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Lexicalization of 3rd person object clitics: clitic enclisis and clitic drop¹

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The data considered in this article illustrate the subtle variation that typically surfaces when the empirical sample includes a sufficient number of related languages, which share a similar grammar and differ from one another in minimal morpholexical choices. In particular we consider the lexicalization of 3rd person object clitics in some South-Italian dialects, where they are normally realized with lexical verbs, but not with the auxiliary *to have*. These cases of overt clitic drop could in principle provide evidence in favour of abstractly represented but unpronounced features or categories corresponding to the clitic – which is the account implied by a number of recent morphological and syntactic approaches (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, Grimshaw 1997, 2001, Kayne 2006). In reality, we will argue that they are best treated as interpretations at the LF interface, licenced by the lexical material that is overtly realized.

The clitic drop phenomenon that we consider presents the same distribution as phenomena of enclisis in closely related dialects; in some dialects in fact, the two alternate according to person. We shall then account for enclisis first, through raising of the auxiliary to C, where the auxiliary precedes the clitic – which we take to be a fairly standard analysis (Kayne 1989). We argue that object clitic drop also depends on the raising of the auxiliary to C, i.e. in interpretive terms on the presence of a modal configuration, which licences the required object pronoun interpretation in connection with the intrinsic lexical properties of *to have*.

1. The data.

In some South-Italian (Calabro-Lucanian) dialects the 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized with *to have* as a perfect auxiliary and as a necessity modal, as initially observed by Lausberg (1939). A relevant example is the variety of *Senise*, as in (1b)². With a lexical verb, the 3rd person object clitic

¹ This work is part of the project co-financed by MIUR *Hierarchical structures and recursion in natural languages* (2005-2007). We thank our kind informants who have willingly and intelligently collaborated. The data presented in this work are taken from Manzini and Savoia (2005), Savoia (2006) to which the reader is referred for full(er) example sets.

² It should be noted that in general the dialects discussed here have a single auxiliary for the perfect, i.e. *to have*, independently of verbal class (cf. *Senise*, *Rotondella*, *Nocara* and *Albidona* in the data of Manzini and Savoia 2005). In any event, a language selecting *to be* with unaccusatives (like *Volturino* here) would not present the accusative clitic in combination with it.

occurs normally, as in (1a). Possessive *to have* is treated as a main verb maintaining the lexicalization of the clitic, as in (1c). In (1b) we also indicate that the presence of a negation clitic does not interfere with object clitic drop. Furthermore, 1st/2nd person pronouns are always inserted, as in (1d). Note that *Senise* has two types of accusative proclitics, a vowel series *u, a, i* which appears in front of consonant and an *l-* clitic which appears in front of vowel. In (1a) the unstressed initial vowel of ‘to bind’ (seen in the imperative in (1a’)) is elided in proclitic contexts, leaving the lexical verb with a consonantal initial – and hence with the vocalic clitic series. By contrast the *l* clitic appears in front of the verb *to have*, in the possessive context in (1c), because the initial vowel is stressed and not elided; as an alternative, a syllabic onset can be inserted in front of the initial stressed vowel, thus reproducing the conditions for the appearance of the vocalic clitic series, as in (1c’).

(1) *Senise* (Lucania)

- a. u/ a/ i ttækkə
 it.m/it.f/them I.bind’
 ‘I bind it/them’
- a’. attækkə -lə
 you.bind -it/them
 ‘Bind it/them!’
- b. (nunn) æddʒə camæ:tə
 (not) I.have called
 ‘I have (not) called him/her/them’
- c. l æddʒə
 it.m/it.f./them I.have
 ‘I have it/them’
- c’. u/a/i γæddʒə
 it.m/it.f./them I.have
 ‘I have it/ them’
- d. t æddʒə camæ:tə
 You I.have called
 ‘I have called you’

Some varieties that otherwise display the same distribution described for *Senise* in (1), differ from it in that the presence of the negation implies the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic,

in front of auxiliary and modal *to have* as well, as illustrated for *S. Marco Argentano* in (2b'). Note that the clitic is phonologically enclitic to the negation and takes the *l* form independently of the vocalic or consonantal initial of the following verb.

(2) *S.Marco Argentano* (Calabria)

- a. idɖu u/a/i cama
 he him/her/them he.calls
 ‘He calls him/her/them’
- a'. u llu/a/i cama
 not him/her/them he.calls
 ‘He does not call him/her/them’
- b. a bbistu/a/i
 he.has seen
 ‘S/he saw him/her/it/them’
- b'. u ll a bbistu/a/i
 not him/her/it/them he.has seen
 ‘S/he did not see him/her/it/them’
- c. m a bbistu
 me he.has seen
 ‘S/he saw me’

Rotondella in (3) exemplifies the alternation of two different bases of *to have*. A first base *a-* corresponds to non-insertion of the 3rd person object clitic, including both the accusative as in (3b) and the dative in (3c). The other base, *ε-*, occurs in the other contexts, for instance with a Person clitic, as in (3e), or with a lexical object, as in (3b'). The 3rd person object clitic is lexicalized in combination with a lexical verb, as in (3a-a'), and with *to have* as a possession verb in (3c). The presence of a negation has no effect on these lexicalizations. *Nocara* in (4), which otherwise patterns with *Rotondella*, differs from it in that the negation determines the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic, combined with the *ε-* basis of the *to have* auxiliary (and modal), as in (4b').

(3) *Rotondella* (Lucania)

- a. (nɔnn) u/a/i ppɛnnə
 not it.m/it.f/them I.hang
 ‘I (do not) hang it/them’

- a'. i ranə kwissə
to.him they.give this
'They give this to him'
- b. (ɔnn) addʒə vistə
not I.have seen
'I have (not) seen him/her/them'
- b'. ɛddʒə cama:tə a ffratə tujə
I.have called to brother your
'I called your brother'
- c. addʒə ratə kwistə
I.have given this
'I have given this to him'
- d. l addʒə
it I.have
'I have it'
- e. t ɛddʒə cama:tə
you I.have called
'I called you'

(4) *Nocara* (Calabria)

- a. u ttakkə
it I.bind
'I am binding it'
- a'. nɔ ru ttakkə
not it I.bind
'I am not binding it'
- b. a ccamətə
he.has called
'S/he called him/her/them'
- b'. nɔ ll ɛ ccamətə
not him/her/them he.has called
'S/he did not call him/her/them'
- c. (tʃə) l addʒə
(there) it I.have

‘I have it’

- d. m ε ccamɜtə
 me he.has called
 ‘S/he called me’

In some varieties the non-insertion of the 3rd person object clitic corresponds only to some persons of the *to have* paradigm. Thus in *Volturino*'s (5b) the 3rd person object clitic is dropped in the 2nd and 3rd person singular of the present perfect – but not in the other persons; the negation does not interfere with this process. In this language, the dative clitic is also dropped in the same contexts in which the accusative is, as in (5c).

(5) *Volturino* (Apulia)

- a. u/ a/ i jautsə
 it.m/it.f/them I.raise
 ‘I raise it/them’
- b. (nən) l ejə cama:tə
 (n) a cama:tə
 (n) a cama:tə
 (nən) l emə
 (nən) l etə
 (nən) l ennə cama:tə
 not him/her/them I.have called etc.
 ‘I have (not) called him/her/them’ etc.
- c. a dætə kwistə
 he.has given this
 ‘S/he gave this to him/her’
- d. m a cama:tə
 me he.has called
 ‘S/he called me’

In *Cersosimo* in (6) the lexicalization of the accusative clitic again depends on the person of the auxiliary *to have*. Thus the clitic is dropped in combination with the *a*- base of the auxiliary in the 3rd singular and 2nd plural, while in the other persons it is lexicalized in enclisis (on the *ε*-auxiliary). Person clitics are lexicalized in proclisis in all persons and the auxiliary *to have*

correspondingly presents the ε - base, as in (6e-e'); this lexicalization of the P clitic can combine with that of the accusative clitic in enclisis, yielding a split clitic cluster, as in (6e). Modal *to have* implies the lexicalization of the accusative clitic in proclisis in all persons, and correspondingly *to have* appears with the ε - base, as in (6c-c'). This latter property differentiates modal/auxiliary *to have* from possessive *to have*, which presents the a - lexical base in all forms (as well as proclisis of the clitic), as in (6d).

(6) *Cersosimo* (Lucania)

- a. u/ a/ i ¹caməððə
 him/her/them he.calls
 ‘He calls him/her/them’
- b. (ann) əddʒ- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) ɛj- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) a: camatə
 (ann) ɛm- u/a/i camatə
 (ann) avəsə camatə
 (ann) ɛn- u/a/i camatə
 not I.have him/her/them called etc.
 ‘They have (not) called him/her/them’ etc.
- c. l əddʒ a ca'ma
 him/her/them I.have to call
 ‘I have to call him/her/them’
- c'. l ɛ dda ca'ma
 him/her/them he.has to call
 ‘S/he has to call him/her/them’
- d. l addʒə
 it I.have
 ‘I have it’
- e. t əddʒ u datə
 you I.have it given
 ‘I have given it to you’
- e'. m ɛ camatə
 me he.has called

‘He called me’

In *Albidona* in (7) the accusative clitic is inserted in enclisis in the 1st person and in the 3rd plural, while it appears in proclisis in the other persons, as illustrated in (7b). The negation requires the clitic (phonologically enclitic on the negation) to precede the verb, as in (7b'). Similarly the accusative is proclitic to a lexical verb and to *to have* as a modal and possession verb, as in (7a) and (7c-d). Other clitics, including 1st/2nd person ones but also the dative, occur in proclisis on *to have* as an auxiliary, leading to the clitic cluster being split in (7e), where the P clitic precedes the auxiliary and the accusative follows it. Example (7e') shows that the accusative clitic can itself have a split lexicalization, whereby the *l* consonantal base appears before the auxiliary while the vocalic nominal class (gender) inflection appears in enclisis on it.

(7) *Albidona* (Calabria)

- a. u/a/i 'βiðəŋə
him/her/them they.see
'They see him/her/them'
- a'. ɔ llə/ lla/ ʎʎə 'βiðəŋə
not him/her/them they.see
'They do not see him/her/them'
- b. ddʒ- u/a/i βistə
l ε βistə
l ε bbistə
m- u/a/i βistə
l aβəsə βistə
n- u/a/i βistə
(him/her/them) have (him/her/them) seen
'I have seen him/her/them' etc.
- b'. ɔ llə/ ʎʎə ddʒə βistə
not him (her)/them I.have seen
'I have not seen him/them'
- c. lə/ ʎə ddʒ a ca'ma
him (her)/them I.have to call
'I have to call him/her/them'
- d. l/ ʎ addʒə

- It/ them I.have
 ‘I have it/them’
- e. (ɔn) tə/ ʌə ddʒ- u datə
 not to.you/to.him I.have it given
 ‘I have (not) given it to you/ to him’
- e’. ɔ llə ddʒ- u/ a βistə
 not him/her I.have him/ her seen
 ‘I did not see him/her’

In the table below, the left-hand column indicates the persons in the present perfect; non-lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic is marked by ‘-’ and its lexicalization by ‘+’. In turn (a) indicates that the *a-* base of the auxiliary is lexicalized in combination with the absence of the 3rd person object clitic, while *encl(itic)* refers to the postverbal position of the clitic. The last two lines of the left-hand column *neg(ation)* and *modal* refer to the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic in negative contexts and in contexts with *to have* as a necessity modal; *idem* indicates identity with the conditions summarized for positive contexts with auxiliary *to have*. Dialects which present the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic in proclisis are indicated by ‘+’. The relevant examples can be found in Manzini and Savoia (2005), Savoia (2006), though they are only partially provided in (1)-(7).

	Senise	Rotondella	S.Marco	Nocara	Volturino	Cersosimo	Albidona
1 st sg	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	+	+(encl)	+(encl)
2 nd sg	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	-	+(encl)	+
3 rd sg	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	+
1 st pl	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	+	+(encl)	+(encl)
2 nd pl	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	+	-(a)	+
3 rd pl	-	-(a)	-	-(a)	+	+(encl)	+(encl)
neg	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	+	+	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	+
modal	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	+	+

To begin with, we exclude a phonological-type explanation of the phenomena illustrated. For dialects like *Senise* a phonological solution would consist in assuming that the accusative vowel clitics, which occur in front of a verb beginning with a consonant in (1a) are assimilated to the initial vowel of the auxiliary *to have* in (1b). Here the crucial argument is that *to have* as a possession verb is treated in a different way. Thus when the initial vowel is stressed, main verb *to*

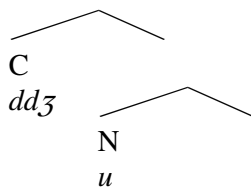
have can be preceded by the consonantal clitic *l*, as in (1c); alternatively a consonantal onset can be inserted before the initial vowel, licencing the insertion of the vocalic accusative clitic, as in (1c'). The other major pattern of lexicalization of accusative clitics in front of lexical verbs is elision of an initial unstressed vowel, as in (1a). There are no prosodic reasons why none of these options is taken with auxiliary/ modal *to have*.

Another argument against a prosodic account of object clitic drop is represented by those languages like *Volturino* where the process is subject to a person split. Evidently, if the consonantal *l* clitic can be inserted in front of the 1st person singular or the plural, there is no prosodic reason why it couldn't be inserted in the 2nd or 3rd person singular as well. Similarly, the contrast between vocalism *ɛ*- and *a*-, associated with the insertion and the absence of the clitic respectively (e.g. in *Rotondella* in (3)), cannot be of a phonological nature, since in all the relevant varieties the sequence /la/ is normally attested no less than the sequence /lɛ/. The argument is reinforced by the observation that other verbs which begin with a vowel, including *to have* as a possession verb, do not present bases with a vowel of a different colour according to the presence, or not, of an (interpreted) 3rd person object clitic.

2. Enclisis on the auxiliary.

Following in essence the analysis of enclisis proposed by Kayne (1989), we account for enclitic sequences of the type *ddʒ – u/a/i* of *Albidona* in (7b) by assuming that the auxiliary is inserted in C, while the accusative clitic is inserted as usual in the inflectional I domain, as in (8). Note that the accusative position is labelled N, as in Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007); however for present purposes a D(P) label annotated with accusative Case would suffice. The participle is treated as an independent sentence (as is the infinitival sentence following modal *to have*) and its structure is not indicated.

(8) *Albidona*

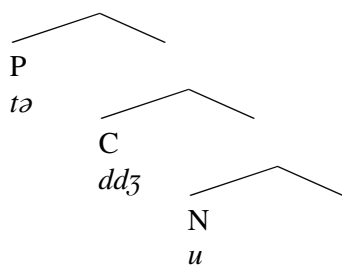


The fact that enclisis, i.e. lexicalization of the verb in C, is limited to the auxiliary (as opposed to lexical verbs) recalls similar asymmetries in other languages – for instance in Arbëresh dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2007), in Macedonian (Fici 2001, Fici, Manzini and Savoia 2001) and in English itself, where it is only auxiliaries that move to C in question formation (*Have you gone?* vs. **Go you?*). Pollock (1989) proposes that this contrast should be derived from the fact that main verbs have a full thematic structure while auxiliary verbs do not have it. However, we cannot adopt this line of explanation if we want to maintain – as seems reasonable – that there is a single verb *to have* with the same transitive argument structure involved in both possession and auxiliary contexts (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007). Rather, the analysis that we propose relies on the idea that the verbal positions of the C field have modal properties. In this perspective the perfect auxiliary *to have* is inserted in C, as in (8), because of some modal properties of the perfect, despite what appears to be its purely aspectual nature.

Specifically, Bonomi (1997) characterizes the imperfective in terms of a universal or generic quantification over events, whereas perfective morphology corresponds to an existential quantification. We take it that modality, in particular the fundamental *realis* vs. *irrealis* split (Manzini 2000 on the Italian subjunctive, Baker and Travis 1997 on Algonquian languages), reduces to properties of universal vs. existential quantification over possible worlds; thus universal quantification over possible worlds yields *irrealis*, while *realis* corresponds to an existential quantification. In this perspective, the connection between the auxiliary and the C field can be mediated by some notion of existential quantification over events/ possible worlds.

Next, only the accusative clitic occurs in enclisis on the auxiliary, as in (8); other clitics, which include Person clitics but also the dative are in proclisis on it. We conclude that when the auxiliary is in C, though the accusative inserts in the inflectional I domain, other object clitics are inserted in the C domain, as shown in (9). In this structure we associate 1st/ 2nd person clitics with the specialized category P, in accordance with the labelling conventions of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007); the label itself is not important, as long as the content of the category is understood.

(9) *Albidona*

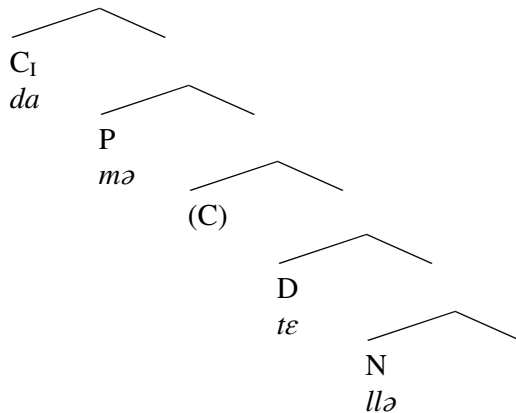


Quite interestingly, in *Albidona* the splitting of the clitic cluster is maintained in the imperative, as exemplified in (10). In particular in (10), while the accusative appears in enclisis on the imperative, the P clitic appears in mesocclisis between the verb stem and the verb inflection (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994 discuss a similar phenomenon in Caribbean Spanish). Data of the type in (10) are analyzed in detail by Manzini and Savoia (2004, 2005, 2007) who argue that the verb base moves to a high position in the C field, labelled C_1 in (11), while the verb inflection is stranded in a position corresponding to that of subject clitics, labelled D in (11). The crucial point is that, if the Person and accusative clitics maintain the positions that we attribute to them in (9), the splitting of the clitic cluster in (10) follows as indicated in (11). In other words, these clitic positions are motivated independently of the phenomenon at hand.

(10) *Albidona*

da -mə -tɛ -llə
 give -me -2pl -it
 ‘Give it to me’

(11) *Albidona*



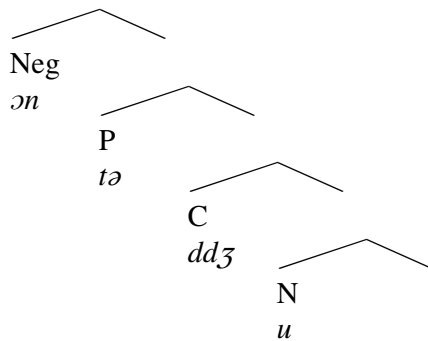
The split between N clitics and P (or other) clitics can be treated as a version of the so-called person split, whereby 3rd person elements pattern differently from 1st and 2nd person ones. Thus different lexicalization conditions attach to elements directly anchored to the discourse, like 1st and 2nd person, and elements, like the so-called 3rd person, whose reference is necessarily anchored at the event. The fact that locatives pattern with P clitics can be imputed to their discourse-anchored nature. Similarly, for discourse-anchored interpretations of *si* one need only consider the semantics of so-called impersonal *si*, as described by Chierchia (1995). As for datives the reference is to Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) who treat them as quantificational-like elements (Q), specifically

distributors – and as such characterized independently of the argument slot they are anchored to. Given this background, the generalization is that clitics whose reference is directly anchored to the discourse appear in the C domain, when this domain is independently lexicalized by some modal form. On the other hand under the same conditions, accusative clitics, i.e. the clitics that are necessarily anchored at the event, appear in the lower I domain. We shall return to this split in section 2.2.

2.1 Effects of negation and person split

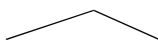
Data such as *Albidona*'s (7b') show that the negation blocks enclisis on the auxiliary and requires the clitic to precede the verb. A classic generative approach accounts for this effect in terms of Minimality (Rizzi 1990, Roberts 1994) in that a negation would impede the movement of a verb from the I to the C position. Nevertheless there is evidence which suggests that the verb is in C even in the presence of a negation – since in (7e) the P clitic precedes the auxiliary which in turn precedes the accusative. The structure in (12) accounts for this string associating the clitic *tə* with the C domain and the clitic *u* with the I domain. The negation which precedes the entire clitic string will be in turn within the C field.

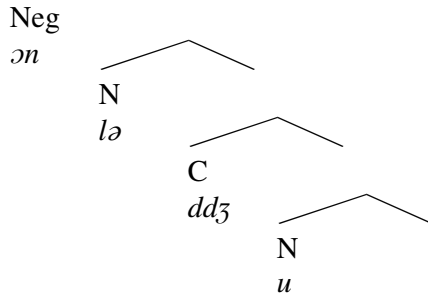
(12) *Albidona*



A similar account can be given for example (7e') displaying an alternative lexicalization for the combination of *to have* with the accusative clitic and the negation. As shown in the structure in (13), this has the *lə* clitic in the C domain combining with the *u* clitic in the I domain – with the auxiliary again in C. The *lə* clitic lexicalizes properties of definiteness, while the vocalic clitic lexicalizes nominal class.

(13) *Albidona*





The fact remains that negation cannot simply be followed by the auxiliary and the *u* clitic in enclisis yielding **ɔn dʒ u*. We account for this by assuming that the (*irrealis*) modal environment defined by the negation requires the lexicalization of the accusative clitic in the C domain. A lexicalization in the I domain is also possible, as in (13), but only as long as it combines with the obligatory C one – or in fact with any lexicalization of a definite clitic in the C domain, such as the discourse-anchored one in (12). By contrast, in *Cersosimo* in (6) the accusative clitic occurs in enclisis on the auxiliary even in negative contexts. We conclude that it is an independent parameter whether the modal domain created by the negation requires the lexicalization of the accusative clitic in C.

It will be noted that both the accusative phonologically enclitic on the negation in (12)-(13) and on the imperative in (11) present the *l*- base – while the accusative phonologically enclitic on the auxiliary present the vocalic form. Based on a systematic investigation of negative and imperative contexts Manzini and Savoia (2005) conclude that the *l*- base is determined by *irrealis* contexts. The contrast with enclisis on the auxiliary counts as a good counterexample to the idea that there is some prosodic explanation of enclitic *l*-.

Let us then consider the fact that enclisis is found only in the 1st person and in the 3rd singular of the present perfect in *Albidona* – or in the 2nd plural and 3rd singular of *Cersosimo*, while other forms of the auxiliary display proclisis of the accusative clitic. Since clitics other than the accusative are independently found in proclisis with the auxiliary in C, as in (9) and (12), we assume that proclisis of the accusative also reflects the insertion of the auxiliary in C and of the accusative clitic itself in the C domain. In these terms, the pattern to be explained is enclisis – i.e. the fact that the relevant forms of *to have* require a lexicalization of the accusative clitic in the inflectional domain.

Now, the split between the 2nd person and the 3rd person singular, with proclisis, and the other persons, with enclisis, recalls other types of person dissociation, for example with auxiliary selection in some South-Italian varieties where the 2nd person (singular) and the 3rd person singular select *to be* while the other persons select *to have*. As discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007), the 2nd person singular and the 3rd person are canonically related to the universe of discourse

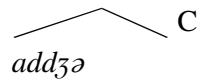
and the structure of the event respectively. We take it that this canonical anchoring leads to the emergence of what we consider to be the normal lexicalization of the accusative for modal environments, in proclisis in the C domain. The other persons require the non-modal anchoring of the internal argument clitic in the inflectional domain.

3. Object clitic drop, with and without specialized forms of the auxiliary.

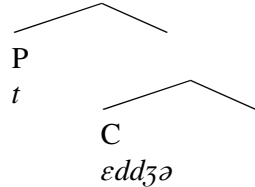
In the variety of *Cersosimo* in (6) enclisis of the accusative clitic on the auxiliary in the 1st person, in the 2nd singular and in the 3rd plural alternates in the 3rd singular and in the 2nd plural with the non-lexicalization of the accusative clitic combined with a different colour of the vocalic base of the auxiliary (*a-* rather than *ε-*). We take this as a clue that this latter phenomenon also depends on the insertion of the auxiliary in C, in varieties like *Rotondella* in (3) and *Nocara* in (4) as well, where it is found in the entire paradigm of the present perfect. Specifically we propose that the auxiliary in C yields structures of the type in (14) for the case of *Nocara* in (4). The P and Loc clitics and *si*, i.e. those interpreted in relation to the universe of discourse rather than through their anchoring to the event, are inserted within the modal C domain, as in (14b). The 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized at all (either in proclisis or in enclisis) – but rather corresponds to the presence of the *a-* lexical base on the *to have* auxiliary, as in (14a), which alternates with the *ε-* base in (14b).

(14) *Nocara*

a.



b.



The so-called dative in a language like *Nocara* coincides with the partitive *ne*; as we may expect, *ne* patterns with discourse-anchored clitics. *Rotondella* however has an *i* clitic for the dative in isolation, as in (3a') – and this is dropped in combination with the *a-* base for *to have*, as in (3c). The *i* form itself is syncretic, namely with the accusative plural; as discussed in detail by Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007), what underlies this syncretism is the quantificational (plural or

distributive) interpretation of the *i* morphology. This shared property of accusative and dative provides a basis for the fact that they pattern alike with respect to *to have*³.

The interpreted but non-lexicalized accusative clitic in (14a) could in principle be accounted for by assuming that an abstract node is present in syntactic structure. Such an analysis is consistent with the Late Insertion approach of Distributed Morphology – under which one could assume that the accusative clitic is not lexically realized because of some morphological readjustment reflected by the auxiliary base – for instance Fusion (i.e. incorporation) of the accusative features in the auxiliary. Excluding for general reasons (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, this volume) analyses based on an autonomous morphological level, one could hypothesize the existence of a non-pronounced syntactically represented clitic along the lines of Kayne’s (2005, 2006) ‘silent’ categories approach. This silent clitic would presumably be licenced by the *a*- auxiliary. Elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia this volume) we have discussed reasons why the silent clitic analysis appears questionable in cases of syncretism and suppletivism that it also aims at covering. This commits us to a different solution in the case at hand.

In particular, we propose that the absence of a 3rd person object clitic corresponds to an interpretation licenced at the LF interface by the *a*- auxiliary – essentially as in other theories the *a*- auxiliary licences abstract feature bundles or silent categories. The reasons underlying the person split in *Cersosimo* can be the same reviewed for *Albidona* in section 2. Briefly, the 2nd (singular) and 3rd singular are singled out by their canonical anchoring at the discourse and at the event respectively and correspondingly have the accusative interpreted without lexicalization in combination with the *a*- auxiliary base. Other persons require the lexicalization of the accusative in the inflectional domain.

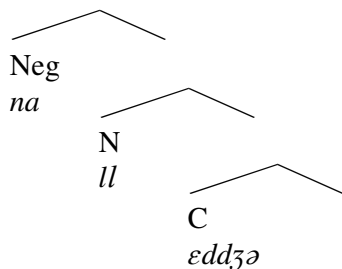
In the dialects which have the relevant phenomenon, the *a*- base lexicalizes not only the auxiliary incorporating the 3rd person object clitic interpretation but also *to have* as a verb of possession. We have no reasons to believe that the latter is lexicalized in any other position than the normal I position of lexical verbs; therefore the *l* form of the 3rd person object clitic is in this case prosodically determined by the vocalic initial of *to have*. The same *a*- verb, when lexicalized in C because of the modal properties of the perfective construction, can subsume reference to the 3rd person object clitic. The *ε*- alternant is inserted as the modal auxiliary in contexts where the 3rd person object clitic is normally lexicalized (or not present at all).

³ The *ℳ* dative of *Albidona* is also syncretic with (an allomorph of) the accusative plural; but as we saw in section 2 it patterns with discourse-anchored clitics. In this latter case it is the different interpretation (plural vs. distributor) of the shared quantificational properties that provides a basis for the different behaviour of the two clitics. Far from representing a problem, this kind of difference is precisely what we are led to expect by our microparametric approach.

In general, *to have* as a necessity modal patterns with *to have* as a perfective auxiliary – which is fully expected given the modal reading that we have attribute to the latter. The *Cersosimo* necessity modal however presents no person split, but proclisis of *l-* combined with the ε - base of *to have* throughout the paradigm. Since the ε - forms of the auxiliary are in C, we can assume that those of the necessity modal also are. Therefore the contrast between the auxiliary and the necessity modal in *Cersosimo* reduces to the fact that the special conditions of lexicalization attaching to the 2nd and 3rd person singular (object drop with the *a-* base of *to have*) are restricted to the auxiliary. Similarly, in *Albidona* the necessity modal displays proclisis in the entire paradigm – which means that the special enclitic lexicalization of the accusative is restricted to (the relevant persons of) the auxiliary.

As for the negation, in some languages it causes the auxiliary to surface with the ε - base and the 3rd person object clitic to surface in proclisis – as in *Nocara*. Following the discussion in section 2, we assume that the alternation between positive and negative contexts does not depend on the different position of the verb, but on the fact that the negation determines the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic within the C domain, as in (15). In the varieties of *Rotondella* and *Cersosimo* however the presence of a negation does not imply any alternation with respect to positive contexts. We treat this difference assuming that neither in *Rotondella* nor in *Cersosimo* the modal domain created by the negation imposes a requirement on clitic forms.

(15) *Nocara*



3.1 Object clitic drop

We are now in a position to return to the fact that in varieties such as *Senise* or *S. Marco* in (1)-(2) the 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized in contexts with auxiliary *to have*. If our discussion is correct, this type of object drop forms a continuum with other phenomena also involving the interaction between object clitics and auxiliary *to have* – namely enclisis and the change in the colour of the base of *to have*. If so, we are led to conclude that object drop is also licenced by the same syntactic configuration as these other phenomena, i.e. the insertion of the auxiliary in C, determined by the modal character of the perfect.

The interpreted, non-lexicalized 3rd person object clitic could in principle correspond to an empty category, represented in syntax but not pronounced at Spell-Out. However, while the data are compatible with this solution, they do not provide any evidence in its favor. Rather, reasoning on the basis of what we have just argued for *Nocara* in (14) i.e. that the *a-* auxiliary subsumes the lexicalization of the 3rd person object clitic licencing its interpretation at the LF interface, we propose that in *Senise* or *S.Marco* the auxiliary in C does the same, without the need of any specialized morphology.

Object drop can also be subject to a person split, as in *Volturino* in (5), where it characterizes the 2nd and 3rd person singular of the present perfect (and of the necessity modal), while in the other persons (as well as in pluperfect) the accusative and dative clitics appear in proclisis. We already attributed the absence of the clitic to the insertion of the verb in C; but as argued for other varieties with person split (*Albidona* and *Cersosimo* in section 2), proclisis also corresponds to the modal position of *to have* in C. The person split emerging in *Volturino* which opposes the 2nd and 3rd person singular to the other forms of the paradigm is also of the same kind independently seen for *Albidona* and *Cersosimo*. Briefly, these forms correspond to the canonical discourse-anchored and event-anchored referents respectively; as such they correlate with the 3rd person object clitic not being lexicalized, but its interpretation being licenced by the auxiliary (whether as an accusative, i.e. first internal argument, or as a dative, i.e. second internal argument of di-transitives).

The object drop of *Volturino* with its alternation between proclisis of the clitic in the C domain and drop could provide evidence in favour of the idea of Kayne (2005, 2006) that ‘silence’ correlates with edge position. By the same reasoning, however, one might conclude that in *Cersosimo*, where object drop alternates with enclisis, ‘silence’ corresponds to enclisis – i.e. what would appear to be an anti-edge configuration. The point here is not that the data could not be made compatible with Kayne’s (2005, 2006) approach – for instance saying that drop is from a proclitic (edge) position in *Cersosimo* as well. Rather as far as we can tell, such a theory would need all of the categorical distinctions that we have introduced here, concerning the person split, the interpretation of *to have*, the event-anchored and discourse-anchored series of clitics, the alternations between vocalic and consonantal 3rd person clitics, the negation and possibly more. However in addition to all of this, the theory might have to make a further stipulation, about the preverbal or postverbal position of the silent clitic.

In general, it is legitimate to use abstract devices in order to systematize the description of the data; however it should be clear that in this case only an abstract descriptive device is stake – and it is a particularly powerful one. In this sense we share the concern of Culicover and Jackendoff

(2005) over the bias of current generative theorizing in favor of what they call Interface Uniformity, i.e. the principle that ‘the syntax-semantics interface is maximally simple, in that meaning maps transparently into syntactic structure; and it is maximally uniform, so that the same meaning always maps onto the same syntactic structure’. Interface Uniformity may or may not be a good guiding principle for morphosyntactic description; as it turns out, we have argued here and elsewhere (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, this volume) that it often correlates with loss of predictive power with respect to the actually observed morpholexical forms. In any event, the satisfaction of Interface Uniformity should not be taken as a sufficient criterion for determining the theoretical status of a description.

In summary, the basic result of the analysis presented in this study consists in the unified treatment of phenomena of non-lexicalization, incorporation and enclisis of the 3rd person object clitic. Alternative analyses require that the interpreted non-lexicalized elements is represented in terms of abstract features or categories on some level of derivation. In so doing, they typically separate functional items from other lexical items. Thus within the Distributed Morphology framework Embick (2000:187) states ‘A further background assumption concerns the distinction between the *functional* and *lexical* vocabularies of a language. I will assume that functional categories merely instantiate sets of abstract syntacticosemantic features”. A conceptually similar arrangement characterizes the model discussed by Kayne (2005, 2006), according to whom functional items are imputable to a sort of universal system and variation depends on the way in which they are realized.

In the present proposal actual properties of lexical items determine interpretation, through their interaction with the semantic and pragmatic principles of UG and of the conceptual-intentional system. Thus the morphological structure of a word may contain formatives associated with a particular interpretation, as is the case of the alternation between the *ε*- base of the auxiliary *to have* and its incorporating *α*- base. In other cases, there may not be a direct morphological representation of the relevant information; in any case, it is the actual lexical features of the involved items which will legitimize different interpretations. Thus we assume that in the absence of any abstractly represented clitic category or feature bundle the object clitic interpretation arises in object clitic drop contexts of the type considered here as a result of properties such as the transitive argument frame of *to have*, interacting with its modal positioning in perfective (and necessity) contexts.

This hypothesis has allowed us to refer to a unitary conceptual picture apparently different phenomena, such as the incorporation of the 3rd person object clitic, its enclisis and its drop – but in a larger picture also phenomena of syncretism and suppletivism, as discussed by Manzini and Savoia (this volume). In this regard we may also ask ourselves how far a radical difference between

functional and lexical items on an empirical and theoretical level is sustainable. In fact, as we have seen, a simpler solution is at hand, which considers properties generally classified as functional as properties not substantially different from the other lexical properties.

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