

The X⁰ syntax of “dative” clitics and the make-up of clitic combinations in Gallo-Romance

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This paper focuses on the morphosyntax of third person dative clitics in Gallo-Romance. The first part addresses the morphology of clitic elements: in Gallo-Romance, third person datives can be expressed by an etymological form *li(s)* deriving from Lat *illi(s)* or by various kinds of non-etymological formatives, e.g. sg. *lui, y, lou*; pl. *leur, yz, lous, lous-y, les-y*, etc. I hypothesize that the above forms lexicalize different portions of the same universal functional hierarchy. The second part of the chapter focuses on the behaviour of third person dative clitics when combined with another third person clitic. In this context, (Gallo-) Romance varieties exhibit a number of irregularities and two possible orders: accusative > datives (as in both old and modern French), or dative > accusative (as in many French vernaculars). Moreover, in both medieval and present-day dialects, the accusative clitic is frequently dropped when clustered with a third person dative clitic. I attempt to establish a link between the morphology of the dative clitic and the make-up of clitic combinations.

1. Introduction

This contribution focuses on the morphosyntax of third person dative clitics with the intent of establishing a link between their morphology and their interaction with other third person clitics.

First of all, I will deal with the morphology of clitic elements in Gallo-Romance, where third person dative clitics can be expressed by an etymological form deriving either from Lat *ILLI* (as in old French (1a)), or a formative identical to non-clitic forms such as mod.Fr. *lui/leur* (1b), or an invariable form *i/y* corresponding to the so-called locative clitic, as in many French dialects and in the so-called *français populaire* “popular French” (1c):

- (1) a. Et il li dit... (Old French)
And he to.him/her says
'and he says to him/her...'

- b. Et il lui dit... (Modern French)
 And he to.him/her says
 'and he says to him/her...'
- c. j' y donne. (popular French)
 I= to.him/her/them= give
 'I give it to him/her/them.'

Occitan dialects (Ronjat 1937; Rohlfs 1970 on Gascon) exhibit cases of *loísmo*,¹ i.e. the dative clitic is expressed by an etymologically accusative form, as in (2a). Furthermore, plural dative clitics may be expressed by compound forms in which a reflex of *ILLIS/ILLOS* is followed by the clitic *y/i* as in (2b) and (2c), respectively; lastly, it is worth noticing that in some dialects *i* becomes *is* when plural, as in (2d).

- (2) a. et pay lou ditz...
 the dad to.him/her= says
 'Dad says to him/her...'
- b. que lez y dic...
que to.them= he/she.says
 'He/she says to them...'
- c. lous y cousinabo de bounos càusos.
 to.them= I.cooked of good things
 'I cooked them good things.'
- d. que is parlo.
que to.them= speak
 'I speak to them.'

In what follows, I hypothesize that the above forms correspond to different chunks of the same functional hierarchy. Cross-linguistic differences in the morphological realization of dative clitics depend on which portion of the functional hierarchy is expressed.

In the second part of the paper I will focus on the behaviour of the dative clitic when combined with another third person clitic. These combinations exhibit various possible realizations: in old French the combination had the order accusative dative, e.g. *la li, les li*, etc., but the accusative clitic was frequently dropped (Foulet 1919: §201–202). The same pattern of clitic drop is attested in many of the dialects

1. The term *loísmo* normally refers to a pattern of syncretism found in Ibero-Romance dialects in which the reflex of *ILLU(M)* references (animate) datives. This pattern is rather common in other Romance areas such as southern Gallo- and Italo-Romance. To the best of my knowledge, in the terminological tradition of French and Italian descriptive grammars there is no specific term to refer to the phenomenon. This led Romanists such as Ledgeway (2000) to extend the terms *loísmo/laismo* to non-Iberian vernaculars.

surveyed by the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF), where the sequence meaning ‘it/him/her/them to her/him/them’ is usually expressed by an invariable form *y* or *li*. In standard French, clitic drop is usually avoided and the cluster exhibits the same order as old French, although the morphology of the dative clitic has changed, e.g. *le li* → *le lui*. Lastly, in southern France we find attestations of the opposite order also, e.g. *li lu*, *lui le*.

One may argue that these aspects—namely, the polymorphism of third person dative clitics and the variability in the formation of clitic combinations—are somehow related and, in the following sections, I will try to establish a link between the internal make-up of dative clitics and their behaviour in clusters.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 deals with the morphology of dative clitics in Romance; Section 3 accounts for the internal structure of the clitic forms attested in Gallo-Romance varieties; Section 4 introduces some hypotheses concerning the make-up of clitic combinations; Section 5 summarizes some data regarding clitic sequences and Section 6 explores a possible correlation between the morphology of dative clitics and their realization in clitic clusters.

2. A typology of dative clitics

Third person dative clitics exhibit a number of variants, some of which cannot originate only from regular phonological changes. What follows is a tentative typology.

In several languages, the third person dative clitic is expressed by a regular reflex of Lat. *ILLI*(s) (with various degrees of palatalization), which was originally inflected only for number.

A few languages have developed a non-etymological dative feminine pronoun. Italian, for instance, exhibits an opposition between *gli* ‘to him’ and *le* ‘to her’, possibly by analogy with the opposition *li/le* (‘them.M/F’) in the accusative series.

In other areas, the original distinction between the dative **li*(s) and the accusative forms **lo*(s)/*la*(s) has been obliterated. This gave rise to *laísta* and *loísta* patterns in which feminine and/or masculine datives are pronominalized by means of an etymologically accusative form. In Madrileño, for instance, the dative form *le*(s) references masculine individuals, while feminine datives are pronominalized by the accusative clitic *la*(s), as shown in the following example:

- (3) A ella, la= dolía la cabeza. (Mad., Quilis 1985 a.o.)
 To her, to.her= was hurting the head
 ‘She had a headache.’

In various Gascon dialects (see Rohlfs 1970, a.o.) the pronoun *lou* < *ILLUM* is used as a dative form regardless of the gender feature of the pronominalized constituent.

which does not display gender and number morphology (on Italo-Romance, see Rohlfs 1969; Calabrese 1994; Loporcaro 2002).

The syncretism due to the substitution of the third person dative clitic with a locative form is particularly frequent in French, Italian and Catalan varieties (i.e. in all the areas in which the locative clitic is attested).

- (7) *dise* =y... (Gsc.)
 he/she.say =to.him/her/them
 ‘he/she says to him/her..’

Foulet (1919, §436) notes that the use of *i* for *lui* has been attested since old French, as in (8):

- (8) *Mes ge la vi e s’ i parlai.* (o.Fr.)
 but I= her= saw and so to.her= spoke
 ‘but I saw her and spoke to her.’

One might wonder whether the above syncretism is a consequence of palatalization, which, in a previous chronological stage, made the regular reflex of ILLI become opaque and, in various dialects, homophonous with the “locative” clitic. In various Romance vernaculars palatalized determiners originate in prevocalic contexts where *li#V* > *lj#V* > *(λ)j#V* and successively spread to other contexts. The nature of the dative/locative syncretism, however, is much more controversial and cannot result only from regular morphophonological processes. Manzini and Savoia (2002) and Rezac (2010) argue that in many languages the cause of the syncretism is syntactic in nature rather than phonological. (For a principled explanation, I refer the interested reader to these works and references therein.)

Lastly, in French we observe the evolution from the etymological form *li* (< Lat. ILLI) to the modern one *lui*.

- (9) a. *Et il li dit...* (Old French)
 And he to.him/her says
 ‘and he says to him/her..’
 b. *Et il lui dit...* (Modern French)
 And he to.him/her says
 ‘and he says to him/her..’

This might be considered another compound form due to the combination of an accusative clitic **lu* < ILLU(M) with an oblique marker *-i*. However, the form *lui* (and its feminine counterpart *lei*) are widely attested in other Romance languages, including old French, as strong pronouns. This means that Fr. *lui* (and possibly pl. *leur*) was originally used as a strong pronoun and, later, acquired a clitic status making *li* “fall out of use.”

The above data are summarised as follows:

(10)	Lat. ILLI	{	Sp. <i>le(s)</i>	etymological forms
			It. <i>le</i> ‘to her’	analogical forms
			Fr. dial. <i>y</i>	suppletive forms with loc. etymology
			Campidanese Sard. <i>si</i>	suppletive forms with refl. etymology
			Madr. <i>la</i> , Gasc. <i>lou</i>	<i>laísmo</i> and <i>loísmo</i>
			Occ. <i>loui</i> ; Cat. <i>elsi</i>	compound forms
			Fr. <i>lui/leur</i>	apparent strong forms

The crucial point of the above discussion concerns the status of the formative /i/, which may derive from either the dative pronoun ILLI(s) or a locative particle, e.g. HIC/IBI. Arguably, the latter gives rise to compound forms such as Occ. *lou-s-i* ‘to them’.

2.1 An aside on animacy

In many Romance languages, the distribution of dative clitics is sensitive to animacy distinctions.

This holds for vernaculars with patterns of *loísmo/laísmo* as the accusative clitic may pronominalize a dative complement if and only if it references a human individual. In Neapolitan, for instance, human datives may be expressed by either the dative/locative clitic *ncə* or by an accusative form such as *ɔ/a/ɛ* (‘him/her/them’, see Ledgeway 2000, a.o.).³ Non-human datives, conversely, do not admit any alternation; see (11b).

- (11) a. *ncə/a= rispunneteno, a Maria.* (Neapolitan)
to.her= they.replied to Maria
‘They replied to her (Maria).’
- b. *ncə/*a= rispunneteno â lettera.* (Neapolitan)
to.it= they.replied to.the letter
‘They replied to it (the letter).’

Animacy effects are present also in languages without traces of *loísmo/laísmo*. In Italian, French and Catalan, for instance, reflexes of ILLI are usually replaced by the locative clitic (Fr. *y*, It. *ci*, Cat. *hi*) when denoting a non-human entity, see (12)–(14) (Rigau 1982).

3. In many dialects of Italy (upper-southern and Ligurian dialects), Gallo-Romance vernaculars (see below) and Portuguese, 3p clitics have undergone aphaeresis of *l*. For space limits, I cannot address this issue here. However, it seems to me that, given its geographical distribution, this phenomenon is orthogonal to the one at issue.

- (12) a. A la meva filla, li= dedico molt de temps. (Cat.)
 To the my daughter, to.her= I.devote lot of time
 ‘As for my daughter, I devote lots of time to her.’
- b. A això, hi= dedico molt de temps. (Cat.)
 To this, there= I.devote lot of time
 ‘As for this, I devote lots of time to it.’
- (13) a. A mia figlia, le= dedico molto tempo. (It.)
 To my daughter, to.her= I.devote lot.of time
 ‘As for my daughter, I devote lots of time to her.’
- b. A questo, ci= dedico molto tempo. (It.)
 To this, there= I.devote lot.of time
 ‘As for this, I devote lots of time to it.’
- (14) a. Luc lui est fidèle (à sa femme).
 Luc to.her= is faithful
 ‘Luc is faithful to her (his wife).’
- b. Luc y est fidèle (à ceci).
 Luc to.them= is faithful
 ‘Luc is faithful to them (his principles).’

Furthermore, it is worth noting that speakers allow the locative clitic *ci/hi/y* to reference a human entity in those contexts in which the presence of a third person dative form would cause a violation of the so-called Person Case Constraint, namely the restriction preventing third person dative clitic from co-occurring with a first/second person accusative clitic. The following examples (from Bonet 1991; Pescarini 2010, and Rezac 2010, respectively) show that the substitution of the dative clitic with the locative one may avoid a PCC violation:

- (15) a. A en Pere m’ *li→[√]hi va recomanar en Josep. (Catalan)
 To the Pere me= to.him= goes recommend the Josep
 ‘Josep recommended me to him (Pere).’
- b. ti *gli→[√]ci presento io. (Italian)
 you to.him= introduce I
 ‘I’ll introduce you to him.’
- c. Pierre me *lui→[√]y présentera, à son oncle. (French)
 Pierre me to.him will.introduce to his uncle
 ‘Pierre will introduce me to him, his uncle.’

Building on the idea that the PCC is a restriction on pronouns encoding animate entities capable of mental experience (Bianchi 2006; Adger & Harbour 2007, a.o.), one may suggest that the above fact show that “locative” clitics such as *hi/y/ci* are in fact dative clitics deprived of features encoding “animacy” or related concepts.

3. Morphology as X^0 Syntax

Functional elements are the morphological realization of layers of syntactic structure. Hence, if the difference between strong and clitic elements follows from the presence vs absence of certain layers (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), we arrive at the hypothesis that the evolution from strong to clitic forms results from a process that cuts a layer off the original DP structure. This analysis, in turn, opens the door to the possibility that, among clitics, differences may arise as a consequence of the number of layers which are cut off and that, consequently, some clitics are “more clitic” than others inasmuch as a bigger portion of their original functional layer has been pruned (see Bonet 1991 for a morphological view; see also Txuss 2009).

In what follows I will try to draw a possible structure that captures the above variation in the morphological realization of dative forms. As all clitic forms have a X^0 status, all the projections I am going to illustrate are X^n with $n < 0$.

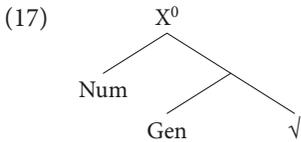
As for the category X^0 , one might wonder whether X is a D projection or not. The answer, in my opinion, is far from straightforward. In fact, if we limit ourselves to the analysis of 3p dative clitics, I would assume a D analysis for all clitic forms having a *li*-type exponent, i.e. a formative identical to other determiners. However, what about syncretic formatives like *y*, *bi*, *ncə*, *ndə*, etc. which in a number of Romance varieties pronominalize both 3p dative clitics and so-called locative or partitive clitics? The latter, in fact, cannot be considered clitic counterparts of DPs, but rather pro-PP (Kayne 1975), namely clitic particles standing for prepositional phrases such as locatives, instrumentals, comitatives, genitives, etc. Hence, in the latter case we can neither conclude nor exclude that the clitic has a D^0 status; this is why in the remainder of the paper I will not commit myself regarding the categorical nature of X^0 .

The analysis proposed here is reminiscent of accounts based on feature geometries (see Harley & Ritter 2002; Heap 2002, on clitics), according to which pronouns and functional elements in general are viewed as morphological realizations of hierarchical arrays of ϕ -features. The nature of such geometries, which may correspond to either syntactic nodes or morphological (namely: non-syntactic) trees (see Bonet 1991 on clitics) is debatable, but due to space limitations I cannot investigate these alternatives. Let us start with a possible structure for etymological forms such as Spanish *le(s)*, Sardinian *li(s)* in which the formative *l* of 3rd person clitics is followed by a Thematic Vowel (Harris 1994, among many others) which is in turn followed by the number exponent:

$$(16) \quad [[[l] i] s]$$

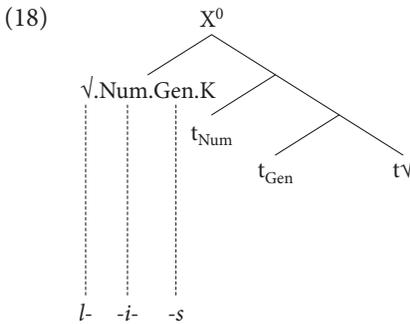
Following Baker’s *mirror principle*, a structure like (16) might be due to the movement of the root \sqrt{l} along the structure in (17): the root moves across the higher layers picking up gender and number agreement features which, at the Syntax/PF interface

are mapped into morphophonological endings (Halle & Marantz 1993). The above variation in the morphological realization of dative clitics might therefore follow from the parametrization of the movement of $\sqrt{}$ in the structure of X⁰.



Under the analysis in (17), one may wonder about the nature of the formative *-i/e-* in etymological forms of dative such as *li(s)/le(s)*. If we compare dative and accusative clitics (e.g. *lo(s)/la(s)*), we may observe that in the morphological realization of datives, gender is always neutralized. We can therefore consider *-i-* as a default Thematic Vowel inserted once gender features are obliterated in the context of a dative X⁰. This therefore leads us to wonder which kind of features do characterize dative clitics.

Let us suppose that dative clitics differ from accusative ones in having a further functional layer encoding case morphosyntax as shown in (18). The assumption that the K layer is more external is consistent with typological observations on the order of nominal morphemes such as Greenberg’s universal 39. If \sqrt{l} reaches dative K, the gender feature is impoverished, namely deleted. As a result, a default Thematic Vowel *-i/e-* is inserted instead of *-o-*, *-a-* which express masculine and feminine agreement, respectively.



In *laïsta* and *loïsta* dialects, conversely, gender is not neutralized and the dative clitic ends up being expressed by what looks like an accusative form. We can however distinguish at least two patterns of accusative-pro-dative clitics: one in which the accusative clitic, when used as a dative form, maintains its gender feature, e.g. *lo* ‘to him’ vs *la* ‘to her’ and another system in which a single form, say *lo*, becomes a dative clitic referencing both masculine and feminine individuals.

In the former case, I claim that the dative/accusative syncretism and the absence of gender neutralization are obtained inasmuch the root \sqrt{l} fails to reach K.

In the latter case, the accusative/dative syncretism occur together with gender neutralization as the same form, e.g. *lou*, stands for both masculine and feminine datives. If we assume that gender neutralization takes place when the root \sqrt{l} reaches K, this means that in these varieties \sqrt{l} does incorporate on K and that the accusative/dative syncretism takes place only in Morphology, following from the fact that in these dialects the default Thematic Vowel coincides with the one expressing masculine agreement.

The analysis in (18) can in turn shed light on the morphology of so-called compound forms, i.e. dative forms which are due to the combination of an accusative form (e.g. *lou(s)*) followed by an oblique element *i/y*. Under the above analysis, I advance the hypothesis that *i/y* is in fact the overt lexicalization of K. The proposed structure is therefore as follows:

$$(19) \quad [_{\text{K}} [_{\text{Num}} [_{\text{Gen}} [\sqrt{l} \quad] \quad \text{ou}] \quad \text{s}] \quad \text{y}]$$

As for dialects in which *i/y* is the only possible dative form, the above proposal offers two possible analyses: (a) in these dialects the lower layers of the X^0 structure are silent or empty and only the K feature is expressed by an invariable, non-agreeing exponent (see (20)); or (b) we might think that the monomorphemic element *i* is a palatalized reflex of *li* and as such, it may lexicalize other layers of X^0 , as shown in (21).

$$(20) \quad [_{\text{K}} [_{\text{Num}} [_{\text{Gen}} [\sqrt{\quad} \quad -] \quad -] \quad -] \quad \text{y}]$$

$$(21) \quad [_{\text{K}} [_{\text{Num}} [_{\text{Gen}} [\sqrt{\quad} \quad \text{y}] \quad -] \quad -] \quad]$$

We cannot exclude either option *a priori*. Rather, this may be one of the causes of the observed cross-linguistic variation. In fact, evidence for the latter analysis comes from Gascon varieties, where /i/ can combine with the plural formative *-s*, e.g. *i* ‘to him/her’ vs *is* ‘to them’:

$$(22) \quad [_{\text{K}} [_{\text{Num}} [_{\text{Gen}} [\sqrt{\quad} \quad \text{i-}] \quad -] \quad \text{-s}] \quad]$$

Evidence in favor of the former option comes from the analysis of compound forms in (19), where *i* occupies the outer layer of the X^0 structure.

Lastly, let us turn to French *lui/leur*. What is of interest here is that they behave like clitics although they do not look like clitic pronouns. Diachronically, it is worth recalling that the etymological singular dative *li* has been replaced by the present-day form *lui*, which already existed as a non-clitic form.

(23) a. Et il li dit... (Old French)
 And he to.him/her says
 ‘and he says to him/her...’

b. Et il lui dit... (Modern French)
 And he to.him/her says
 ‘and he says to him/her...’

formative from being inserted after root incorporation and causes the retreat to the unmarked exponent *se*.

(30)	[_{Acc⁰}	√ _{Dat}	[√+Φ]]	[_{Dat⁰}	√+Φ]
		↑			
		me	lo		‘it/him to me’
		te	lo		‘it/him to you’
		se	lo		‘it/him to himself/herself/themselves’
		* l	lo		‘it/him to him/her/them’

As we will see in the next sections, Gallo-Romance differs from this picture in several respects.

5. Data from *Atlas Linguistique de la France*

This section focuses on the morphology of clitic combinations in Gallo-Romance on the basis of data taken from the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF).

The following data do not provide an exhaustive representation of Gallo-Romance clitic clusters, nor are they meant to illustrate most “representative” or statistically frequent patterns. Rather, the following sample aims to introduce various possible patterns to show whether and how the ALF data challenge the above hypotheses on cluster formation.

I will limit myself to the account of very few ALF data regarding French vernaculars spoken more than a century ago: this means that what observed in the ALF may not correspond any longer to the usage of the corresponding present-day dialects; second, as atlases report data on a restricted number of contexts, we cannot exclude that the forms illustrated below were subject to further variation, depending on orthogonal conditions. What matters here is that the cited forms have been attested and therefore call for a principled analysis.

I take into consideration eight dialects, which have been selected in order to illustrate some patterns. The list of localities is the following: 271 Maurois; 525 Cabariot; 902 Souvigny; 610 Chazelles; 724 Rieupeyroux; 698 Tramesagues; 866 Orpierre; 855 Nyons.

The maps I have scrutinized are the following:

- n. 785 (et que nous **lui** rendions son argent;
- n. 1650 (Je n’ai pas osé **le lui** dire);⁴
- n. 761 (j’ai eu de la peine à **le leur** faire comprendre).

4. Map 1650 represents only the southern half of France, so it does not report any data for point 271 (Maurois).

First of all, I will compare the morphology of the third person singular dative clitic (Fr. *lui*) as represented in map 785 with the morphology of the cluster in map 1650, which is formed by two singular clitics. If relevant, I will take into consideration the data in map 761, which contain a plural dative clitic (Fr. *leur*).

The parameters I will observe are the following:

- the morphology of the dative clitic, which can be
 - an etymological form *li*
 - an invariable form *i*
 - an etymologically accusative form *lou*
 - a compound form *les-i*, *lou-i*
- the morphology of the cluster, which can show:
 - clitic drop, e.g. *le lui* → *li*
 - accusative > dative ordering
 - dative > accusative ordering

The following table shows the forms of the third person singular dative clitic (map 785):

(31) Point:	271	525	902	610	724	698	855	866
Fr. <i>lui</i> 'to him/her'	i	li	lɥi	lɥi	li	li	li	u

When we turn to clusters, map 1650 shows that many dialects (including Occitan vernaculars) exhibit clitic drop, i.e. the accusative clitic is never pronounced. In my sample, this happens in two localities:

(32) Point:	271	525
Fr. <i>lui</i> 'to him/her'	i	li
Fr. <i>le lui</i> 'it/him to him/her'	i	li
Fr. <i>le leur</i> 'it/him to them'	jœ	lœ

One locality (902 Souvigny) exhibits a rather peculiar pattern as it shows clitic drop, but the form of the dative clitic changes from *lɥi* (corresponding to Fr. *lui* 'to him/her') to *li* (corresponding to Fr. *le lui* 'it/him to him/her'). The plural dative form, regardless of the presence of an accusative clitic, is expressed by a compound form transcribed as *jœzi* in which one can individuate a plural formative *-z-* followed by the exponent *i*.

(33) Point:	902
Fr. <i>lui</i> 'to him/her'	lɥi
Fr. <i>le lui</i> 'it/him to him/her'	li
Fr. <i>le leur</i> 'it/him to them'	jœzi

Some vernaculars display the order accusative > dative, which is the only possible order in both medieval and modern French and, according to the analysis proposed

in Section 4, is the archaic pattern found in the Middle Ages in other Romance areas.

- (34) Point: 724
 Fr. *lui* ‘to him/her’ li
 Fr. *le lui* ‘it/him to him/her’ u li
 Fr. *le leur* ‘it/him to them’ (z)u lur

Three dialects of my sample feature the opposite order (namely, dative > accusative):

- (35) Point: 698 866 855
 Fr. *lui* ‘to him/her’ li u li
 Fr. *le lui* ‘it/him to him/her’ l ok li u lu
 Fr. *le leur* ‘it/him to them’ euz u lur u li lu

In 698 we observe the form *ok* which is the so-called neuter clitic *oc* (< HOC ‘this’), sometimes *ac*, used in Occitan dialects to refer to mass nouns or events as in the following example:

- (36) Pròbo m oc. (Gsc., from Rohlfs 1970)
 prove.IMP =to.me =it
 ‘Prove it to me.’

In 866 we can observe a puzzling interaction between *loismo* and cluster formation: the *loista* form *u* (with a dative interpretation) is in fact turned to *li* in combination with a ‘true’ accusative form, e.g. *li u* instead of **u u* ‘it to him/her’. In 855 the dative form *li* seems to disappear when co-occurring with an accusative clitic as we find *lu* instead of the expected *li lu*. This might be due to a rule deleting the lateral of the accusative clitic (in the neighboring dialect, 866, the accusative form is always *u*), and consequent elision of *-i*: *li lu* > *li u* > *l’u*. The deletion of *l* with the plural dative, conversely, might be blocked in the case of a plural dative, possibly because of the presence of an underlying plural formative: *li(z) lu* > **l’u*. At present, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed and the issue remains open.

Lastly, in some dialects we observe that the dative singular and plural clitics seem to have opposite orders with respect to the third person accusative clitic. In the dialect of Chazelles, for instance, the order is clearly accusative > dative with the plural clitic *lur*, but things are a bit more complicated with the singular dative clitic as the outcome of the cluster is the form *l u*.

- (37) Point: 610
 Fr. *lui* ‘to him/her’ lqi
 Fr. *le lui* ‘it/him to him/her’ l u
 Fr. *le leur* ‘it/him to them’ lu lur

6. Some preliminary remarks on cluster formation

In Section 4 I argued, following Kayne (1994), that clitic sequences occur in either a split or cluster configuration. In particular, I proposed that the order dative > accusative is due to a cluster structure derived via left-adjunction of a clitic on the other (see also Pescarini 2014, in press a,b).

According to this analysis, medieval and modern (standard) French, which exhibit the order accusative > dative, have split combinations, i.e. clitics occur in separate positions. As noticed for other Romance dialects, the combinations with this order are normally transparent, i.e. they do not display any irregularity:⁵

(38)		mod.Fr.	o.Fr	Rieupeyroux (724)
	'to him/her'	lui	li	li
	'it/him to him/her'	le lui	le li	u li
	'it/him to them'	le leur	le lor	(z)u lur

Conversely, sequences with the opposite order (dative > accusative) are often characterized by several irregularities, in particular when the dative clitic is singular. As shown in (39), the formative *-i-* of the singular dative clitic is dropped, which may be deemed a clue of incorporation. In 866, the *-i-* formative is not dropped. However, we observe another anomaly: the form *li* is used only in clusters, while in the absence of another clitic this dialect shows *loismo*. Plural datives, by contrast, are free to co-occur to the left of the accusative clitic. However, it is worth recalling that such forms, which arguably coincide with strong forms (*eux*, *leur*) are directly inserted in K as monomorphemic formatives and, as monomorphemic elements they are not expected to undergo suppletion.

(39)	Point:	698	866	855
	Fr. <i>lui</i> 'to him/her'	li	u	li
	Fr. <i>le lui</i> 'it/him to him/her'	l ok	li u	lu
	Fr. <i>le leur</i> 'it/him to them'	euz u	lur u	li lu

It is worth noting that the *loista* clitic *u* in 866 turns into *li* once clustered. This might be due to a surface constraint against combinations of identical exponents (Pescarini 2010, a.o.) which triggers the retreat to an alternative dative exponent *li* taken as an

5. Ordóñez (2002) argued that the split/cluster divide can account for the variability in clitic combination in enclisis in imperatives, e.g. *donne-le-moi* vs *donne-moi-le*. In particular, Ordóñez (2002) argues that one of the clitics must be a weak pronoun. One might therefore argue that the same holds in Old French and dialects such as Rieupeyroux. Space limits prevent me from exploring further this hypothesis.

indivisible unit from the functional lexicon (this in turn may account for the presence of the *-i-* formative).

We can now turn to clitic drop. “Central” Romance, i.e. Gallo-Romance, Catalan, and—according to an anonymous reviewer—Basque Spanish, differ from the other Romance languages in allowing systematic clitic drop in clusters formed by two third person clitics. When two third person clitics combine—but the same happens in combinations of a third person dative and a partitive clitic—the output is what looks like as a single clitic form, in which no clear morphological boundary between accusative and dative formatives can be drawn (see Bonet 1991 for an in-depth analysis of Barcelonan Catalan). One might hypothesize that clitic drop is allowed in those dialects in which the accusative clitic may occur before the dative one, which amounts to saying that clitic drop is allowed with split combinations. This tentative generalization, however, does not seem exceptionless and, due to space limits, the issue remains open.

7. Conclusions

This contribution has dealt with the morphology of third person clitics in Gallo-Romance. I have focused on the form of clitics in old French, modern French and in a series of vernaculars, Gascon dialects in particular.

In Gallo-Romance, the third person dative clitic is expressed by an etymological formative, e.g. *li(s)*, by an element identical to the accusative clitic, e.g. *lu*; by a compound form, in particular when plural, e.g. *louzi*, *lezi*; by a form coinciding with a strong pronoun, e.g. *lui*, *leur*; by a monomorphemic form /i/.

The monomorphemic /i/ can be either a reflex of a locative particle or a reflex of *li* due to palatalization or aphaeresis. I argued that both types of /i/ are attested in present-day dialects. In some dialects, /i/ can precede the plural formative *-s*, while in so called compound forms /i/ follows /s/: this amounts to saying that in the former case /i/ is a reflex of *ILLI*, while in the latter it is a monomorphemic element occurring “outside” the structure derived from *ILLE*.

In the last part of the paper I focused on the behaviour of the dative clitic in clitic sequences containing another third person element. French dialects exhibit three main patterns: clitic drop (i.e. sequences in which the accusative clitic is deleted), sequences with the order dative > accusative and sequences with the order accusative > dative, the same found in old and modern (standard) French. I noticed that sequences with the order dative > accusative tend to be morphologically irregular, which is consistent with the morphological behaviour of clitic clusters in other Romance areas, although the patterns displayed by Gallo-Romance vernaculars posit a series of challenges to previous accounts of cluster formation.

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