

Part II

(Pro)nominal Structures

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Prosodic restructuring and morphological opacity



*The evolution of Italo-Romance clitic clusters**

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8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evolution of Romance clitic sequences with the intent of providing a principled analysis of the syntactic change reversing their internal order.¹ In old Florentine,² for instance, the order accusative > dative in (1a), found in the

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¹ For the sake of consistency, in what follows I will take into consideration data from Italian vernaculars, but the same analysis can hold for Gallo-Romance.

² Following Renzi and Salvi (2010), I consider 13th–14thc. Florentine as the ancestor of modern Italian. Hence, in the remainder of the work, I will refer to this language as 'Old Italian'. The bibliographical details of the textual sources and their abbreviations cited in the examples below are as follows: Boccaccio, *ChioseTes* = Giovanni Boccaccio, *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia. Chiose*, in Limentani (1964: 253–664); Boccaccio, *Filocolo* = Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, in Quaglio (1967: 61–675); Dante (?), *Fiore* = Dante Alighieri, *Detto d'Amore*, in Contini (1984: 485–512); Dante, *Inf* = Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia*, Petrocchi (1966); Dante, *VN* = Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, Barbi (1932); Dante, *Rime* = Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, Contini (1980); *DialSGreg* = Domenico Cavalca?, *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio composito in vorgia*, Porro (1979); *LibrAmm* = *Libro d'amministrazione dell'eredità di Baldovino Iacopi Riccomanni*, in Castellani (1982: 429–64); *LibrCred* = *Libricciolo di crediti di Bene Bencivenni*, in Castellani (1952: 363–458); *LibroDare* = *Libro del dare e dell'avere di Noffo e Vese figli di Deigo Genovesi*, in Castellani (1952: 622–42); *Novellino* = Il Novellino, Favati (1970); *PassGen* = *La Passione*, in Parodi (1896); *Tesoro volg.* = *Il tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*(1878–83).

earliest records, is progressively replaced by the order in (1b), attested since the end of the 13th century.³

- (1) a. che [...] voi **la** **mi** concediate (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 212)
that [...] you.PL it.F= to.me= grant.SBJV
'that you grant it to me'
- b. Se Egli **me** **la** concede (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 72)
if he to.me= it.F= **G** grants
'if He grants it to me'

As a consequence of this change, the order of clitic elements ends up mirroring—in Baker's (1985) terms—that of their nominal counterparts. Building on Kayne (1994: 19–21; see also Cardinaletti 2008), I will argue that the change leading to the mirror order in (1b) is due to the left-adjunction of the dative clitic to the accusative one, as illustrated in (2b).

- (2) a. [*la* [*mi*]]
b. [*me-la* [*t_{me}*]]

According to Kayne's terminology, the resulting configuration in (2b) is a (true) *cluster*, while (2a) is a *split sequence*, where clitics occupy different, though adjacent, positions. On the basis of this hypothesis, we can therefore predict that the clusters with the mirror order (hence, true clusters) differ from the others under a series of syntactic and morphophonological aspects, which I will address in the second part of the chapter (§§8.3–8.6).

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §8.2 introduces some data from medieval Florentine and provides a brief comparison with medieval and modern Ligurian varieties (Parry 1992; 1997a; 2005); §8.3 shows that true clusters are inseparable; §8.4 addresses a peculiar pattern of vowel alternation which targets Italian true clusters; after a brief analysis of the internal structure of clitic elements, §8.5 takes into consideration cases of morphological opacity targeting true clusters; in §8.6, I claim that the mirror order is due to a process of *root incorporation*; §8.7 focuses on modern Italian in order to account for an exceptional patterns of clitic doubling (Benincà 1988: 137).

8.2 The emergence of the mirror order

When clitic elements co-occur, they are generally clustered together in a rigid order, which varies on a language-specific basis. In large part this synchronic variation results from a diachronic change, which, in some languages but not in others, made clitic combinations evolve from the archaic order accusative > dative to the mirror

³ Besides the order, (1b) differs from (1a) with respect to the vowel of the dative clitic (*me* vs *mi*). This alternation will be addressed later on, in §8.4.

one. As previously said, this change is documented in early Italian in combinations of 3rd person accusative and 1st/2nd person dative clitics (I repeat below the relevant examples). The earliest records exhibit the archaic order in (3a). In the first half of the 14th century, both orders were allowed, in apparent free variation.⁴ Later, however, the archaic order was progressively replaced by the innovative mirror order in (3b), which is now the only possible order in present-day Italian.

- (3) a. che [...] voi **la** **mi** concediate (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 212)
that [...] you.**pl** it.**f**= to.me= grant.sbjv
'that you grant it to me'
- b. se Egli **me** **la** concede (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 72)
if he to.me= it.**f**= grants
'if He grants it to me'

The same evolution can be observed when the dative clitic is the 3rd person reflexive *si*.⁵

- (4) a. lo 'mperadore **lo** **si** trasse di sotto (OFlo., *Novellino* 21, p. 180)
the emperor it= himself= took.out from under
'the emperor took it out from below himself'
- b. se lo levò in su il petto (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Chiose Tes* 8.80, p. 523)
himself= him= lifted in on the chest
'He (Heracles) lifted him (Antaeus) up to his chest'

Traces of the same evolution are found also in clusters formed by a locative clitic and a 3rd person accusative one. In modern Italian, the locative clitic must occupy the leftmost position of the cluster, but in Old Italian, there are a couple of attestations of the opposite order, with the locative clitic *vi*:

- (5) S' alcun **lo** **vi** volesse aprossimare (OFlo., Dante?, *Fiore*, p. 60)
If anybody it= there= would get.close
'If anybody would get close to there'

⁴ See Aski and Russi (2010) for a quantitative survey and a tentative pragmatic-based account of this alternation.

⁵ The 'archaic' sequence *lo si* is still in use in modern Italian, although it has a different interpretation. As shown in (i), when *si* follows the 3rd person accusative clitic, it is interpreted as an impersonal clitic:

- (i) a. se **lo** mangia (It., *si_{refl.}* > 3acc)
himself/herself= it= eats
'he/she eats it'
- b. **lo** **si** mangia (It., 3rd person acc > *si_{imps}*)
it= one= eats
'one eats it'

Arguably, the orders *se lo* and *lo si*, which in the 13th/14th c. were synonymous, started to be given different interpretations when the mirror order became the only possible one for combinations of dative and accusative clitics. Meanwhile, the impersonal *si* construction emerged (Salvi 2008b; Cennamo 1993a; 1993b; 1997) and, consequently, the archaic order *lo si* was given the new interpretation.

When both clitics are 3rd person, the internal order of the combination cannot be established as the morphology of the cluster is not transparent.⁶ The accusative clitic shows no gender and number agreement and the cluster ends with an invariable *-e*, e.g. *lile, glile, gliele*:

- (6) che **gli** **le** demo p(er) una inpossta (OFlo., *LibrAmm*)
 that to.him= them= we.gave for a tax
 ‘that we gave them to him for a tax’

This opacity can be considered as a clue of an ongoing change from the order 3rd person accusative > 3rd person dative (undocumented) to the mirror one, which is the order of modern Italian. I will not speculate further on this, as at present the data do not allow any conclusion.

Comparatively, it is worth noting that traces of the non-mirror order are found in Gallo-Romance and in several dialects of northwestern Liguria,⁷ like (7), while the other northern vernaculars have displayed the modern pattern since their earliest attestations.

- (7) a. el **u** **i** duna (Olivetta San Michele (IM), Manzini and Savoia 2004)
 he it/him= to.him= gives
 ‘he gives it/him to him’
 b. el **u** **mə** duna (Olivetta San Michele (IM), Manzini and Savoia 2004)
 he him/it= to.me= gives
 ‘he gives him/it to me’

A single case of the archaic order is found in an old Genoese text, which may indicate that the archaic order had been more widespread.

- (8) E la Magdalena laor **lo** **gue** mostrà (OGen., *PassGen*, p.36)
 And the Magdalena then him= to.her= showed
 ‘And then Magdalena showed him to her’

Let us turn to combinations containing the clitic *ne*.⁸ In both old and modern Italian, *ne* follows 1st/2nd person clitics (and the 3rd person reflexive *se*), e.g. *me ne, te ne, se ne*. Conversely, modern and Old Italian differ with respect to sequences of *ne*

⁶ In 14th-c. Florentine the distribution of the grapheme <gl> can be symptomatic of the position of the 3rd person dative clitic as <gl> is supposed to stand for a palatal lateral deriving from -ll- in front of /i/, cf. *begli* ‘beautiful (pl)’, *capegli* ‘hair (pl)’. Crucially, <gl> is always in the initial position of the cluster (or, in certain authors, both clitics are expressed by <gl>). We can therefore advance the hypothesis that the order of 14th-c. Italian was already 3rd person dative > 3rd person accusative.

⁷ Parry (2005: 268 n. 38), Borgogno (1972), Manzini and Savoia (2004).

⁸ In principle, different types of *ne* could occupy different syntactic positions and, consequently, might give rise to different orders once combined with other clitic material. To the best of my knowledge, however, the position of the clitic *ne* with respect to other clitics does not depend on the type of *ne* involved, but rather on the nature of the co-occurring clitic form.

and 3rd person clitics: in modern Italian, *ne* must follow the dative clitic, while in Old Italian *ne* can either follow or precede the dative clitic. This is illustrated in (10), with a partitive *ne*, and (11), with an ablative *ne*.

- (9) a. e assai **ne** gli piacquero (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Dec.* II, 5, p. 98)
and many of.them= to.him= pleased.3pl
'and he liked many of them'
- b. rimasero cinque fior. d' oro, ed io **gli** **ne** rendei
remain five florin of gold, and I to.him= of.them= gave.back
quattro (OFlo., *LibroDare*, p. 633)
four
'there remained five florins and I gave him four (florins) back'
- (10) a. molti pericoli **ne** gli possono seguire (OFlo., Boccaccio,
many problems from.there= to.him= can follow
Filocolo IV, 49)
'many problems can result from it'
- b. ché **gli** **ne** potrebbe troppo di mal seguire
because to.him= from.it= could too.much of bad(luck) follow
(OFlo., Boccaccio, *Dec.* III, 3, p. 197)
'because it could cause him too much misfortune'

A similar pattern of (apparent) free variation is attested in the *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, a 14th-century text written in a vernacular of the Ligurian/Piedmontese border (the alternation between the dative forms *li/ge* will be addressed in §8.5):

- (11) a. **ne** li avea daito a lor (OLig./Pie., *DialSGreg* 3.37:211)
of.it= to.them= has given to them
'he has given them some oil'
- b. una **ge** **ne** caite de man (OLig./Pie., *DialSGreg* 1.7:92)
one to.him= of.them= falls from hand
'one of them falls from his hand'

In modern Romance, the archaic order is found only in Sardinian dialects:

- (12) **nde** li dana (Srd., Manzini and Savoia 2005: ii.317–21)
of.them= to.him/her= gives
'He/she gives some of them to him/her'

The status of combinations of *ne* and a 3rd person accusative clitic is even more puzzling, as they are no longer allowed in modern Italian (*contra* Wanner 1977), while they were allowed in old Italian, with both orders:

- (13) ***ne** **lo** prendo, il libro, dalla libreria (mod. It.)
 from.there= it= take.I, the book, from.the shelf
 ‘I take it from there’
- (14) a. appresso gir **lo** **ne** vedea piangendo (OFlo., Dante *VN* 3, 12)
 further go him= there= I.saw crying
 ‘I saw him depart in tears’
- b. Egli **ne** **lo** fa uscire fuori (OFlo., *Tesoro volg.* 160)
 He of.there= it= make exit out
 ‘He makes it get out of there’

The observed changes are finally recapitulated in the following table:

(15)

| Old Italian | | Modern Italian |
|--|--|------------------------------|
| 13th century | 14th century | |
| 3p acc > 1/2p dat – | 3p acc > 1/2p dat 1/2p dat > 3 acc | – 1/2p dat > 3 acc |
| 3p acc > 3p refl. dat – | 3p acc > 3p refl. dat 3p refl. dat > 3p acc | – 3p refl. dat > 3p acc |
| 3p acc > locative (<i>vi</i>) locative > 3p acc | | – locative > 3p acc |
| <i>ne</i> > 3p dat 3p dat > <i>ne</i> | | – 3p dat > <i>ne</i> |
| <i>ne</i> > 3p acc 3p acc > <i>ne</i> | | – – |

(15) illustrates a general trend towards establishing a rigid order in which the clitic elements mirror the order of arguments and adjuncts. To the best of my knowledge, the evolution is one-way: the mirror order replaces the archaic one in many Romance languages, while the opposite change is never attested.⁹

However, not all combinations were affected by a similar change, and consequently they have kept the ‘medieval’ order. This is particularly true for combinations of case-syncretic clitics (*mi ti, gli si, mi ci*, etc.), i.e. pronouns which can express either the direct or the indirect object. For reasons of space, I cannot elaborate on the relation between case syncretism and cluster formation.

⁹ In principle, the evolution might have been more articulated and widespread than it is normally considered to have been on the basis of the attested patterns. In particular, the same change could have affected other types of combination or other languages (e.g. Ibero-Romance) in a previous, undocumented stage, as probably happened in northern Italian vernaculars.

Rather, in the following sections, I will entertain the hypothesis that the evolution illustrated in (15) is due to the left-adjunction of a clitic to other, and that the resulting combinations correspond to single complex heads (true ‘clusters’, in Kayne’s 1990⁴ terms). The other combinations, by contrast, are supposed to be split, with each clitic occupying a dedicated projection.

8.3 Separability

In principle, we expect that split clitics can be separated: in restructuring contexts (Rizzi 1982), for instance, our prediction is that one clitic can attach proclitically, while the other occupies an enclitic position, e.g. cl–V–cl. By contrast, the same pattern is supposed to be ungrammatical with true clusters. As shown below, this prediction is borne out: the separation of true clusters, as in (16c,d) and (17c,d) gives rise to severe ungrammaticality, while split sequences, as in (18) and (19), can be separated in a colloquial register.

- (16) a. **Te** **lo** può portare (It.)
 To.you= it= can bring
 b. Può portar=**te=lo** (It.)
 can bring=to.you=it
 c. ***ti** può portar=**lo** (It.)
 to.you= can bring=it
 d. ***lo** può portar=**ti** (It.)
 it= can bring=to.you
 ‘he/she can bring it to you’
- (17) a. **Te** **ne** può portare (It.)
 to.you= of.it/them= can bring
 b. Può portar=**te=ne** (It.)
 can bring=to.you= of.it/them
 c. ***ti** può portar=**ne** (It.)
 to.you= can bring= of.it/them
 d. ***ne** può portar=**ti** (It.)
 of.it/them= can bring=to.you
 ‘he/she can bring of.it/them to you’
- (18) a. **ti** **ci** può portare lui, all’ aeroporto (It.)
 you= there= can bring he, to.the airport
 b. può portar=**ti=ci** lui, all’ aeroporto (It.)
 can bring=you=there he, to.the airport

- c. ?**ti** può portar=**ci** lui, all' aeroporto (coll. It.)
 you= can bring=there he, to.the airport
- d. ?**ci** può portar=**ti** lui, all' aeroporto (coll. It.)
 There= can bring=you he, to.the airport
 'he can bring you there (to the airport)'
- (19) a. **ti** **si** può portare (It.)¹⁰
 you= one= can bring
- b. **si** può portar=**ti** (coll. It.)
 one= can bring=you
 'one can bring you'

The contrast between (16,17) and (18,19) supports the hypothesis that the combinations that in the 14th century changed their order behave now as true clusters. By contrast, those combinations that have kept the original order—which I have argued to correspond to a split configuration—are nowadays separable.

Furthermore, this hypothesis entails that, before the change in (15), all combinations were split and hence every sequence could be separated. We therefore expect Old Italian to exhibit combinations like (16c,d) and (17c,d). Even if traces of separated sequences are rather scarce, this prediction is confirmed by cases like (20), in which one clitic is proclitic to the finite verb and the other is enclitic to the lexical one. It is worth recalling that, in modern Italian, these combinations are completely ungrammatical.

- (20) a. Ma la cosa incredibile **mi** fece
 But the thing incredible me= made
 'But your plight, being incredible, made me
 Indur=**lo** ad ovra ch' a me stesso pesa (OFL., Dante, *Inf.* 13: 50–51)
 induce=him to work that to my self weighs
 goad him to this deed that weighs on me'
- b. se 'n tal maniera **mi** dovete dar=**lo** (OFlo., Amico di Dante, *Rime*,
 if in such way to.me= have.to give=it
 Son. 44)
 'if you have to give it to me in this way'

The fact that Old Italian clusters can be separated is consistent with the hypothesis that clitic combinations were originally split, and only later on began to form a single syntactic unit.

¹⁰ For orthogonal reasons, the impersonal *si* cannot occur enclitically, see Cardinaletti (2008). This is why I have reported only two combinations out of four.

8.4 Allomorphy

In Italian, some combinations are characterized by a change of the vowel of the leftmost clitic (either a dative or a locative), which ends with *-e* instead of the expected *-i* as shown in (21). Other sequences, like those in (22), do not show any alteration and the linking vowel is the expected *-i*.

- (21) a. [me] lo porti (It., [*mi])
to.me= it= bring.you
'you bring it to me'
- b. [ʎe] ne porti due (It., [*ʎi])
to.him= of.them= bring.you two
'you bring him two of them'
- (22) a. [mi] ci porta Mario (It., [*me])
me= there= brings Mario
'M. brings me there'
- b. [ʎi] si parla dopo (It., [*ʎe])
to.him= one= speak later
'we'll speak to him later'

The situation is summarized in (23): the first column reports oblique forms in isolation (*mi*, *ti*, *gli*, etc.); in the second and third columns, the same forms are clustered with the 3rd person accusative *lo* ('him, it') and the partitive *ne* ('of.it/them'); in the fourth and fifth columns, the same clitics appear before the 3rd person reflexive and impersonal clitic *si* ('himself/herself/themselves/one') and the locative clitic *ci* ('there').

| (23) | | with the vowel <i>-e-</i> : | | with the vowel <i>-i-</i> : | | |
|---------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|--|
| 1sg | (<i>mi</i>) | <i>me lo</i> | <i>me ne</i> | <i>mi si</i> | <i>mi ci</i> | |
| 2sg | (<i>ti</i>) | <i>te lo</i> | <i>te ne</i> | <i>ti si</i> | <i>ti ci</i> | |
| 3sg.dat | (<i>gli</i>) | <i>glielo</i> | <i>gliene</i> | <i>gli si</i> | <i>gli ci</i> |  |
| 1pl/loc | (<i>ci</i>) | <i>ce lo</i> | <i>ce ne</i> | <i>ci si</i> | * | |
| | etc. | | | | | |

In this section I argue that the *-i/e-* alternation is sensitive to the syntactic make-up of the combination. In fact, the sequences where the linking vowel turns into *-e-* correspond to the class of true clusters (cf. (15)).

Before addressing this point, however, I will revise briefly the existing literature on the topic, starting from D'Ovidio (1886: 71), who argues that *-e-* is a reflex of the etymological initial vowel of the rightmost clitic: **i**-LLUM, **i**-NDE. The etymological vowel has been preserved in cluster-internal position, as shown below:

- (24) a. ME ĬLLUM > M'ĬLLU > me lo 'it/him to me'
 b. ĬLLI ĬNDE > ILL'INDE > gliene 'it/him to him/her'

Such a proposal, however, has two major drawbacks.

First, as Parodi (1887: 189–90) pointed out, the 13th-century reflexes of *ILLE*, *INDE* occupy the leftmost position of the sequence, as shown in §8.2. The fact that the archaic order of these clusters is accusative > dative contradicts D'Ovidio's hypothesis that the linking vowel *-e-* is a reflex of *preserved-ĭ* in cluster-internal position. Rather, Melander (1929) pointed out that *-e* should be considered a side-effect of the change that led to the mirror order: in fact, as soon as the dative clitics began to occupy the leftmost position of the cluster, their vowel suddenly changed into *-e* with very few exceptions.¹¹

Second, if *-e-* was the reflex of *ĭ*, this would entail that the cluster originally included a disyllabic reflex of ĬLLE, ĬNDE. If so, the resulting cluster would show a geminate sonorant (cf. ĬLLE, ĬNDE > **ello*, **enne*) as in Florentine etymological geminates are normally maintained. The expected evolution would therefore be as follows:

- (25) a. ME ĬLLUM > M'ĬLLU > *mello 'it/him to me'
 b. ĬLLI ĬLLUM > ILL'ĬLLUM > *gliello 'it/him to him/her'

It is worth noting that in Italian this gemination is shown in sequences of preposition + article (the so-called *preposizioni articolate*, lit. 'articled prepositions'), but not in pronominal sequences:

- (26) a. DE ĬLLUM > D'ĬLLU > dello 'of the'
 b. IN ĬLLUM > (I)N'ĬLLUM > nello 'in the'

In (26), the preservation of the disyllabic form of the determiner (ĬLLU > *ello*) provides a straightforward explanation for both the vowel *-e-* and the following gemination.¹² On the contrary, the case of pronominal sequences calls for a different

¹¹ Interestingly, these exceptions normally regard sequences containing a 3rd person clitic (*li/gli*), which tend to maintain the vowel *-i-* (cf. (29)). In these cases, we can suppose that the *-i-* of *li/gli* is a reflex of the Latin dative ending.

¹² The conclusion that the *-e-* of pronominal clusters and the *-e-* of P+D sequences have a different nature is highly desirable because it prevents a possible paradox. In fact, Cardinaletti's (2008) claim that true clusters 'display the same vowel that is found in the combinations of preposition and determiner' ends up contradicting Cardinaletti's own analysis that sequences of pronominal clitics are true clusters in the sense of Kayne (1994). In fact, P+D sequences cannot be clusters *à la* Kayne (1994), as the linear order P > D cannot be due to movement of P° past D°. Hence, if we want to maintain the hypothesis that *-e-* is a clue of true clusters, we have to demonstrate that their *-e-*'s are different.

Gemination is the proof that P+D sequences differ from pronominal clusters like *me lo*, *gliela*: the former, but not the latter, derive from the *univerbation* of the preposition and the following disyllabic determiner: e.g. *de illum* > *d'illu* > *dello* 'of the'. The absence of gemination in pronominal clusters, by contrast, indicates that the rightmost element was not disyllabic and, consequently, that the linking vowel *-e-* cannot be a reflex of *ĭ*-preserved in cluster-internal position.

Later on, however, the linking vowel of these clusters became *-e-*, which is the only possible form in modern Italian (I repeat below the relevant example). The phonological explanation cannot account for the evolution from (29) to (30), as in (30) the linking vowel *-e-* cannot be considered the underlying vowel, surfacing as a consequence of foot formation.

- (30) [λe] ne porti due [$*\lambda i$]
 to.him= of.them= bring.you two
 ‘You bring him two of them’

Second, a pure phonological analysis cannot explain why the *-e/i-* alternation is not allowed in several clusters, where both clitics display the vowel *-i* (I repeat below the relevant examples):

- (31) a. [mi] ci porta Mario [$*me$]
 me= there= brings Mario
 ‘M. brings me there’
 b. [λi] si parla dopo [$*\lambda e$]
 to.him= one= speak later
 ‘we’ll speak to him later’

In order to account for (31) under the hypothesis that *-e-* is a consequence of secondary stress, we should postulate that the combinations in (31) are sequences of extrametrical syllables rather than feet. However, such classification is not supported by any independent piece of phonological evidence.

The alternative explanation is that the *-e/i-* alternation, although originating from a phonological process like (27), is syntax-driven—i.e. in synchrony, it is sensitive to the syntactic make-up of the cluster, rather than its prosodic structure. Let us assume that the original phonological rule—rewritten in (32a)—has been reanalysed as a morphological alternation, sensitive to the presence/absence of a morphosyntactic boundary, as represented in (32b).

- (32) a. /e/ → [i] / ____#
 b. -i / ____# \star
 -e

This would explain why the *-e/i-* alternation correlates with the distinction between cluster and split combinations proposed in the previous sections. As illustrated in (33), split sequences are characterized by an internal morphosyntactic boundary (#), which triggers the insertion of the default final unstressed *-i*. By contrast, true clusters count as a single morphosyntactic unit and, consequently, the linking vowel is *-e-* because it is no longer analysed as a final vowel.

(33) a. combinations with the vowel *-i-*:

[cl₁ [cl₂ ... → *mi#si, mi#ci, gli#si*, etc.

b. sequences with the vowel *-e-*:

[cl₁ + cl₂ [... → *me lo, me ne, gliene*, etc.

I have argued that the split/cluster divide helps to account for a morphophonological puzzle which cannot be explained otherwise. I have claimed that the above alternation can be explained once previous phonological reconstructions—like those of Rohlfs—are revised in the light of a principled model of the syntactic make-up of clitic combinations.

8.5 Suppletion

In various Italo-Romance dialects, the etymological form of the 3rd person dative clitic (e.g. *li/le*) has completely fallen out of use, and in modern dialects this pronoun is expressed by a suppletive exponent which normally coincides with the locative or the 3rd person reflexive clitic. In many dialects, such a suppletion is absolute (see Calabrese 1994; 2008; Loporcaro 1995; 2002), while in others it is context-determined: the 3rd person dative clitic is replaced by a suppletive exponent when it is clustered with another clitic element (see e.g. Pescarini 2010). As Cardinaletti (2008) pointed out, this normally happens in true clusters. This section aims to investigate further the relation between suppletion and cluster formation

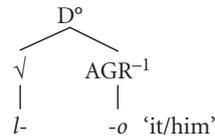
Before addressing the relevant data, some general remarks on the morphology of the 3rd person dative clitic are in order. In general, Romance clitics are formed by a person morpheme followed by a vowel (a ‘thematic vowel’, according to Harris 1994). However, it is worth distinguishing between two types of vowel: (i) agreement markers carrying morphosyntactic information about gender and number (as in the case of 3rd person non-reflexive pronouns, e.g. *lo, la* ‘it/him, her’); ii. oblique endings without morphosyntactic value, as in the case of 1st/2nd person pronouns, e.g. *me, te* ‘me, you’. Following Kayne’s (2000) proposal, 3rd person clitics, which end with an agreement marker, are *bimorphemic*, while oblique clitics are *monomorphemic*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Kayne (2000) and Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008) argue for a more radical analysis by assuming that oblique endings are epenthetic, i.e. segments which are not part of the morpholexical representation of clitic elements. However, the epenthetic status of these final Vs remains rather obscure to me, in particular in the case of the Italo-Romance varieties which have never undergone a generalized and systematic loss of final unstressed vowels. In fact, in these varieties the default vowel normally coincides with the expected evolution of Lat. *-e* in final, unstressed position. Monomorphemic clitics can be therefore viewed as regular reflexes of the Latin forms *me, te, se, ince, inde* without postulating the intervention of epenthesis processes.

(34) a. Monomorphemic



b. Bimorphemic



Things are a bit more complicated with the 3rd person dative clitic. In several Romance varieties, it derives from the Latin determiner *ILLI* (pl. *ILLIS*) and, although it does not exhibit gender morphology, it can be analysed as a bimorphemic element (*à la* Kayne) formed by a root **l-** followed by an agreement marker. Frequently, however, the etymological form *li/le* has been replaced by locative or reflexive exponents (Calabrese 1994; Loporcaro 1995; 2002).

Moreover, even those languages displaying a bimorphemic dative are subject to context-determined suppletion replacing the etymological form *li/le* with a monomorphemic item. We can distinguish at least three main patterns of substitution on the basis of the etymology of the replacing item:

(i) Spurious *se* patterns, attested in Ibero-Romance and Campidanese Sardinian: in true clusters, the etymological 3rd person dative *le/li* < *ILLI* is replaced by the 3rd person reflexive element (with a non-reflexive interpretation).

- (35) a. **đi** pottu unu libru (Sarroch (CA), Sardinia)
 to.him= I.bring a book
 'I bring him a book'
- b. **si/*đi** đu pottu (Sarroch (CA), Sardinia)
 to.him= it= I.bring
 'I bring it to him'

(ii) Spurious locative patterns, attested in many Italo-Romance dialects, Logudorese Sardinian, and Catalan: in true clusters, the etymological 3rd person dative *le/li* is replaced by the locative clitic *ci/bi/hi/y* < *INCE*, *IBI*.

- (36) **bi/*li** l' appo datu (Log., Jones 1993: 220)
 to.him/her /them= it= have.I given
 'I gave it to him/her/them'

(iii) Spurious *ne* patterns (several southern Italian dialects): in true clusters, the etymological 3rd person dative *le/li* is replaced by the partitive element deriving from Lat. *INDE*.

- (37) a. **i** da kkuistə (Rocca Imperiale (CS), Calabria, Manzini
 to.him/her/them= gives this
 and Savoia 2005: 291)
 'He/she gives this to him/her/them'

- b. **n/*i** **u** da (Rocca Imperiale (CS), Calabria, Manzini and
to.him/her/them= it= gives
Savoia 2005: 291)
'He/she gives it to him/her/them'

In the remainder of this section, I will argue that there is a tight link between the patterns in (i–iii), the internal structure of clitics, and the order of the cluster. In particular, it is worth noting that:

- (38) suppletion consists in replacing a bimorphemic clitic (e.g. $\sqrt{l+i}$) with a monomorphemic one;
(39) this happens in true clusters (i.e. in clusters with the mirror order).

The latter generalization is supported by patterns like (40): in these Sardinian dialects (Ittiri (SS), Padria (SS), Luras (OT), Siniscola (NU), Galtelli (NU), Bosa (OR); Manzini and Savoia 2005: ii.317–21), the etymological form *li* occurs in isolation (40a) or when it follows another clitic (40b). However, when it occupies the leftmost position of the cluster, as in (40c), it must be replaced by the 'spurious' exponent *bi*.

- (40) a. **li** dana kustu (Srd.)
to.him/her= gives this
'he/she gives this to him/her'
- b. **nde** **li** dana (Srd.)
of.them= to.him/her= gives
'he/she gives some of them to him/her'
- c. **bi/*li** **lu** dana (Srd.)
to.him/her= it= gives
'he/she gives it to him/her'

The correlation between suppletion and the mirror order is found in medieval Italo-Romance as well, in the rare vernaculars in which etymological reflexes of Lat. *ILLI* are still attested.¹⁵ For instance, the *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, a text written in a vernacular of the Ligurian/Piedmontese border, displays three allomorphs of the 3rd person dative clitic: *li*, *gl'*, and *ge*.

- (41) a. **Li** dise (OLig./Piem, *DialSGreg* 1. 4, p. 86)
To.him= says
'he says to him.'

¹⁵ In general, in northern Italo-Romance the 3rd person dative clitic is usually expressed by the same exponent expressing the locative clitic since the earliest attestations and, in many cases, such syncretic item cannot be derived easily from Lat. *illi* (for a proposal, see Benincà 2007).

- b. segundo che ello **gl'** aveo inpromoso (OLig./Piem, *DialSGreg*
 according that he to.him= I.have promised
 2.25, p. 138)
 'according to what I have promised to him'
- c. elo **ge** fu mostrao (OLig./Piem, *DialSGreg* 1.4, p.86)
 He to.him= was shown
 'he was shown to him'

Li is the regular reflex of *ILLI*, *gl'* its prevocalic allomorph (<gl> is always used to express the ~~phoneme resulting from~~ the palatalization of *l* in front of the glide *j*, e.g. *FILIU* > *figlo* 'son'), while the relation between *li* and *ge* is, at first sight, phonologically opaque (but see Benincà 2007). With respect to the *l*-*g*- alternation, the important distinction between the two is that *li* can be analysed as a bimorphemic element *l+i* (where *i* < dat -i), while *ge* exhibits the same vowel of 1st/2nd person pronouns *me*, *te*, etc. and, in my opinion, counts as a monomorphemic element.

As in modern Sardinian, the bimorphemic item *li* is used in isolation or in second position, as in (42a), while it is systematically replaced by the monomorphemic *ge* when the cluster exhibits the mirror order, like in (42b).

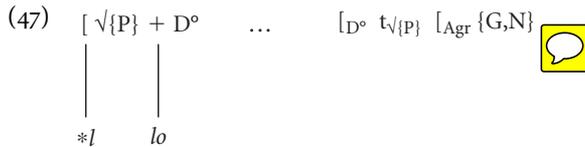
- (42) a. **ne li** avea daito a lor (OLig./Piem, *DialSGreg* 3.37:211)
 of.it = to.them= has given to them
 'he has given them some oil'
- b. una **ge ne** caite de man (OLig./Piem, *DialSGreg* 1. 7, p. 92)
 one to.him= of.them= fell from hand
 'one of them fell from his hands'

A similar pattern is found also in a Genoese text, the *Passione* edited by Parodi (1896), where three allomorphs of the 3rd person dative clitic occur in free variation: *li*, *ge*, and *gue*.

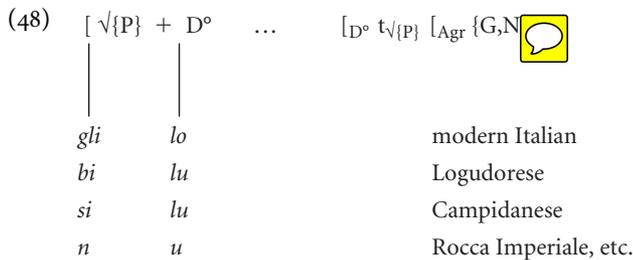
- (43) a. **li** demandà (OGen., *PassGen* p.29)
 to.him= asked
 'he asked to him'
- b. **ge** respoxe (OGen., *PassGen* p. 31)
 to.him= answered
 'he answered to him'
- c. **gue** eram date (OGen., *PassGen* p. 38)
 to.him= were given
 '(they) were given to him'

As in the case with the aforementioned *Dialogo*, it is almost impossible to establish the phonological value of the element <ge>. Nowadays, the locative/dative clitic is *ghe*

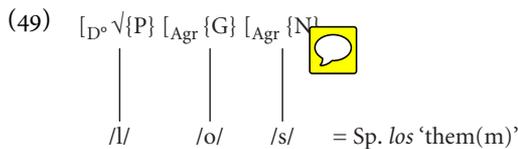
As a consequence of this process, the moved (sub-)constituent $\sqrt{\{P\}}$ can no longer trigger the insertion of the item *l*-, which must be followed by a proper inflectional ending.



Since the agreement material of the dative clitic is stranded in a discontinuous position, a monomorphemic element must fill the head hosting $\sqrt{\{P\}}$. 1/2 clitics cannot be inserted instead of *l*, as they cannot match the $\{P\}$ specification of the root. As a last resort, a dummy clitic—subject to cross-linguistic variation (see Pescarini 2010)—is inserted, as schematized below:



The above analysis is supported by the phenomenon of *parasitic plural* (Halle and Harris 2005; Kayne 2010b; Manzini and Savoia 2009), which is attested in those languages in which Number is expressed by the plural suffix *-s*.¹⁷ In these languages, 3rd person plural clitics exhibit a trimorphemic exponent, as schematized below:



The same analysis holds for the 3rd person dative clitic *les/lis* ‘to them’. When the plural dative occurs in true clusters (for instance, before the 3rd person accusative clitic *lo* ‘it/him’), it is replaced as usual by a dummy exponent (e.g. *bi*), but, crucially, its plural feature is expressed by the morpheme *-s*, which attaches to the right of the whole cluster, as shown in (50).

¹⁷ The phenomenon is mainly attested in South American and Sardinian varieties. Parasitic plural is pervasive in the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona (Bonet 1991). Traces of parasitic plural are found also in old French (Giampaolo Salvi’s p.c. reported in Benincà and Poletto 2005: n. 14).

- (50) nara=**bi=lo**-s (Log., Jones 1993)
 tell=there=it-pl
 ‘tell it to them’

Following the above analysis, the position of the plural suffix *-s* can be accounted for as an instance of stranding of the agreement features of the dative pronoun, whose root has incorporated into the accusative clitic *lo*:

- (51) [$\sqrt{\{P\}}$ + D^o ... [_{D^o} t $\sqrt{\{P\}}$] [_{Ag^r} {G}] [_{Ag^r} {N}] 
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | | |
| <i>bi</i> | <i>lo</i> | <i>-s</i> |

Jones (1993), focusing on Logodurese Sardinian, reports also cases of parasitic gender, i.e. cases in which the rightmost vowel expresses the gender of the dative clitic rather than that of the accusative one:

- (52) nara=**bi=l-a**-s (Log., Jones 1993)
 tell=there=**3p-f-pl**
 ‘tell it to them.f’

Again, the hypothesis of root incorporation provides a straightforward account of the pattern in (52), which is illustrated below:

- (53) [$\sqrt{\{P\}}$ + D^o ... [_{D^o} t $\sqrt{\{P\}}$] [_{Ag^r} {G}] [_{Ag^r} {N}] 
- | | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| | | | |
| <i>bi</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>-a-</i> | <i>-s</i> |

8.7 Italian

Italian exhibits a non-etymological 3rd person dative feminine form (*le* ‘to her’) in opposition to the masculine *li/gli* ‘to him’.¹⁸ Possibly, the emergence of a 3rd person feminine dative clitic is due to the analogy with 3rd person accusative plural clitics, as schematized below (the double asterisk marks the analogical output):

- (54) $li_{acc}(< ILLI) : le_{acc}(< ILLAE) = li_{dat}(< ILLI) : **le_{dat}$

The question concerning It. *gli/le* is whether they can be analysed as bimorphemic or monomorphemic elements, i.e. whether their endings count as agreement markers. Several pieces of evidence seem to confirm that *gli* counts as a monomorphemic

¹⁸ As far as I can see, the emergence of a dedicated dative feminine exponent is a peculiarity of Florentine, as in the rest of Romance, the 3rd person dative clitic is not inflected for gender.

clitic, while the latter (*le*) is still synchronically analysed as a bimorphemic one (see also Cardinaletti 2008).¹⁹

First, the ending of *gli* coincides with the default vowel of monomorphemic clitics like *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, etc. Second, *gli* undergoes the same pattern of allomorphy of monomorphemic clitics (see §8.4): its vowel turns into *-e-* before a 3rd person accusative clitic or *ne*. Third, like monomorphemic clitics, *gli* is free to combine with other clitics, while *le* cannot occur in true clusters. In this case, *le* is always replaced by *gli*, although the 3rd person dative pronoun references a feminine individual:

- (55) a. ***le** / **glie** =lo regalo a Maria (It.)
 to.her / to.him =it give.I to Maria
 ‘I have given it to her (Maria)’
 b. ***le** / **glie** =ne regalo due a Maria (It.)
 to.her / to.him =of.them give.I two to Maria
 ‘I have given two of them to her (Maria)’

The pattern of substitution in (55) is therefore akin to the canonical cases of suppletion illustrated in §8.5, once assumed that *gli* is monomorphemic and *le* is bimorphemic.

Further evidence in favour of this hypothesis comes from the analysis of certain peculiar cases of clitic doubling. Italian—unlike Spanish and other Romance languages—does not allow dative DPs/pronouns to be doubled by a coreferent clitic (needless to say, I am not dealing here with resumptive clitic and dislocated DPs):

- (56) a. ***Gli** ho regalato il libro a Mario (It.)
 to.him= I.have given the book to Mario
 ‘I have given the book to him (Mario)’
 b. ***Gli** ho regalato due libri a Mario (It.)
 to.him= I.have given two books to Mario
 ‘I have given two books to Mario’

However, Benincà (1988: 137) noticed that if the 3rd person dative clitic is part of a true cluster, doubling is allowed:

- (57) a. **Glie** =l’ ho regalato a Mario (It.)
 to.him =it I.have given to Mario
 ‘I have given it to him (Mario)’
 b. **Glie** =ne ho regalati due a Mario (It.)
 to.him =of.them/it have.I given two to Mario
 ‘I have given two of them to him (Mario)’

¹⁹ One can speculate whether the reanalysis of *gli* as a monomorphemic exponent might be triggered by palatalization.

On the contrary, doubling is ungrammatical with split sequences:

- (58) a. (*Gli) si regala il libro a Mario (It.)
(to.him=) one= gives the book to Mario
'One gives the book to him (Mario)'
- b. (*gli) si presenta Mario (It.)
(*to.him=) himself/herself= introduces Mario
'One will introduce Mario to himself/herself'
- c. (*gli) ci attacco un cartello per Mario (It.)
(*for.him=) there= I.hang a sign for Mario
'I'll hang a sign there for him (Mario)'

Intuitively, these data mean that the dative clitic embedded in a true cluster is not a genuine doubler (see also Benincà and Poletto 2005: 232). In the light of a root incorporation analysis, we can argue that, when it is inside a true cluster, the dative clitic is a root without agreement, which cannot compete with a co-occurring DP goal for checking against the same probe. On the contrary, when the same clitic *gli* occurs in isolation (namely as a single clitic) or when it is in a split configuration with another clitic, as in (58), it counts as a fully-fledged pronoun with a complete set of phi specifications, and as such it competes with a dative lexical item in the same clause.

8.8 Conclusions

This chapter has addressed the evolution of the internal order of Romance clitic combinations by hypothesizing the existence of two classes of clitic combinations in modern Italo-Romance. This led me to account for several collateral issues, including the separability of clitic cluster in restructuring contexts; a pattern of allomorphy found in Italian; a generalized pattern of suppletion attested in many Romance varieties when a 3rd person dative is part of a true cluster; parasitic plural; and cases of exceptional doubling.

In the first part of the chapter I argued that many Romance languages have undergone a change reversing the order of certain clitic combinations (those containing a 3rd person accusative element or *ne*). Clear examples of this change are shown in 13/14th-century Florentine with sequences of a 1st/2nd person dative and a 3rd person accusative clitic:

- (59) a. che [...] voi la mi concediate (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 212)
that [...] you.pl it.F = to.me= grant.SBJV
'that you grant it to me'
- b. Se Egli me la concede (OFlo., Boccaccio, *Filocolo* 72)
if he to.me= it.F= grants
'if He grants it to me'

According to my analysis, the innovative mirror order in (59b) is due to the left-adjunction of the dative clitic onto the accusative one. The resulting configuration counts as a single complex head (a true cluster, cf. Kayne 1994: 19–21), while the other combinations correspond to a split configuration where the clitics occupy different syntactic positions:

- (60) a. [cl₁ [cl₂]] (split)
 b. [cl₂ + cl₁ [t_{cl₂}]] (cluster)

On the basis of this hypothesis, Italian clitic combinations can be therefore divided into two major classes:²⁰ true clusters are those that have undergone a change like (59), while the others are supposed to be split.

- (61)
- | | with the vowel -e- ¹ | | | with the vowel -i-: | |
|---------|---------------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| 1sg | (mi) | me lo | me ne | mi si | mi ci |
| 2sg | (ti) | te lo | te ne | ti si | ti ci |
| 3sg.dat | (gli) | glielo | gliene | gli si | gli ci |
| 1pl/loc | (ci) | ce lo | ce ne | ci si | * |
- etc.

In the second part of the chapter I elaborated on the above hypothesis, reaching the following conclusions:

- i. I have shown that true clusters, unlike split sequences, cannot be separated in restructuring environment.
- ii. I have argued that the linking vowel -e- is a clue of incorporation.
- iii. I have observed that true clusters are almost always subject to suppletion because the bimorphemic datives are replaced by a dummy monomorphemic item. The hypothesis goes that the root of the dative clitic incorporates (while its agreement features remain stranded in their original position), preventing the insertion of bimorphemic exponents.
- iv. Under the previous hypothesis I have reconsidered patterns of ‘parasitic’ inflection as cases of stranding. As the formation of true clusters results from root incorporation, the remaining inflectional material can be expressed by means of a parasitic suffix, which ends up attaching to the right of the whole cluster.
- v. Lastly, the hypothesis of root incorporation can account for the acceptability of doubling in Italian when the 3rd person dative clitic is part of a true cluster. I have argued that, once incorporated, the dative clitic is no longer a real doubler.

²⁰ Cardinaletti (2008) argues for a slightly different classification as she considers the combinations with the clitic *ci* as true clusters