed Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) conclude that the position of insertion of the infinitive is also C_I. However the infinitive can normally be negated and in that case clitics still follow it, in its imperative use as well. Therefore the lexicalization of the negative imperative cannot be seen in terms of the incompatibility of the negation with a high position of the verb, i.e. in terms of minimality. On the contrary, in the view of Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) the explanation is to be sought in the fact that the negation concurs with the infinitive to the lexicalization of the relevant interpretation.

The most notable question left open by the analysis that precedes concerns the distribution of the clitics in the different domains available to them. One first important point is that only clitics of the Loc, P, Q type appear in mesoclitisis; so-called accusative clitics, i.e. N clitics in the present approach, appear in enclisis in any case. This conclusion is strengthened by the data concerning Albanian dialects presented by Manzini and Savoia (1999), since exactly the same generalization holds for the latter as well. In present terms this means that N clitics always appear within the nominal projections of I, while the other clitics can equally well appear within the nominal projections of C.

The split between N clitics on the one hand and P, Loc, Q clitics on the other appears to be a generalized version of the so-called person split, whereby 3rd person pronouns pattern differently from 1st and 2nd person ones. Manzini and Savoia (1998, 2002b, in press) interpret this split as the reflex of different conditions attaching to elements anchored only to the discourse, like 1st and 2nd person, and elements, like the so-called 3rd person, whose reference is anchored at the event. In this sense we expect that Loc clitics and Q clitics could pattern with P clitics; for discourse-anchored interpretations of *si* one need only consider the semantics of so-called arbitrary *si*, as described by Chierchia (1995).

Given this much background, we propose that the proper analysis of the distribution observed is that N clitics, or the class of clitics that are necessarily anchored at the event, can only appear in the lower I domain, bound to the fixing of the temporal reference of the verb. In the same perspective we can view the positioning of the verb inflection in D of the I domain as motivated by the obligatory anchoring of the EPP argument to the event. On the other hand clitics whose reference is directly anchored to the discourse can also appear in the higher C field, and in particular in the C domain bound to modal specifications. Furthermore it is only clitic clusters with an accusative

like the present one however, the relevant restriction can be derived rather than just stated. Indeed, as we saw in (30), we have reasons for assuming that the imperative involves the high C_1 position. whilst no other finite form of the verbs does. Mesoclis is can be related to this independent difference between the imperative and other finite verb forms.

Similarly the morphological model can only account by stipulation for the simple alternation between positive and negative imperatives, since there is no principled reason why the morphologically defined infixation rule should be sensitive to the presence of a syntactic operator like the negation. To be more precise, if the morphological rule makes reference to enclisis, then the fact that infixation cannot affect ordinary finite verbs or negated imperatives will effectively be derived by the syntactic rules that determine proclisis in these cases. However there is no reason why a morphological rule that has the power of infixing (part of) an enclitic group shouldn't have the power of infixing (part of) a proclitic group.

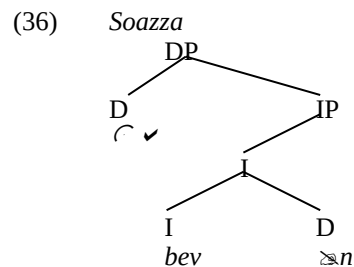
Furthermore there is no morphology-internal reason why the agreement inflection of the verb should be splittable from the stem, to the exclusion of temporal, modal and aspectual inflections. In the present model, the latter do not give rise to mesoclis in that, there is no independently represented position in the sentence structure that could host the modal/aspectual inflection, in the way in which D, independently postulated for subject clitics, hosts the agreement inflection.

Another line of argument can be developed starting with the observation that the split between clitics always has 1st and 2nd person clitics infixed and 3 person ones as enclitics. The dissociation between 1st/2nd and 3rd is independently known in the syntax (where it underlies split ergativity and more) and understandable in interpretive terms as a dissociation between discourse- and event- anchored arguments. But in the morphology such a split can only be stipulated. We also note that Halle and Marantz (1994) construct their model so as to exclude the possibility that a clitic cluster should be able to split, with one clitic appearing in mesoclis and the other one in enclisis. Of course the data presented here trivially falsify their prediction. We should note in this regard that the present theory is flexible enough to account for Spanish (36) where clitics do not split. One possibility is simply that in Caribbean Spanish there is no requirement on the N (accusative) clitic to anchor the clitic string in the lower I domain

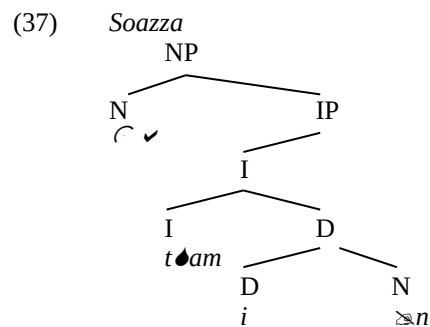
2.3 N clitics and inflections.

A further argument that can be put forward in favor of the present unification of syntax and morphology can be drawn from the distribution of plural *n* morphemes in languages such as those considered at the end of section 2.1, in particular *Soazza* in (22)-(23). We shall disregard here the distribution of *n* within the Noun Phrase (see Manzini and Savoia forthcoming for a treatment). Within the sentence the main facts, as already noticed by Sganzini (1933), are that the plurality of the feminine subject or object proclitic is lexicalized not on the clitic itself but on the verb. •

The crucial data are therefore those reported in (23b) for the feminine subject clitic and in (23d) for the feminine object clitic. For (23b), the discussion that precedes suggests a straightforward analysis in which the subject clitic is generated in D of the sentence, while the $\approx n$ inflection appears in D of the verbal constituent as in (36). The plurality properties, overtly lexicalized as the verb inflection in D of the verbal constituent, combine with the feminine nominal class properties lexicalized by the subject clitic to provide the feminine plural denotation for the external argument of the predicate. In more traditional terms one would say that the two D positions ‘agree’; we shall return in section 3 to the differences between the notion of agreement implied by the present model and the more traditional one.



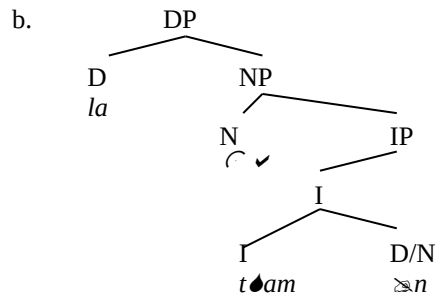
The advantages of the present model are especially clear when we consider the feminine object clitic as in (23d). In the example we have chosen, it is clear that the verb root is followed by a subject inflection for the 1st person singular. We obviously associate it with the D position immediately to the right of I. Thus the $\approx n$ inflection is not a candidate for the D position; indeed its denotation is not referred to the subject but rather to the object argument. The present model allows us to represent this property of $\approx n$ by associating it to the N position embedded in the verbal constituent to the right of the root in I and of the subject inflection in D. Remember that for the sake of readability we adopt the convention of notating with XP only syntactic projection; in reality the syntactic projections have exactly the same name as the heads, thus making the difference between morphological and syntactic constituency in (37) purely notational.



The treatment in (36)-(37) can also explain the multiple ambiguity of an example like (38a), where the æn inflection of the verb can be referred to the feminine subject clitic, to the feminine object clitic or to both at once. In particular we can impute the ambiguity between the subject and object reading to the existence of two possible structures, summarized in (38b). In one structure $-\text{æn}$ is inserted in D of the verbal constituent and hence referred to the subject, while the other possibility is to insert æn in the N position where it is referred to the object. The question is what structure corresponds to the third interpretation with both object and subject pluralized. We take it that in this case it is N that is lexicalized by æn morphology, which in this position excludes the lexicalization of D by a morpheme with the same denotational properties by a phenomenon studied in detail in Manzini and Savoia (in press) for the clitic string.

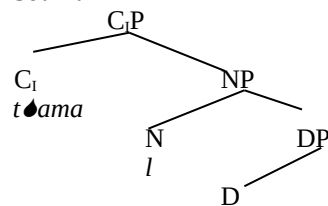
(38) *Soazza*

- a. *la la æt●am-æn*
 she her call -PLF
 ‘She calls them/ They call her/They call them’



With this much background we can consider the Soazza 2nd person singular imperative in (23c), where the verb stem is followed by the definiteness morpheme *l* which forms 3rd person clitics in most Romance dialects and then by the æn morpheme again. One possibility would be to assume that in this case the object clitic is seen in the fully inflected $l\text{æn}$ form for feminine plural. However it is not obvious why this clitic would have such a restricted distribution. Therefore we propose, along the lines suggested in section 2.2, that some sort of mesocleft of the clitic is involved, as in (39). In (39) the verb stem appears in the high C_1 position where it is followed by the *l* clitic in the N position of the C domain, while æn lexicalizes the D position of the I domain.

(39) *Soazza*



3. Chain interpretations involving two differently lexicalized ‘copies’

On the basis of the discussion that precedes we conclude that the distinction between ‘clitic’ and ‘inflections’ in Romance languages lacks a compelling empirical basis. The next question to ask is whether nominal inflections of the verb are best analyzed as ‘clitics’, i.e. pronominal arguments, as effectively implied by the discussion that precedes; or whether on the contrary clitics are to be treated as inflectional.

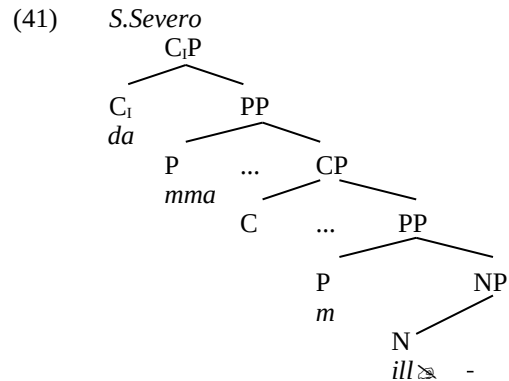
In fact, one of the classic theories of cliticization, Sportiche’s (1996) proposes that clitics correspond in all cases to inflectional heads. The immediate advantage of such a theory, in Sportiche’s (1996) terms is that it allows for a straightforward account of clitic doubling, in that the full NP is conceived as the Spec of the clitic inflectional head. Translating this account in Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) terminology, the clitic would be the lexicalization of uninterpretable features acting as probes for the corresponding interpretable features of the full NP with which they agree. There is however a drawback to this theory, which in our view crucially argues against it. In cases in which the pronominal clitic is the only element to lexicalize a given argument, it is evident that its conception as inflectional (non-interpretable) material leads to the postulation of an empty pronominal element, i.e. a *pro*, which is itself interpretable. However no strong empirical evidence supports the existence of *pro*; on the contrary alternative accounts are available for all environments in which *pro* has been postulated, including not only clitic ones, but also null subject ones, analyzed by us as in section 2. If so, the argument against *pro* is simply that it represents a considerable enrichment of the grammar. Admitting *pro*, in fact amounts to admitting that the lexicon may contain elements that lack of one interface representation (the PF one), while being interpretable at the other interface. If one such element exists, then there is no reason why the lexicon should not consist of them entirely (or even in a substantial subset of cases), which is evidently not true.

On the basis of such considerations we conclude that clitics and inflections of the verb alike are interpretable. The ultimate consequence of this way of reasoning is that an inflection and a subject, or a subject clitic and a lexical subject, and so on, being all argumental in nature, can only share the same argumental slot of the verb in so far as they form a chain. If so, then the grammar contains a great number of chains where the different points are independently lexicalized. Thus the chain interpretation cannot be subsumed by movement, as implied by the chomskyan tradition, nor by the base generation of chains, as is the case for representational models such as Brody’s 1997.

The present approach makes some empirical predictions that are worth checking. Since clitics can normally be doubled by inflections, we expect that clitics can be doubled by other clitics. Indeed one example of this was already provided by the *Senise* data analyzed in (31b). The doubling of object clitics can also be found in simple enclisis, i.e. independently of the mesoclisism phenomenon, as in (40).

- (40) *S. Severo* (Apulia)
- a. *da -tt●a -ʒ<t● -ill*
 give-there-there-it
 ‘Give it to him’
- b. *da -mma-ʒ<m -ill*
 give-me -me-it
 ‘Give it to me’

The present theory can easily associate a structure with examples of the type in (40), since directly below the *da* verbal stem in C_1 there are at least two clitic domains in which to insert the two copies of the locative or P clitic, as illustrated for the P clitic in (41), whereas the N clitic inserts in the lower I domain. Interestingly, the phenomenon in (40) seems to be subject to much the same restrictions as the mesoclitisis phenomena in section 2.2, since it is always the Loc and P clitics that double, i.e. appear in two different domains, while the accusative does not.



The doubling of the subject clitic to the right and to left of the interrogative verb in C is illustrated by examples such as (42), where we were careful to reproduce only data where the right- and left-hand clitics are clearly copies (at least partial copies) of one another. Thus in the 2nd person the *t/d* morpheme is doubled, as is the *a/u* morpheme or the *l/ə/●* one in the 3rd person. It will be noted that in the example from the Tuscan dialect of *Gorfigliano* the distribution of the feminine and plural morphology is reminiscent of that illustrated for *Soazza* or *Casaccia*, in the sense that the clitic subjects present feminine endings while the plural is lexicalized only on the verb.

- (42) *Castellazzo Bormida* (Piedmont)
- a. ▶ → 'd ▶ wɛm- ▶ → ?
 she sleep -she
- b. ▶ → 'd ▶ wɛm
 she sleep

Oviglio (Piedmont)

- a. la 'dr̥m-la?
she sleep -she
b. la 'dr̥:m-m-
she sleep -3SG

S.Bartolomeo Pesio (Piedmont)

- a. et 'd̥rm -is -t̥?
you sleep-2SG-you
u 'd̥rm-lu?
he sleep-he
a 'd̥rm-la?
she sleep -she
b. et 'd̥rm-i
you sleep-2SG
u 'd̥:rm
he sleep
a 'd̥:rm
she sleep

Montaldo (Piedmont)

- a. yt 'dr̥m-ty?
you sleep-you
u 'dr̥m-lu?
he sleep-he
a 'dr̥m-l-?
she sleep -she
b. yt 'd̥m-i
you sleep-2SG
u 'd̥m-
he sleep -3SG
a 'd̥m-
she sleep -3SG

Margarita (Piedmont)

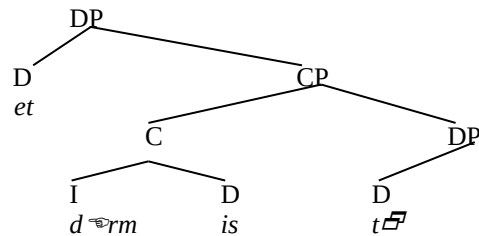
- a. t̥ ʒma(d̥)-t̥?
you eat -you
i ʒma(d̥)-i?
they eat -they
b. t̥ 'd̥rm-i
you sleep -2SG
i 'd̥rm-u
they sleep -3PL

Gorfigliano (Tuscany)

- a. $l_{\text{she}} \text{ } \varnothing\text{or}'m\text{-}\varnothing i\text{ } \textcircled{o}?$
 she sleep -she
 $l_{\text{she}} \text{ } \varnothing\text{orm-}\varnothing n \text{ } -\varnothing i\text{ } \textcircled{o}?$
 she sleep-3PL-she
 'Do they sleep?'
- b. $l_{\text{she}} \text{ } '\varnothing\text{orm-a}$
 she sleep-3SG
 $l_{\text{she}} \text{ } '\varnothing\text{orm-}\varnothing no$
 she sleep-3PL
 'They sleep'

In (43) we provide the structural representation of one of this examples chosen because it presents both a preverbal and a postverbal subject clitic in addition to a clearly specialized verb inflection, internal to the verbal constituent in C:

(43) *S. Bartolomeo Pesio*



Perhaps surprisingly, given the obvious presence of this pattern in natural languages, for instance in the Albanian imperatives studied by Manzini and Savoia (1999), current theories have trouble in predicting them. Indeed the basic model for deriving doubling is the inflection model of cliticization referred to above (Sportiche 1996). But this does not leave any room for more than one clitic head. Such a model is then at a loss, at least in the immediate, in predicting the data reviewed here. Needless to say, a lexical subject could double the double-copy clitics in (42), leading to the at least three copies case of the type in (44), that head-Spec models do not take into account.

(44) *Castellazzo Bormida*

- $\text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } 'd \text{ } \varnothing\text{orm-} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } tu \text{ } sur\text{-}\varnothing l \text{ } \rightarrow ?$
 she sleep -she your sister
 'Does your sister sleep?'

The data in this section, as well as those considered already in section 2.3 pose the question as to the exact nature of agreement in the present system. In a classical transformational model such as the minimalist one, agreement is seen as the result of a derivational process of feature checking. However the approach taken here to verbal inflection undermines the postulate of minimalist theory that there are non-interpretable features. Indeed in our reconstruction of the model there are only categorial properties, systematically associated with an

interpretation at the interface. Therefore agreement as feature checking, i.e. matching of uninterpretable and interpretable feature sets, is excluded.

On the other hand, there is another classical way of approaching agreement which is fully compatible with our proposals. Thus agreement between an anaphora and its antecedent is simply seen in generative theory as a precondition for the coreferential interpretation to apply; in other words agreement or the lack thereof is seen as a constraint that syntax imposes on the range of possible interpretations at the interface. In present terms, this characterization of agreement holds throughout. To be more precise we have seen a number of cases in which agreement between, say, the verb and its subject cannot be characterized as the sharing of features by the verb and the (pro)noun; rather these two elements contribute different specifications for establishing the denotation of the argument at the interface. Thus in the *Soazza* dialect in section 2.3, the subject or object clitics contribute nominal class specifications while the verb contributes plurality. Strictly speaking then agreement reduces to the fact that elements with compatible properties can share the same reference and hence the same argumental slot.

References

- Belletti, Adriana (1990). *Generalized Verb Movement*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Benincà, Paola and Laura Vanelli (1975). Morfologia del verbo friulano: il presente indicativo. *Lingua e contesto* 1:1-62.
- Brody, Michael (1997). Towards perfect chains. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Handbook of Syntax*, Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Burzio, Luigi (1986). *Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Chierchia, Gennaro (1995). Impersonal Subjects. In Emmon Bach, Eloise Jelinek, Angelika Kratzer and Barbara H. Partee (eds.), *Quantification in natural languages*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 107-143.
- Chomsky, Noam (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, pp. 89-155.
- Chomsky, Noam (2001). Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, pp. 1-52
- Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle (1968). *Sound patterns of English*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz (1993). Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In Kenneth Hale and Samuel J. Keyser (eds.), *The view from Building 20*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, pp. 111-176.
- Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz (1994). Some Key Features of Distributed Morphology. In Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley and Tony Bures (eds.), *Papers on Phonology and Morphology*, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 21:275-288.
- Jakobson, Roman (1966). *Saggi di Linguistica Generale*. Milano: Feltrinelli.
- Kayne, Richard (1989). Facets of Romance past participle agreement. In Paola Benincà (ed.), *Dialect variation and the theory of grammar*, Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kayne Richard (1993). Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3-31.
- Kiparsky, Paul (1973). Elsewhere in Phonology. In Stephen Anderson and Paul Kiparsky (eds.), *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Wiston, pp. 93-107.

- Koopman, Hilda (1996). The Spec head configuration. Ms., UCLA.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (1998). Clitics and auxiliary choice in Italian dialects: Their relevance for the Person ergativity split. *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes*, 27:115-138.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (1999). The syntax of middle-reflexive and object clitics: a case of parametrization in arbëresh dialects. In Matteo Mandalà (ed.), *Studi in onore di Luigi Marlekaj*, Bari: Adriatica, pp. 283-328.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (2002a). Parameters of subject inflection in Italian dialects. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, Expletives and the EPP*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 157-199.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (2002b). Clitics: Lexicalization patterns of the so-called 3rd person dative. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 1: 117-155.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (2002c). Negative adverbs are neither Adv nor Neg. In Masako Hirotsami (ed.), *Proceedings of North East Linguistic Society* 32, GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, pp. 327-346.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (in press). Clitics: Cooccurrence and mutual exclusion patterns. In Adriana Belletti, Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *The structure of CP and IP*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Manzini, M. Rita and Leonardo M. Savoia (forthcoming). *Morfosintassi delle varietà italiane e romance*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Marantz, Alec (1997). No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon. Ms., MIT.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves (1996). *Langage et cognition: Introduction au programme minimaliste de la grammaire generative*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Rivero, Maria-Luisa (1994). Negation, imperatives and Wackernagel effects. *Rivista di Linguistica* 6: 39-66.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1982). *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1990). *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of grammar*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 281-337.
- Roberts, Ian (1994). Two Types of Head Movement in Romance. In Norbert Hornstein and David Lightfoot (eds.), *Verb Movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rohlf, Gerhard (1968[1949]). *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Sganzini, Silvio (1933). Di alcune forme verbali nella parlata di Mesocco. *L'Italia dialettale* 9:259-263
- Sportiche, Dominique (1996). Clitic constructions. In Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 213-276
- Starke, Michael (2000). *Move dissolves into Merge: A Theory of Locality*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Geneva.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella (1997). *Negation and clausal structure*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dipartimento di Linguistica
 Università di Firenze
 Piazza Brunelleschi 4
 50121 Firenze (Italy)

rmanzini@unifi.it
lsavoia@unifi.it