A Unification of Morphology and Syntax

Investigations into Romance and Albanian dialects

M. Rita Manzini and
Leonardo M. Savoia

Routledge Leading Linguists

A Unification of Morphology and Syntax

This book focuses on a classical theme of linguistic theory, that of variation across languages. From an empirical point of view, *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax* contributes to the discussion on language variation through engaging with new data collected during fieldwork covering both Romance and Albanian dialects. From a theoretical point of view the book shows how the variation displayed by the data is best accounted for through the interaction of an innate and universal computational system (Chomsky's Universal Grammar) with language-particular lexicons, whose items and their properties are set by the speaker-hearer in the course of acquisition. In this sense this book is a contribution to what Noam Chomsky has recently called the 'biolinguistic approach', which holds that crucial aspects of language can be studied as part of the natural world.

A Unification of Morphology and Syntax can be placed within the general fold of the minimalist research program summarized by Chomsky's Strong Minimalist Thesis. Integrating dialectal data with the theoretical grille of generative theory, and in particular minimalism, leads the book to propose novel analyses of the relevant parameters, but also to revise several core concepts of Universal Grammar.

This book will be of interest to linguists working in language variation and those studying formal theories of grammar.

M. Rita Manzini is Professor of General Linguistics at the University of Florence, Italy. Her main research interests are in theoretical linguistics, syntax and language variation, including its acquisition aspects. **Leonardo M. Savoia** is Professor of General Linguistics at the University of Florence, Italy. His research interests center on phonology and morphosyntax.

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Introduction

In the past decade or so the authors have been involved with a large project relating to the morpho-syntax of dialects comprising Italy, Corsica, and the Italian and Romansch-speaking areas of Switzerland. This was born of an overarching concern with the nature of parametrization, and in particular with its microparametric dimension, with respect to which so-called dialects represent the ideal case study. As both our coverage of the data and our understanding of the problems involved in their analysis deepened, we found ourselves with a rather different work from what we may have originally envisaged, since it embedded of necessity some important revisions of current theories relating in particular to the syntax–morphology interface.

Thus as the larger project was growing beyond the original intents, the corpus of data, analyses and theoretical proposals that was accumulating gave rise to several article-sized publications, on topics very often chosen to fit some conference or volume call. These were integrated by contributions on a different data set, namely Albanian dialects, but on closely related morphosyntactic themes. The originally planned book in Italian was finally published, containing an extensive record of the data collected from native informants beside an analysis of these data in terms of generative theory (Manzini and Savoia 2005). At this point we were ready to look back at the various essays issuing from it.

Several reasons suggested that these essays (Manzini and Savoia 1997ff.; Savoia and Manzini 2000ff.) were well worth collecting. To begin with, as a result of the different stimuli to which we were responding, they cover most of the themes of theoretical interests implied by our larger work. At the same time, due to the requirements of the article format each theme tends to be presented as isolated from all others, perhaps making for a better introduction to our work than a single integrated monograph. Obvious connections existing between the various articles are established by internal references, as well as by the framework section of this introduction.

There was however a major difficulty in publishing such a collection, namely the fact that our various essays appeared over a relatively long span of time, from 1997 to some still in press. As several aspects of Romance morpho-syntax were progressively integrated into the larger picture, the framework in which the analyses of these data are set changed. The fact that the change was mostly in

the formalizations adopted rather than in the general conceptual aims did not lessen the problem of collecting the earlier studies together with the most recent ones.

Only the most recent studies (Manzini and Savoia 2002bff.; Savoia and Manzini 2003ff.) could be republished more or less as they stand. In the end, only Chapter 1 may be truly considered a modified version of the original article and otherwise only Chapter 3 can maintain the title of Manzini and Savoia (2002b), being a modified and enlarged version of that article. Chapter 4 overlaps with Manzini and Savoia (2004b), though it has been not only edited and enlarged but also cut of all of the parts redundant with Chapter 3, becoming a different work from the original article.

Other chapters in the book are new, though several of them relate to previously published work. Our priority was to make available in English our recent thought on themes that we had covered at an early stage of our investigation, notably the EPP in Chapter 2 (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2002a), *si* in Chapter 5 (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2001) and parameters of auxiliary selection in Chapters 5–6 (cf. Manzini and Savoia 1998a). We also wanted our work on Albanian dialects to be represented here; this corresponds to Chapters 7–10. Again Chapter 7 takes up data analyzed by Manzini and Savoia (1999), while Chapter 8 presents a version of work which previously appeared in Italian and Albanian (Manzini and Savoia 2003a; Savoia and Manzini 2003).

What paid the price of this choice was a number of topics that did not find a place within this volume, though a first glimpse of our treatment may be gained from shorter articles, in particular on modifiers and complementizers (Manzini and Savoia 2002c, 2003b). We also regret not having been able to devote any room to the noun phrase. We hope to be able to make our results in these various fields available in a later collection.

1 The framework

All of the chapters that follow have as their starting point some concrete problem, generally in language variation. In each case, the reason for the particular choice of topic is provided not by some pre-theoretical interest in a given set of data but rather by the theoretical issues that it promises to shed light upon. Writing from the empirical towards the solution of the theoretical problems means that the latter are generally embedded in the text; in particular reference to current literature is never prominent in motivating the progression of the discussion. These brief notes provide the reverse perspective to the one embodied by the various chapters. In other words, we shall briefly outline the framework we adopt, situating it in the context of the current debate in generative grammar (sections 1.1, 1.2). In the context of this general discussion, we shall indicate how the specific issues considered in the various chapters are relevant for the debate, contributing arguments in favor of the framework we adopt. In section 1.3 we shall also place the current contribution within the debate on language variation, outlining the reasons why in our view it provides strong evid-

ence for what Chomsky (2004b, 2005) calls the 'biolinguistic' perspective. We make no apologies for the brevity of this introduction and for the almost shorthand references to the literature, since the separate chapters address all issues of detail.

1.1 Constituent structure

This book is meant to be a contribution to what Chomsky (2004b, 2005) has recently called the 'biolinguistic approach', i.e. one holding that 'crucial aspects of language can be studied as part of the natural world' (Chomsky 2005: 3). More specifically, it can be placed within the general fold of minimalism, in the sense that it is informed by the research program outlined by Chomsky (1995ff.) and summarized by the strong minimalist thesis 'that language is an optimal solution to interface conditions that FL must satisfy' (Chomsky 2004b).

Nevertheless, we diverge from the minimalist program as developed by Chomsky (1995ff.) and his associates, in that we do not take the view that movement is simply a fact; rather what is a fact are the interpretive relations corresponding to it at the interface. In this, we share the conclusions of Brody (1997ff.) that a truly minimalist stance is not only compatible with but actually requires what is sometimes called a 'representationalist' approach, as opposed to the 'derivationalist' one of Chomsky (1995ff.).

According again to Chomsky (2004), 'unbounded Merge or some equivalent is unavoidable in a system of hierarchic discrete infinity'; though we take it that what is crucial is not the set formation operation, but the relation 'member-of' corresponding to it. The minimalist idea of inclusiveness, barring 'technology introduced in the course of derivation of an expression' (Chomsky 2004) and hence enforcing projection of structure strictly from the lexicon, implies that there are no empty nodes. In this book, we actually impose upon ourselves a stronger restriction, to the effect that all lexical items are endowed with both LF and PF content. This means that there cannot be any node in the structure endowed with abstract feature content only; in other words the only terminal nodes present in a given structure are the overtly lexicalized ones. This is the assumption we make throughout this book and in Manzini and Savoia (2005).

We in fact strengthen our conclusions about head structure so that each overtly lexicalized head gives rise to a full structure (e.g. a sentence in the case of a verb or a noun phrase in the case of a noun). Therefore in any given sentence or noun phrase only one head is present, empty heads being excluded as above, and any extra lexicalized head giving rise to its own independent sentential unit. This is one of the theoretical conclusions that contributes to the atomized ('exploded') look of the representations in this book as well as in Manzini and Savoia (2005). More interestingly, an empirical application of this conclusion may be seen in Chapters 5–6 where perfect participles are treated as defining independent sentences with respect to the auxiliaries that select them (as also argued by Kayne 1993). Similarly we treat invariable forms of the verb such as those exemplified by Arbëresh aspectuals, modals and causatives in Chapters

9–10 as independent verbs. Complementizers are also independent heads in the proposal of Manzini and Savoia (2005), to wit nominal ones; a glimpse of this may be gained from Manzini and Savoia (2003b).

Apart from the single head, all other material present in each sentence or noun phrase is an argument of the head. In fact, if Manzini and Savoia (2005) are on the right track, modifiers, such as adverbs, can also be reduced to nominals and hence to arguments. Manzini and Savoia (2002c) provide a flavor of what this reduction may imply with respect to a very small subset of adverbs, i.e. negative ones.

The next most important factor contributing to the atomized nature of our representations is to be sought in our adherence to certain ideas broadly associated with the approach of the 'cartography' group (Cinque 2002; Belletti 2004; Rizzi 2004), in whose researches the authors took part. At an impressionistic level, this approach is characterized by hierarchies of specialized categories; though these immediately evoke questions of restrictiveness, their power appears to be equivalent to that of mechanisms available in any grammar, such as selection (or 'edge') features. Of course it is in the very nature of hierarchies to postulate an order in which the properties of the head are satisfied. In fact, in Chapters 3–4 we suggest that ordering should be a matter of scopal properties and derivable at no extra cost for the grammar.

One respect in which the 'cartographic' program is forced (by its own intrinsic definition) to be more precise than the edge/selection feature approach is that the nature of the properties involved must be categorially specified. A case in point, studied extensively in this book (especially in Chapters 1–2), is the EPP, which according to Chomsky (2004), 'can be reformulated in terms of [edge] feature inheritance'. We may prefer to still label the relevant feature with the descriptive 'EPP' tag; but this is no less expensive than an appropriate categorial tag. In this case Chomsky (1995) had what we believe is the correct proposal, namely that the EPP property corresponds to a D(efiniteness) closure requirement. We refer the reader directly to Chapters 1 and 3–4 for the identification of the internal argument with the categorial property N. In fact, we depart from the 'cartographic' approach in that the authors within its fold generally restrict it to modifiers (Cinque (1999), but see above for our approach to them) or to left-peripheral positions (Rizzi 1997); we extend it to argument positions however.

The property that perhaps most obviously characterizes a 'cartographic' tree is that the label of a merged spec derives from the property it satisfies. Thus, a noun phrase that satisfies an X specification is labeled as X (phrase) rather than as noun phrase. This is the notation (and conceptualization) we keep to consistently in this book, as in Manzini and Savoia (2005). We devote a considerable part of the discussion in Chapters 3–4 to the relation between the internal properties of a constituent and its satisfaction of the category it projects at point of insertion – essentially a (proper) containment relation.

It has long been our contention that at least argument hierarchies that we study repeat themselves identically at different points of the overall structure. This is true in particular of the clitic series, as illustrated in particular in Chapter 1

for Romance, as well as in Chapter 7 for Arbëresh. On this again we differ from other 'cartographic' approaches, where typically the repetition of a given element, say a subject clitic in different domains, is treated as an instantiation of different categorial properties (e.g. Poletto 2000). At the same time our point can be made quite independently of clitics; thus the Merry-go-Round generalization of Starke (2000) implies the constancy of the relative order of two elements when both moved; Krapova and Cinque (2003) argue explicitly that the internal order of wh-phrases in multiple wh-movement repeats (in some languages) the internal argument of the clitic string, and so on. We believe that the hierarchy of domains as well as that internal to argumental strings is ultimately derivable by scopal considerations.

The reader may have noticed that we have skipped what would appear to be a necessary part of the discussion of constituent structure (Kayne 1994; Chomsky 1995ff.; Brody 2000), namely issues of labeling algorithms, since the only labels we mentioned are those of heads, and those of constituents projecting a 'cartographic' category. As it turns out, the apparently quirky (though possible) assumption we introduced above, to the effect that there is a single verbal/nominal head per sentence/noun phrase, makes other labels irrelevant. Thus since there is a single head, we may assume that all argumental material preceding or following it (superordinate or subordinate to it respectively) forms with it constituents projecting the head as a label. However, any other labeling would be equivalent, including the one inspired by Starke (2000) employed by Manzini and Savoia (2005), though we agree that it is an inferior choice if nothing else from the point of view of perspicuity.

The point to which we have now arrived is the point we start at in Chapter 1, there we detail the unification of morphosyntax with respect to constituent structure. Morphological-level structures (i.e. word-internal ones), are point-by-point identical to syntactic structures. Thus we accept with the Distributed Morphology of Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994) as well as the various scholars credited there, that the same constituent structure found in the syntax is found in the morphology as well (Williams 1981). With Distributed Morphology we hold that morphological structures are truly identical to syntactic ones, and no Mirror applies either derivationally or representationally (contra Baker (1985), but in this case also Brody (2000)). Manzini and Savoia (2005) actually present counter-examples to the Mirror generalization, but the strongest counter-argument is a simplicity one, since it will be seen that even in the case of fairly complex morphological structures (Chapter 7) no mirroring mechanism is justified.

Having approved of some aspects of Distributed Morphology above, we should note straight away that we differ from extant structural approaches to morphology in taking the radical step (not yet attempted as far we can tell) of upholding the same categories in morphology as in syntax. We achieve this result by eradicating morphological features such as number, gender, person and case in favor of the very same categorial specifications projected on the sentential tree under the 'cartographic' approach. The details of how we do this are the subject matter of the first few chapters, especially Chapters 3–4. Note that this is

precisely the kind of step which only a precise notion of the categories we are manipulating in the syntax allows us to take. We also differ sharply from Distributed Morphology in holding that insertion of lexical items is 'early'; because of this we deny ourselves the considerable power accruing to distributed morphology from impoverishment and similar mechanisms that require Late Insertion. The explanatory adequacy and in fact superiority of the current approach occupies us in Chapters 1–3.

Under standard minimalist assumptions about the purely notational value of such devices as bar levels, labels do not provide any record of the level of structure. Therefore, not even this potential device distinguishes morphological-level from sentential-level structures. Nevertheless a long habit of distinguishing the two would have made any tree structures complying with the stricter notation fairly unintelligible. Therefore we tried to strike a compromise of some sort. As we have already mentioned, only some nodes are labeled. Furthermore, all labels correspond to bare categories; thus D both at the syntactic and the morphological level, never D′′ or DP. At the same time, we employed the notation strictly implied by our model, with no non-lexicalized nodes, only at the morphological level. At the syntactic level, we approximated traditional constituency by notating superordinate arguments of a head as Specs and subordinate ones as Specs of some lower head. Occasionally we signposted the structure by means of intermediate parenthesized empty heads. The latter are not there at all. It is really the doubling of certain argumental projections or the apparent inversion of a given hierarchy which signals that a different domain is being entered.

1.2 Agreement and chain relations

We anticipated at the outset that what we take here is a representational rather than a derivational stance, mentioning the general conceptual reasons that in our view motivate this choice (as in Brody 1997ff.). In our view, empirical evidence systematically supports this conclusion, to the extent that accounts in terms of movement operations (and/or feature-checking ones) are not just a notational variant of representational accounts, but typically require a richer set of assumptions, in particular concerning the interface of the computational system with the lexical and morphological component.

One general type of argument for the primacy of chains with respect to movement is that though movement is interpreted in terms of chains (sharing of a single argument slot), chain interpretations also arise independently of movement between two lexicalized points in a tree. In other words, movement chains are a proper subset of chains. This conclusion may be circumvented in various ways, but at the price of adding extra-descriptive mechanisms to the grammar. Thus take the case of resumptive clitics, on whose existence at least there is no quarrel. Accounting for it in a movement grammar typically involves clitic doubling as a mechanism of doubling of a head by its Spec; now, Chomsky (2004a) concludes that 'there should be . . . no Spec–head relations', correctly in our view. But even if there were head–Spec relations, expressing clitic doubling

in this format generalizes to clitics being doubled by pro in the absence of lexical material (Sportiche 1996), defeating attempts at dispensing with this (redundant) empty category.

Chapter 5 is in fact partially devoted to arguing that there are chains where the 'copy' has a lexicalization independent of the 'antecedent', namely with the *si/se* clitic of Romance, which we treat as the lexical counterpart of an A-trace. All of the difficulties connected with its interpretation dissolve if we simply accept that a variable interpretation could be associated with an overt lexical item, allowing it to enter into a chain relation despite the transitive syntax of the sentence (where *si/se* is just like any other object, i.e. accusative or oblique, clitic). Generalizing, those lexical items that admit of a variable reading can enter into the chain relation.

As seen most clearly in the work of Brody (1997ff.), a representationalist stance is fully compatible with a copy theory of traces, to the effect that variables are introduced at the LF interface as full copies of lexical material present elsewhere in the structure – or can be so introduced. However, copies are irrelevant for the empirical issues we consider in this book, essentially limited to so-called A-movement, where 'reconstruction effects are far weaker . . . (if they exist at all)' (Chomsky 2004); similarly, they are irrelevant for the aspects of A-movement considered by Manzini and Savoia (2005). Therefore the stance we take on reconstruction evidence, and hence on copies, is strictly agnostic.

More radically, in the discussion in Chapter 5 centered on the classical problem of auxiliary selection in languages such as Italian, we take an agnostic stance on the movement/chain account of unaccusativity. In other words, we shall never notate copies; but equally we shall not notate GB-style empty categories or the interpretive counterpart to such constructs (variables) at the interface. All of these theoretical devices are compatible with our analysis, but all we need – and hence all we ever make reference to – is the interpretive construal whereby the unique argument slot of certain verbs (by hypothesis an internal argument) is associated with the EPP argument (the one argument whose presence is obligated by universal principles).

It should be noted that the copy theory to this day has not subsumed, at least for Chomsky (1995ff.), the base generated empty category PRO. The latter is rendered as the introduction of a variable at the LF interface, notably for the purpose of explaining control in Chapters 8–9. These issues are investigated in relation to Albanian due to the well-known property of so-called 'Balkan' languages of not embedding infinitivals. Thus the syntactic properties postulated for the PRO subject of infinitivals (Chomsky's (1995) null case) can overtly be seen to be irrelevant for control and similar interpretations, since these equally arise in finite contexts in 'Balkan' languages. In our reconstruction of the facts the so-called 'subjunctive particle' of Balkan languages introduces the relevant variable, very much like the infinitive morphology of Romance or Germanic, independently (among others) of case configurations.

Mention of empty category (variable) subjects of finite sentences also inevitably raises the question of what their relation is to the null subject

parameter. Our take on this, introduced in Chapter 2 and developed in Chapter 10, is that the null subjects of finite sentences can generally be introduced as variables in language where the D sentential category is not independently lexicalized under the null subject parameter.

It remains for us to consider agreement of which subject-verb configurations represent the paradigmatic instance for Chomsky (2000ff.). However, we have outlined above a theory in which the agreement inflection of the verb has the same status within the morphological-level structure as the subject pronoun at the sentential level; therefore (as we discuss in detail in Chapter 1), no issue of uninterpretability arises for the so-called inflection, since at different levels of structure a subject pronoun and an agreement inflection represent exactly the same kind of semantic object. An interpretive mechanism is furthermore available in the grammar for assigning them to the same argument slot, namely chain formation, which routinely allows for the doubling of arguments by pronominal material. In this perspective agreement is but a relation among two or more elements, allowing them to enter into such as chain relation. Since sharing of reference is a prerequisite for chain formation, all referentially relevant properties of the elements involved in a chain will have to match, or at least be compatible. Agreement amounts simply to the relevant matching relation, or in fact more correctly to a non-distinctness one.

The theory outlined above is compatible with Brody's (1997ff.) position that at least one member of any chain must be interpretable, without imposing any non-interpretability requirements otherwise. At the same time it differs from it in enforcing a radical interpretability requirement; exactly as we set out in section 1.1 (where PF interpretability was relevant for the discussion) all lexical entries are a couple of a PF and an LF representation. The latter requirement means that there will be no lexical entry, be it even a verb inflection, deprived of semantic content.

As for case, which would be the one example of a radically uninterpretable feature in the grammar of Chomsky (1995ff.), we agree with Chomsky (2001, 2004a) that it ought to be derivable from other properties of grammar. There are empirical reasons why deriving case from agreement is not possible (Chapter 10) quite independently of the treatment of agreement. What we therefore support is theory where case derives instead from the EPP(s). In our terms nominative is simply the way in which the categorial signature D surfaces in the grammar. Accusative case in turn reduces to what we take to be the categorial property N, as discussed throughout Chapters 1 and 3–4 (see Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) for a discussion of much the same material, but finalized to case).

The range of phenomena we consider here excludes not only reconstruction, but also islands and locality in general. Therefore we have no take on a concept which provides the title for at least two works by Chomsky (2001, 2004a) (i.e. phases). In other words, our stance with respect to phases can only be agnostic. As for reconstruction and the copy theory, we limit ourselves to the observation that there is nothing in the architecture of our model that either excludes phases

as locality domains or suggests their validity. Given the different approach that we take to constituent structure, we expect phases not to overlap exactly with Chomsky's (2001ff.). If anything, however, the conception of phase would be simplified. In particular, given that each new head starts a new sentential or nominal projection we may expect just sentences and noun phrases to be phases.

At this point we must resist the temptation to provide a list of our various results and invite the reader to proceed directly to the text. Suffice it to say that the focus of the presentation is on full interpretability, i.e. on the interpretable nature of agreement inflections in Chapters 1–2, on the arguments against morphological and Optimality treatments of clitics (and by extension of morpho-syntax in general) in Chapters 3–4, on transitivity alternations (passive, reflexive, unaccusative) and hence by extension on A-chains in Chapters 5–6. The focus of the Albanian Chapters (7–10), is on complementation both finite and non-finite, and hence on control and complex predicates (causativization).

1.3 The question of language variation

As we mentioned at the outset, the overall research program of which this book is a product was aimed at language variation in Romance (and subsequently Albanian) dialects. Although we have tried briefly to lay out the view of Universal Grammar that emerges from our work, the conclusions relating to the nature of parametrization represent an equally important part of it. They also represent the aspect of the book that connects it most strongly to the issues raised by Chomsky's (2004a, 2005) 'biolinguistic' perspective.

Linguistic variation, seen as the result of an historical process or as a reflex of geographical distribution, has represented a major object of the scientific study of language since its beginnings, when attention was focused on the causes of linguistic change and the manner in which it takes place. At the same time sociolinguistic enquiries showed that there is no truly homogenous linguistic community and that phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical differences will inevitably show up in different situations of use. Sapir (1921) endeavors to connect variation internal to a language to historical change, but individual variations remain beyond the reach of scientific explanation for classical twentieth-century structuralism which characterizes them as casual. The idea that ongoing linguistic change, or otherwise put, the variation present within a linguistic community, is outside the bounds of linguistic analysis underlies statements such as Bloomfield's (1933: 347) to the effect that 'the process of linguistic change has never been directly observed; we shall see that such observation, with our present facilities, is inconceivable'. As pointed out by Chomsky (2004b: 8) in the 'structuralist/behaviorist frameworks of the 1950s' 'it was commonly assumed . . . that the basic technology of linguistic description was available, and that language variation was so free that nothing of much generality was likely to be discovered'.

Similar considerations hold for works in the descriptive dialectology tradition, based on data collection through fieldwork, since their observations do not

find an explanation in terms of inherent properties of language, but only an external motivation in the social and cultural factors governing communication. It is not by chance that linguists within this approach are noted for perceiving that language variation integrates seamlessly with pragmatic and socio-cultural patterns. A paradigmatic example of this in the literature is Gauchat (1905), where variation is connected to particular groups of speakers and age classes, initiating a schema that has since become a classic of dialectological studies.

Indeed, if we consider that the biological bases of language are the same for present-day languages as for languages spoken in the past, it follows that the mechanisms of language differentiation in time can be identified with those for currently observable language variation. Recent approaches to the origin of language (Chomsky 2002, 2004b; Hauser *et al.* 2002) reinforce the premise that language 'is a fundamentally uniform system, which means that since its emergence there has not been any significant evolution. It has just stayed that way' (Chomsky 2002: 147). Therefore it is possible for a single set of properties to explain all linguistic phenomena, including those concerning languages no longer spoken, only partially documented or reconstructed, as well as those concerning languages spoken by living speakers. This view finds important support from the work of Labov (1994), showing that mechanisms of variation and change are the same in the past, accessible through documents or through reconstruction, and in the present.

It is theoretical issues relating to the nature of the language faculty and certainly not any classificatory intent that we had in mind when we started our work on Italian dialects. We can usefully begin with the contrast set up in the generative literature between macroparametric and microparametric views of language variation. Under the macroparametric view (Baker 1996), one parametric setting triggers several properties of a language connected by non-trivial deductive relations. By contrast, the overall view that emerges from our study is microparametric, in the sense that parameters reduce to elementary properties of lexical items at the interfaces, and these generally combine freely, up to the general consistency of the system. If we are correct, a simplicity argument favors the present view, in that while the alternative theory in general has the power to state all of the relevant facts, these are stated more economically at a lower lexical level.

Our position is consistent with minimalist theorizing. Thus Chomsky (1995: 7) states that 'there is a single computational system C_{HL} for human language and only limited lexical variety. Variation of language is essentially morphological in character, including the critical question of which parts of a computation are overtly realized.' In other words, a language comprises a lexicon including both predicative and inflectional bases specifying a set of morphosyntactic properties on whose differences parametric variation depends. The lexical items of a language, including its morphology, correspond to a particular way of instantiating the information relevant for the interface levels, yielding different morphosyntactic organizations of linguistic expressions.

Of course the repertory of properties on which the lexicon of a given lan-

guage draws is itself universal. Thus what surfaces as a parameter between two languages will typically take the form of a categorial discrimination present in one but not in the other. One typical example of this is the animacy hierarchies of the typological literature (Comrie 1981; Croft 1990; Dixon 1994) that appear to be relevant for ergative languages, but not for nominative languages such as English or Italian. In reality on this point (as on others) our empirical discussion allows us to conclude that the categorial (discrete) distinction reflected by the descriptive hierarchies are a universal of language (or cognition more generally). Languages will very often differ not as to whether they instantiate them, but only with respect to the lexical domain where they instantiate them. In other words, the choice is once again microparametric (lexical) not systemic (macroparametric).

Crucially it seems to us that our findings are what we expect given the 'biolinguistic' perspective (Chomsky 2004b, 2005), which provides the conceptual setting for the issue of language variation as well as for the closely related issue of language growth (i.e. acquisition). If we assume an approach under which a language is 'an internal component of the mind/brain' (Hauser *et al.* 2002) the range of possible variation will be fixed by the principles of the faculty of language. Specifically Chomsky (2004b: 8) makes explicit the relation between language variation and the faculty of language as a biological system. Variation may be seen as a correlate of 'the growth of language in the individual', in which the genetic endowment interacts with experience. The latter 'leads to variation, within a fairly narrow range, as in the case of other subsystems of the human capacity and the organism generally'.

On the basis of these conceptual premises we hardly expect variation to take the form of the broad generalizations entertained by the typological tradition, which takes as its starting point (not coincidentally) functionalist (hence fundamentally behaviorist) conceptions of language. Nor do we expect that the same types of generalizations admit of a restatement within the mentalist model, say, in the form of macroparameters. It seems to us important that studies such as this provide what in our mind is compelling evidence in favor of the view that language variation results from the free interplay of elementary differences connected to the mental lexicon. If this conclusion is correct, it contributes a strong argument in favor of the biolinguistic perspective, which is the only model capable of predicting such variation.

For external reasons, i.e. because of the political and cultural causes that for centuries have kept the Italian peninsula in conditions of great administrative and social fragmentation, dialectal differentiation in Italy has been preserved for longer (i.e. up to the present day) than in other areas of Western Europe, including Romance-speaking countries. Thus Italian dialects provide a rich and articulated picture of language variation that contrasts to some extent with that of other intensively studied linguistic varieties, say, French or English. We should emphasize however that in our view the Italian situation reflects closely the kind of variation we expect to find in conditions of normal language growth and that the present theory of Universal Grammar and parameters predicts, in keeping

with the biolinguistic program. This means that it is the linguistic situation of, say, England or France that represents a somehow misleading picture of variation, reflecting not only the action of the internal shaping forces of language growth but also external mechanisms of social and political standardization.

The variation presented by Albanian dialects is compatible with that of Italian dialects. In this case our basic sample is more limited, including essentially a couple of varieties in Albania itself (covering the major Geg vs. Tosk divide), as well as a detailed picture of Albanian dialects spoken in southern Italy (Arbëresh). The latter witness a subtle and systematic variation in the morphosyntactic organization of the sentence (for instance, in the verb inflection and in the case assignment system) that has the same general characters as the microvariation observed in Romance dialects and may be explained in the same terms, essentially of lexical variation.

On several occasions in the course of this work we will also have the opportunity to treat variation characterizing not just two or more different dialects (linguistic communities) but showing up within the same dialect, or even within the productions of a single speaker. In accordance with the minimalist model, which predicts the absence of free alternations within any given grammar, we shall treat the relevant cases as revealing the simultaneous presence of slightly different lexicons (hence grammars) within the same speaker(s). Thus the level at which variation is defined is the competence of the individual hearer-speaker, motivating once again the conclusion that the 'biolinguistic', microparametric approach is the only one capable of modeling it. This amounts to saying that, strictly speaking, there are no monolingual individuals, given that (as we mentioned above) each speaker will alternate at least between so-called stylistic choices according to situations of use. For instance, any cultivated Italian speaker of northern Italy will typically alternate a grammar inclusive of a simple perfective past (used only in writing or comparable registers) with a grammar where the present perfect covers the meaning of the simple perfective past as well. In this sense each speaker will have to some extent a 'bilingual' competence, for which current literature indeed reduces to the co-existence of different lexicons with a single computational component (MacSwan 2000).

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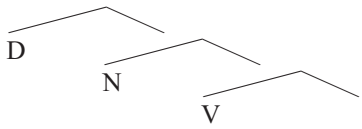
1 The nature of the agreement inflections of the verb

The unification of morphology and syntax that we adopt in this book 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, also discussed in section 3.

1 The basic structure of the sentence and of the noun phrase and the present proposal

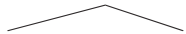
We adopt the conventional assumption that a sentence includes several different positions for the verb, the lowest one of which (i.e. V) corresponds to the predicative content of the event. It is again conventional to assume that the V position projects a set of arguments, including at least the object 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 may be characterized by the category N, a label to which we return below. Therefore, connecting the V predicate with its N object and D subject yields a tree structure of the type in (1).

(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.

(2) a corr-o
run-1sg
'I run'

b 
I
corro

Consider what would be the counterpart of (2) in a language where, contrary to Italian, a lexicalization of the subject is needed. This is also the case 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).

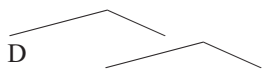
(3) *Modena* (Emilia)
la ˈmaɲ-a
she eat-3sg
'She eats'

On the basis of much evidence concerning Romance as well as Albanian dialects, we 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).

(4) [D [N [C [D [N [I [D [N [V

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

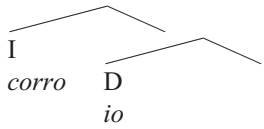
(5) *Modena*



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
'I run'

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).

(7) 

The idea for which we argue in this chapter 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 such as 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 the introduction that morphological structures are identical to syntactic structures. In the traditional conception, reflected by generative theory and by the minimalist model (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), 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 may 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, in Chapters 3–4 we 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 the N category is in fact restricted to the third person.

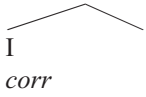
The categories mentioned above coincide with those independently postulated by many theories for the internal structure of the noun phrase. In other words, they do not constitute a separate list of morphological categories, but they are the same as syntactic categories. Given this identification of morphological 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

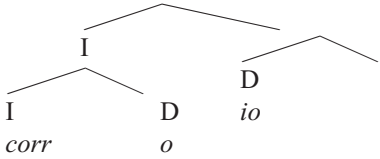
applied to verb inflection. The traditional and generative approach to verb inflection and to its role in the structure of the sentence is well illustrated by the theory of Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) according to which the verb inflection consists of an unspecified set of features associated to the verb in I, whose value is set by the corresponding, valued features of the sentential subject. The unification of morphology and syntax that we adopt here 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 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 reproduces exactly 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 while the inflection occupies the D position. Crucially the structure in (8a) is to be understood as word-internal, while 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 D 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.

(8) a



b



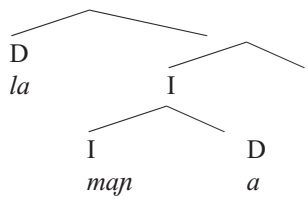
The current proposal concerning the relation of morphology and syntax has an important point of similarity with the Distributed Morphology model of Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), namely the presence of a syntactic-like hierarchical structure within the morphological component. This property of distributed morphology holds of the current 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 current model there is a unique set of categories and structures and therefore a completely integrated morphosyntactic component. We shall devote this chapter 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 may 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 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 do 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 (Chapter 3) 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 such as 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*



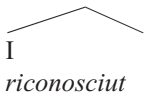
With this much background, we can now return to the N formalization for the object of the sentence that we have proposed in (1) without further discussion. As is well known (Burzio 1986; Kayne 1989a), a language such as Italian has at least one verbal form, i.e. the perfect participle, which does not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

subject, but rather with the object, as may be seen in examples of the type in (10).

(10) la ha-nno riconosciut-a
her have-3pl recognized-fsg
'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 (1990). 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-fsg Mary ran away
'Having been recognized, Mary ran away'

b 

The current literature (Marantz 1997) has familiarized us with the idea that a lexical item (e.g. *love*) can correspond equally 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 we give 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).

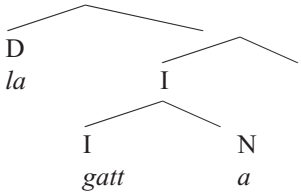
(12) a la gatt-a
the cat-fsg
'the cat'
b *Modena*
la gat-a
the cat-fsg
'the cat'

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, while the inflection that follows it is in N. When the noun is inserted into 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.

(13) a

b



Let us 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 (Chapter 4). 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 Chapters 3 and 4 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 Chapters 3 and 4 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 above, the thesis we intend to support empirically in this chapter 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 second 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* 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 chapter, for morphologically complex forms of the verb we shall indicate only the segmentation relative to the agreement morphology; we refer the reader to Manzini and Savoia (2005) and to Chapters 5 and 7–8 for a treatment of other tense, mood and aspect inflections compatible with the current framework.

(15) *Strozza Valle Imagna* (Lombardy)

a te ˈmaɲdʒ-et
you eat -2sg
'You eat'

b te maɲˈdʒa-et
you ate -2sg
'You ate'

c te maɲdʒeˈres-et
you would.eat -2sg
'You would eat'

Forlì (Romagna)

b t durˈmif-ta
you slept -2sg
'You slept'

The *t* inflection for the second 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 second person object clitics.

(16) *Camporeale* (Sicily)
tɪ lavava -tʊ
you washed-2sg
'You washed yourself'

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

(17) *Strozza Valle Imagna*
a maɲˈdʒ-if
eat -2pl
'You eat'
b maɲˈdʒa-ef
ate -2pl
'You ate'
c maɲdʒeˈres-ef
would.eat -2pl
'You would eat'
d ɛl ve l ˈda
he you it gives
'He gives it to you'

Forlì
c a vdiˈrɛç -uv
ClS would.see-2pl
'You would see'
d a v laˈvi:
ClS you wash.2pl
'You wash yourselves'

Camporeale
b vɪ laˈvava -vʊ
you washed(impf)-2pl
'You washed yourselves'
b′ vɪ laˈvaʃtɪ-vʊ
you washed(pf)-2pl
'You washed yourselves'

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

(18) *Giurdignano* (Apulia)
a maɲˈdʒau-nɛ
ate-1pl
'We ate'
b nɛ llaˈvamu
us wash.1pl
'We wash ourselves'

As for the first 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 may be seen that this *i* inflection coincides with the subject clitic form.

(19) *S. Giorgio della Richinvelda* (Friuli)
i mi ˈlav -i
I me wash-1sg
'I wash myself'

La Pli de Mareo (Alto Adige)
i ˈdorm-i
I sleep -1sg
'I sleep'

Finally, clear cases of coincidence of the inflection of the verb with nominal morphology are to be found in the third person plural. In particular in the dialect of *Airole* in (20), the *n* element forms both the third 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 third person singular and the *-no* ending. The latter is still the inflection of the verb in the third person plural in standard Italian, cf. *dormo-no* 'they sleep', and so on.

(20) *Airole* (Liguria)
a iŋ su-ŋ veˈɲy/ veˈɲye
they be-3pl come/come-fpl
'They have come'
b iŋ l a -ŋ tʃaˈmau
they him have-3pl called
'They have called him'

The coincidence between the plural morphology of the pronoun and the third 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 (third 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 (2005).

(21) *Casaccia* (Grisons)
a l -aŋ ˈdona
the-plf woman
'the women'
b a l -aŋ ˈve
ClS them-plf see
'I see them'
c i ˈdɔʀm-aŋ
they.m sleep-3pl
'They sleep'
d la ˈdɔʀm-aŋ
she sleep -3pl
'They 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 third 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 may also be interpreted 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 ʃkaˈbɛl-əŋ
the chair-fpl
'the chair'

(23) *Soazza*
a i ˈbe:f
they.m drink
'They drink'
b la ˈbev -əŋ
she drink-fpl
'They drink'
c ˈtʃama-l -əŋ
call -def-fpl
'Call them!'
d la ˈtʃam-i -əŋ
her call -1sg-fpl
'I call them'
e tu mɛ l a -i -ŋ porˈtad-əŋ
you me def have-2sg-fpl brought-fpl
'You have brought them to me'

Apart from the cases in (20)–(23) in which the *n* morphology for plural may be seen both on the noun and the verb, there are many cases in which it may be seen on the verb. In fact this is the normal lexicalization for the third person plural inflection in Romance languages, as may also be seen from standard Italian in (24).

(24) Corr-ono
run-3pl
'They run'

2.2 Mesoclisis 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 mesoclisis 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*, mesoclisis characterizes both plural forms of the imperative, i.e. first person as in (25a) and second person as in (25b)–(25d). In these forms, the dative clitic as in (25a)–(25b), P clitics, i.e. first and second person 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 mesoclisis position, appearing after the verb inflection.

(25) *Albidona* (Calabria)
a pɔrta -ʎə -ˈmu-llə
bring-him-1pl-it
'Let us bring it to him'

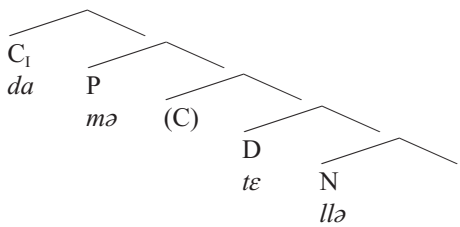
b da -ʎʎə-ˈtɛ -llə
give-him-2pl-it
'Give it to him'

c da -mə-ˈtɛ -llə
give-me-2pl-it
'Give it to me'

d ɣavə-sə-ˈtɛ-llə
wash-yourselves-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 labeled C_I to suggest that its properties relate to modality, understood as some I(ndefiniteness)/quantificational property. The verb stem will then appear in the higher C_I position, while the intermediate *mə* 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 and so on appears without the accusative, we may expect that it is in mesoclisis as well. In reality dialects of the *Albidona* type generally display simple enclisis, as illustrated in (27c) for *Senise*, though mesoclisis of the clitic as in (27a) and doubling of the clitic in mesoclisis and enclisis as in (27b) can also surface.

(27) *Senise* (Lucania)

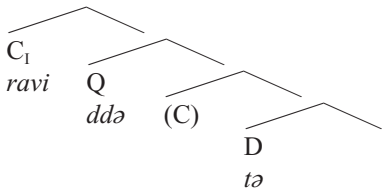
a raˈvi-ddə-tə ˈtuttə
give-him-2pl everything
'Give him everything'

b ra -ˈmi-tə -mə ˈkwistə
give-me-2pl-me this
'Give me this'

c purˈtæ-tə -də ˈkwistə
bring -2pl-him this
'Bring him this'

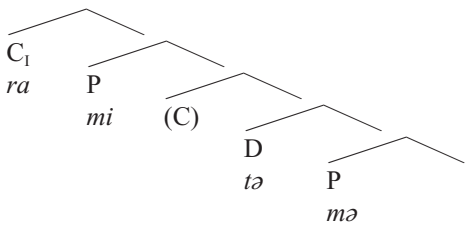
The structure of (27a) will follow the same lines as that postulated in (26); having proposed that the verb stem is inserted in the high C_I position, we take it that the clitic is in the C domain, while the verb inflection lexicalizes D of the I domain, as in (28).

(28) *Senise*



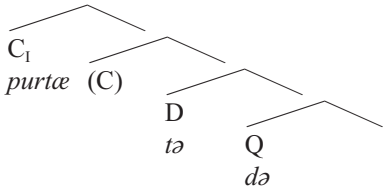
In turn, examples of doubling of the clitic as in (27b) are some of the best evidence for the recursion of nominal projection domains that characterizes the present model. These can straightforwardly be assigned a structure like (29) in which the two copies of the clitic appear in the appropriate position 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), second 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	ˈpɔrtə	ˈkwɪssə			
	bring	this			
	‘Bring this’				
b	ɔ	ʎʎ	u	pɔrˈta	
	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 mesoclisis, depending on the high position of the verb stem in C$_I$, does not co-occur with negation. The presence of the negation triggers the positioning of clitics between the negation itself and the verb, as in (32).

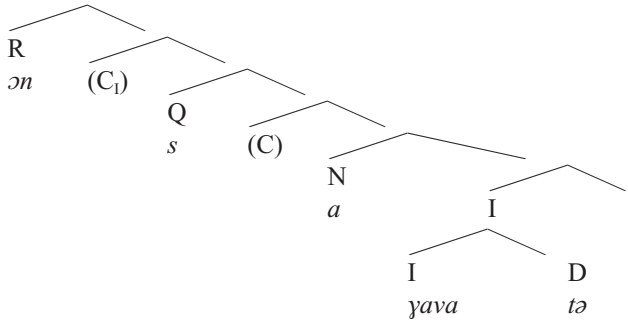
(32) *Albidona*

a	ɔ	ʎʎ	u	ˈðaː-tə
	not	him	it	give-2pl
	‘Don’t give it to him’			
b	ɔn	s	a	ɣaˈvaː-tə
	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 declar-

ative sentences, i.e. I, leading to proclisis, as in (33). The insertion of the negative clitic in an R position in (33) corresponds to a nominal treatment of the negation that is argued for by Manzini and Savoia (2005).

(33) *Albidona*



It is worth noting that the explanation given above, namely that the negation 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 second person singular in terms of Minimality is itself open to question. Thus in many Italian dialects, 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 (2005) 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, as in standard Italian (34).

(34) Non portarglielo
not bring-to.him-it
'Don't bring it to him'

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 (2005) 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 above analysis 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 mesoclisis; so-called accusative clitics, i.e. N clitics in the current approach appear in enclisis in any case. This conclusion is strengthened by the data concerning Albanian dialects presented in Chapter 7, 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 third person pronouns pattern differently from first and second person pronouns. In Chapter 6, we interpret this split as the reflex of different conditions attaching to elements anchored only to the discourse, like first and second person, and elements, like the so-called third 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 lexicalized in the lower string that involve mesoclisis; in other cases we find simple enclisis. Examples such as (27b) from *Senise* would appear to represent a particular case of this grammar, in which mesoclisis appears when the lower clitic domain is also filled, in the case at hand by a second copy of the same clitic.

In essence, in the context defined by the lexicalization of the verb in C_I, clitics that are event-anchored are constrained to appear in the lower clitic domain, where they are inserted in declaratives as well; however, clitics that are discourse-anchored and are not so constrained appear in the higher modal domain. One further complication is that clitic interpretation requires the lower clitic domain, corresponding to the nominal projections of I, to be filled; therefore mesoclisis of discourse-anchored clitics only appears in conjunction with enclisis of accusative clitics or eventually of a copy of the discourse-anchored clitic itself.

It is useful to consider what the available alternatives to the analysis outlined above may involve. It is fortunate in this respect that an analogous mesoclisis phenomenon in imperatives is actually considered by Halle and Marantz (1994) for Caribbean Spanish. Thus the enclitic pattern of standard Spanish in (35a) contrasts with mesoclisis in Caribbean Spanish, as in (35b).

(35) a de -n -me-lo
give-2pl-me-it
'Give it to me'

b de -me-lo-n
give-me-it -2pl

(Halle and Marantz 1994: 286)

Halle and Marantz (1994) assume that the syntactic component generates structures of the type in (35′a) (irrelevant details omitted), where the clitic cluster, i.e. Cl, is adjoined to the right of the I cluster formed by the verb and its plural inflection. It is only in the morphological component that the clitic cluster moves in a position internal to the I constituent, inserted between the verbal stem and its plural inflection, yielding a structure of the type in (35′b).

(35′) a [$_{I}$ de – n] [$_{Cl}$ me – lo]
b [$_{I}$ de [$_{Cl}$ me lo] n]

Obviously enough, an account of the type in (35′) is perfectly adequate to describe the facts. It seems to us however that considerations of explanatory adequacy, and of overall simplicity in the architecture of the grammar, favor a syntactic approach of the type we are taking. Indeed, it is true that the infixation of the clitic can be obtained by a post-syntactic movement rule internal to the morphological component. The same infixation however may be easily obtained within the syntactic component along the lines proposed here. Everything else being equal, our analysis is preferable on simplicity grounds in that it does not make recourse to an additional level of representation beyond syntax.

On the other hand, there seem to be empirical advantages to a syntactic treatment. In the model in (35′) it is not clear why the infixation would apply only in the imperative; again descriptive adequacy is not at stake, since imperatives can obviously be singled out by stipulation. In a syntactic model like the current one however, the relevant restriction may be derived rather than just stated. Indeed, as we saw in (30), we have reasons for assuming that the imperative involves the high C_I position, while no other finite form of the verbs does. Mesoclisis 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 should not 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 current model, the latter do not give rise to mesoclisis 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.