

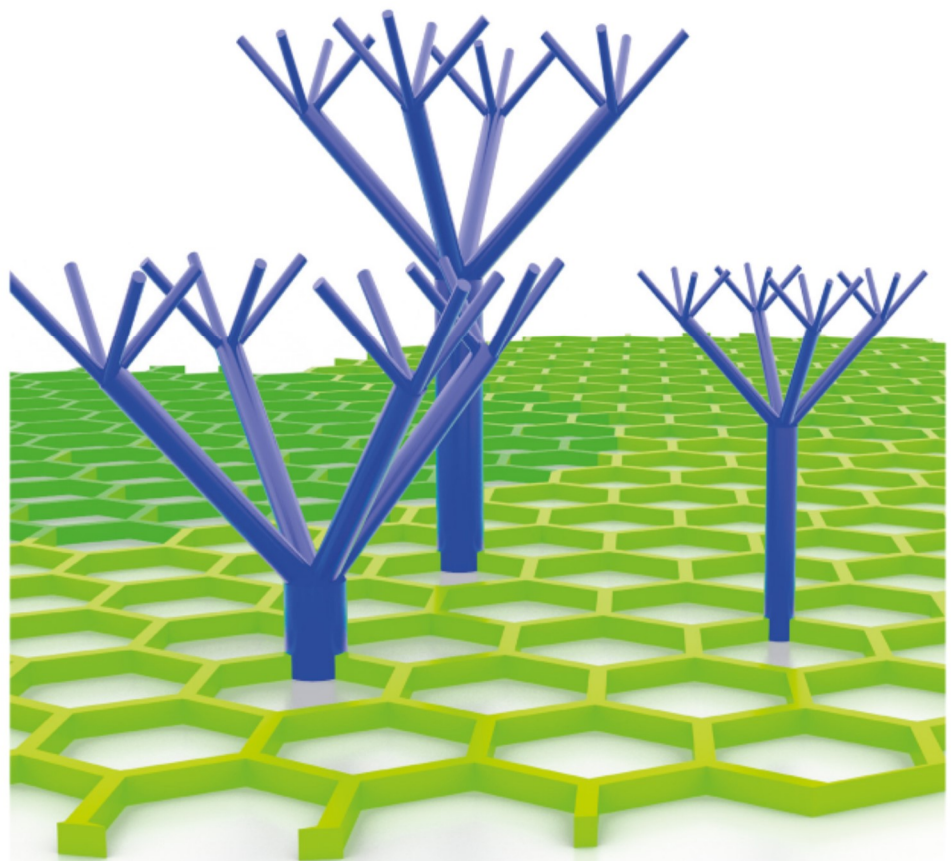
Edited by

Markéta Janebová, Joseph Emonds, and Ludmila Veselovská

Language Use and Linguistic Structure

Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2021

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Palacký University
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ε- vs a- Alternation in the Auxiliary and Distribution of OCIs in Calabro-Lucanian Dialects of Lausberg Area

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Abstract. This article deals with the realization of 3rd person object clitics in auxiliary contexts in some Southern-Italian dialects spoken in “Lausberg area”, where the allomorphy ε-/a- in the auxiliary stem and enclisis are involved. We investigate this phenomenon in relation to the overall distribution of OCIs. A crucial question is the theoretical status of morphology. Although morphology is nothing more than a way of expressing syntactic structures, it is traditionally seen as a post-syntactic component, that, according to DM, conveys an information “separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker” (Embick and Noyer 2001, 557) by means of rules manipulating syntactic nodes. We pursue a different approach whereby morphology is governed by the same computational rules of syntax and subword elements are fully interpretable. Inflection and clitics are the result of (pair-)merge operations (Chomsky 2020a, b), giving rise to amalgams based on agreement in φ-features.

Keywords: Object clitics; DOM; morphology; auxiliary; merger operation; Lausberg area varieties

1. Introduction

The topic of this article is the realization of object clitics in auxiliary contexts in Southern-Italian dialects spoken in Lausberg Area. The issue at stake is the nature of morphology and its theoretical status. This is a long-term question, dating back at least to Chomsky (1972), when the lexicalist hypothesis became the general solution in the treatment of the relation between syntax and interpretation. The portion of morphology that remained within syntax however has kept representing a problem for the analysis. In fact, morphology is necessary for syntax but it seems to apply specific structural

requirements, which according to some authors respond to a linear adjacency criterion (Embick and Noyer 2001) rather than to a structural organization. Moreover, morphology shows a set of phenomena concerning the order of exponents, syncretism and other properties apparently idiosyncratic, not immediately associated with a functional or structural codification. In the following discussion, we will apply an approach that holds to the assumption that morphology is a part of the linguistic knowledge, as it is governed by the same fundamental computational tools of syntax.

The diverse morpho-syntactic realizations of 3rd person OCl's in the Lausberg area dialects (cf. Lausberg 1939) involve the alternation between internal inflection and clitic, providing us with a test bench as regards the ability of the syntactic procedures to construct morphologically complex words. The article, after presenting the data and describing the different systems, discusses some theoretical points in order to clarify the salient aspects of the model we adopt, and finally it proposes an analysis of these phenomena. The aim is to reach a unified and general treatment.¹

2. Clitics and Internal Inflection of the Auxiliary

In Romance dialects spoken in villages within the Lausberg area, on the border between Calabria (Morano and Albidona) and Basilicata (Colobraro), 3rd person internal arguments (IA) show a specialized morphological mapping in auxiliary contexts. In some varieties, in the active form of transitive verbs the auxiliary *have* alternates two allomorphs, one with the stem vowel *a-*, and one with *ε-*. The alternant *a-* incorporates the realization of the 3rd person, as in (1a, b, c) for Morano. In the examples, we indicate with 3(PS) the exponent (or referent) of 3rd person, with 1SG/2SG/1PL/2PL the verbal agreement exponents or the OCl's. INFL is the gloss of the element *-ə* that realizes the final vocalic exponents in many of these dialects; MSG / FSG / PL correspond to the agreement nominal features.²

- (1) (a) aʝ-u camεt-u/a/i
 (3PS) have-1SG called-MSG/FSG/PL
 'I have called him/her/them'
- (b) a: camεt-u/a/i
 (3PS) have.2SG called-MSG/FSG/PL
 'you have called him/her/them'

1 The article is the fruit of common reflection and elaboration. The data we discuss in this work have been collected through field investigations with native speakers, which we thank with sincere gratitude.

2 We use a broad phonetic transcription; in general, in these dialects stressed vowels in open syllables are long; a variable lengthening may characterize also pre-tonic vowels.

- (c) a: ccamet-u/a/i
 (3PS) have.3SG called-MSG/FSG/PL
 ‘s(he) has called him/her/them’ Morano

While in the dialect of Morano this is the only realization of the object of 3rd person in these contexts, in other dialects we find two ways to introduce the object. Thus, in the dialect of Colobraro in (2), *a-/ε-* allomorphy characterizes the 3rd singular person of the auxiliary, in (2a), and is in complementary distribution with the realization of 3rd person OCLs in enclisis on the 1st/2nd and 1st and 3rd plural persons of the auxiliary, in (2b). The 2nd plural in turn excludes the realization of the OCL, however presenting the only alternant with *a-*, as in (2c)

- (2) (a) a: ccamet-ə
 (3PS) have.3SG called-INFL
 ‘(s)he has called him/her/them’
- (b) eddʒ- / εj- / εm- / εn- u / a / i camet-ə
 have.1SG / 2SG / 1PL / 3PL MSG / FSG / PL called-INFL
 ‘I have / you have / we have / they have called him/her/them’
- (c) avesə camet-ə
 (3PS) have.2PL called-INFL
 ‘you have called him/her/them’ Colobraro

The alternant *ε-* occurs in all other contexts, including unaccusatives, reflexives and unergatives, as in (3a, a’) and (3b, b’).

- (3) (a) εjʃ-u vinut-u
 have-1SG come-MSG
 ‘I have come’
- (a’) εjʃ-u rurmut-u
 have-1SG slept-MSG
 ‘I have slept’ Morano
- (b) ε vvənut-ə
 have.3SG come-INFL
 ‘(s)he has come’

The distribution of the stem vowels ε- and a- shown in (4) and (5) leads us to identify ε- as the basic allomorph, considering that it occurs in all contexts where object clitics are not inserted.³

A third system is attested in the North-Calabrian dialect of Albidona, in which the enclisis on the 1st and 2nd singular persons of the verb, in (6a), coexists with the realization of 3rd person *l-* OCl in 2nd and 3rd singular persons of the verb, as in (6b, b') and (6c). The stem of the auxiliary has the alternant ε-. (6c) illustrates the 2nd plural form where both alternants are admitted, i.e. the incorporation on the initial a- of the verbal form, or the insertion of *l-*. The examples in (6d, e) illustrate the 1st and the 3rd plural persons which in turn select for enclisis. (6f) illustrates the negative form, where the OCl *l-* occurs in enclisis on the negation and the gender/ number exponent is expressed by the enclitic form on the auxiliary, here *-a*, feminine singular.

- (6) (a) (ε)ddʒ- u / a / i βist-ə
 have.1SG- MSG / FSG / PL seen-INFL
 'I have seen him/her/them'
- (b) l ε βist-ə
 3PS have.2SG seen-INFL
 'you have seen her/him/them'
- (b') l ε bbist-ə
 3PS have.3s seen-INFL
 '(s)he has seen her/ him'
- (c) (l) aβəsə βist-ə
 3PS have.2PL seen-INFL
 'You have seen her/him/them'
- (d) tə m- u dat-ə
 2SG have.1PL 3.MSG given-INFL
 'we have given it to you'

3 On the basis of the traditional measure of complexity for the rules, we could derive a- as the substitute of *OCl+ε* in a simple way, while obtaining ε- from a- requires a much more complex list of contexts.

(e) $\gamma u\theta r\theta$ n- u vist- θ
 they have.3PL 3.MSG seen-INFL
 ‘they have seen it/ him’

(f) \circ ll-a ddz θ vist- θ
 Neg 3-FSG have.1SG seen-INFL
 ‘I have not seen her’

Albidona

It is of note that in these dialects there is no phonological process or constraint preventing [l] from combining with [a] or [ε], as shown by the examples in (7).

(7) [l ɛriva] ‘the grass’
 [l atʃina] ‘the grapes’

Morano

[ɛkwə] ‘the needle’
 [l atʃənə] ‘the grapes’

Colobraro

More to the point, *l-* regularly occurs before *have* with the lexical reading of possession, as in (8a, b).

(8) (a) l addz θ
 3PS have.1SG
 ‘I have it’

(b) l εj θ
 3PS have.2SG
 ‘You have it’, etc.

Colobraro

In other words, nothing suggests an origin of this phenomenon as due to the phonological assimilation of *l* and *ε-*, or, possibly, *a-*; rather, the distribution of the *ε-* (by hypothesis from ‘be’, cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011b) and *a-* (from ‘have’) according to syntactic properties is crucially implied. Moreover, the fact that the alternation concerns only the auxiliary creates a further obstacle to a morpho-phonological explanation. As to the lexical verbs initiating with a vowel we find different solutions. Typically, if the original initial vowel is unstressed, i.e. pre-tonic, it is deleted and the vocalic OCl is inserted, as in (9a); in some varieties the initial vowel can incorporate the OCl of 3rd person, as in (9b). If the initial vowel is the stressed nucleus of the stem, either *l-* OCl is inserted as in (8)/(9c), or an initial consonantal segment is inserted, usually the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] or the glide [j], creating a CV syllable, like in (9d) and (9e).

- (9) (a) u / a / i ttakkə
 MSG / FSG / PL tie.1SG
 ‘I tie him/her/them’ Albidona
- (b) aspettɪ-ri
 (3PS) wait-3SG
 ‘(s)he wait for him/her/them’ Morano
- (c) l addʒə
 3PS have.1SG
 ‘I have it’ Albidona
- (d) a ɣrɛ:pə
 FSG open.1SG
 ‘I open it’ Colobraro
- (e) u jɛpə
 MSG open.1SG
 ‘I open’ Morano

The picture we get is the following:

- ✓ *have* allomorphy: ε- vs a-, where the latter externalizes the 3rd person internal argument in active syntax; the a- auxiliary form excludes the insertion of the object clitic.
- ✓ 3rd person OClS have the alternants: u/a/i in proclisis with lexical verbs or in enclisis on the auxiliary, l(-u/a/i) in negative/deontic/imperatives contexts;
- ✓ The realization of OClS is sensitive to the negative operator
- ✓ OClS have different realizations depending on the person: in Colobraro dialect the 3rd singular person and the 2nd plural incorporate the 3rd person OCl, while all other persons incorporate it; in Albidona the 2nd and 3rd singular persons select the proclitic l-, contrary to the 1st singular and plural persons and 3rd plural.

The alternation ε-/a- is part of a complex of well-attested South-Italian phenomena concerning the expression of 3rd person OClS in auxiliary contexts (see section 4; cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2010). Manzini and Savoia propose a structural treatment whereby the auxiliary in C subsumes the 3rd person properties. Differently from that analysis, we connect the different realizations of 3rd and 1st/2nd person IA to the properties of such lexical items and rely on the idea that morphological complex forms are constructed on the basis of the same computational mechanism of syntax.

A crucial point is that the drop of 3rd person OCl before the auxiliary interplays with the enclitic occurrence in some varieties, like the one of Colobraro in (2a)–(2b). So, an interesting conjecture is that the complementarity between the allomorphy ϵ -/a-, enclisis of 3rd person OCl and, finally, their co-existence, as in (2), are the faces of the same phenomenon, implying a substantially identical morpho-syntactic procedure.

1.1 The Object Clitic System

Let us consider the clitic paradigm of these varieties. Object clitics, apart the alternants incorporated in the auxiliary seen in section 1, present three alternants:

- the simple Definiteness root l -, that we indicate with 3PS, generally encompassing all referential properties, before verbs beginning in vowel as in (8);
- the complex forms where l - is combined with the inflection of gender and number, in imperative and in negative contexts (see below), indicated as 3-FSG/MSG/PL
- the simple inflection of gender and number in proclisis, in declarative sentences, glossed as the bundle of agreement features FSG, MSG, PL

In these dialects the plural is generally expressed by the only exponent i ; as to the 1st and 2nd person clitics, we have, as in Standard Italian and in most Italian varieties, a single form for direct and indirect object, i.e. $m\partial$ 1PS and $t\partial$ 2PS. The clitic forms are illustrated in (10a) for Morano, in (10b) for Albidona and in (10c) for Colobraro.

- (10) (a) $m\partial / t\partial / u / a / i$ 'virɪ-ɪɪ
 1SG/2SG/MSG/FSG/ PL see-3SG
 '(s)he sees me/you/him/her/them' Morano
- (b) $m\partial / t\partial / u / a / i$ 'βiðə-nə
 1SG/2SG/MSG/FSG/ PL see-3PL
 'they see me/you/him/her/them' Albidona
- (b) $m\partial / t\partial / u / a / i$ 'viðə-nə
 1SG/ 2SG/ MSG/FSG/ PL see-3PL
 'they see me/you/him/her/them' Colobraro

(11a), (11b) and (11c) illustrate the *dative* in the dialects of Morano, Albidona and Colobraro. (11a'), (11b') and (11c') illustrate the string *dative/accusative* in the corresponding dialects. The following distribution emerges:

- Accusative and dative of the 1st and 2nd person clitics are syncretic, presenting a single alternant in the two contexts;

- The dative in the dialect of Morano is realized by *i* when it is alone, as in (11b), and by the syncretic dative/partitive OCl *nə* when it precedes an object clitic, as in (11b’).
- In Colobraro dialect the dative is realized in all contexts by the partitive *nə*.
- The order of clitics in the string provides for the dative and 1st and 2nd person clitics before the accusative, i.e. the same as in many Romance varieties.

In the glosses, TV indicates the Thematic Vowel, i.e. the morpheme occurring between the root and the inflection.

- (11) (a) *i* / *tə* *rən-a* *kkwist-ə*
 3PS.DAT / 2SG give-3SG this-INFL
 ‘(s)he gives this to him/her/them/you’
- (a’) *n* / *t* *u* *rən-iri*
 3PS.DAT / 2SG 3.MSG give-3SG
 ‘(s)he gives it to him/her/them/you’ Morano
- (b) *ʎə* / *mə* *ð-a* *kkwistə*
 3PS.DAT / 1SG give-3SG this
 ‘(s)he gives this to her/him/them/me’
- (b’) *ʎ* / *m* *u* *ðayə*
 3PS.DAT / 1SG 3.MSG give.1SG
 ‘I give it to him/her/them/me’ Albidona
- (c) *nə* *d-ε* *kkwist-ə*
 3PS.DAT give-TV this-INFL
 ‘(s)he gives this to him/her/then’
- (c) *n* *u* *d-ε-tə*
 3PS.DAT 3.MSG give-TV-3SG
 ‘(s)he gives this to him/her/then’ Colobraro

As shown by the comparison of (10a) and (11a) for Morano, and (10b) and (11b) for Albidona, dative and accusative plural are syncretic, so that *i* and *ʎə* encompass both the 3PL and that of 3rd person dative. Manzini and Savoia (2017a, 2018, 2020) account for this coincidence, assuming that both plural and dative are based on the semantic relation of inclusion, \subseteq , i.e. part-whole of a set. Plural implies the sub-set reading (cf. Chierchia 1997), while dative can be traced back to the elementary predicative relation where

an argument is included into or part of another, its domain (cf. Belvin and den Dikken (1997)⁴ and Manzini and Savoia (2011a,b)). In other words, this analysis suggests that the order dative/ 1st/2nd person – accusative manifests the scope of the inclusion over the possessum, as in the case of the order possessive-DP in many languages.

A specialized alternant including the Definiteness base *l-* followed by the inflectional elements *a, u, i* ‘her, him, them’, is inserted when the OCl is preceded by negation (cf. (5)) and in enclisis on imperatives. In both contexts, however, the order of clitics remains the same. This allomorphy presents a subtle micro-variation also attested in our sample of dialects. In the negative contexts, not all dialects introduce *l-* forms, as evidenced by the comparison between (12a, b) for Morano and Albidona with *l-*, and (12c) for Colobrarò, preserving vocalic OCIs. As indicated in the examples in (12a, a’) for Morano, *l-* forms combine the definiteness root *l-* with the gender/ number inflection, which in turn is however sufficient to realize the object clitics in the declarative positive contexts in (10).

- (12) (a) *nu ll-u / ll-a / ll-i* ‘*viriri*-*ri*
 Neg 3-MSG / 3-FSG / 3-PL see-3SG
 ‘(s)he does not see him/ her/ them’ Morano
- (b) *o ll-u / ll-a / ll-ə* ‘*βiðə-nə*
 Neg 3-MSG / 3-FSG / 3.PL-INFL see-3PL
 ‘they do not see him/ her/ them’ Albidona
- (c) *nənn u / a / i* ‘*viəðə-nə*
 Neg MSG / FSG / PL see-3PL
 ‘they do not see him/ her/ them’ Colobrarò

4 The idea that all types of possession, including inalienable and psych state possession, fall under the same basic relation resumes the analysis of possession in Belvin and den Dikken (1997, 170) according to whom “entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity... The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity”.

Imperatives⁵ require the insertion of OCLs in enclisis selecting *l-V* forms, as in (13a, b, c); *l-V* forms occur also in clitic clusters, as in (13a', b', c'), associating the word stress with the penultimate vowel, as in (13a, a', b', c').

(13) (a) ca'm-ε- l-u / l-a / l-i
 call-TV- 3-MSG / 3-FSG / 3-PL
 'Call him/ her/ them!'

(a') rɔn-a- n'ni- l-u
 give-TV- 3PS.DAT- 3-MSG
 'Give it to her / him!'

Morano

(b) ca'ma- ll-ə
 call 3-INFL
 'Call him/ her!'

(b') da- 'm- ill-ə
 give 1SG- 3-INFL
 'Give me it!'

Albidona

(c) ca'm-a- ll-ə
 Call-TV- 3-Infl
 'Call him/ her/ them!'

(c') d-a- m'm- ill-ə
 Give-TV- 1SG- 3-INFL
 'Give me it!'

Colobrarò

5 In Southern Italian dialects in imperatives clitic clusters attract the main stress of the word, associated with the first clitic of the cluster, giving rise to a trochaic foot as in (13a', b', c'), e.g. *rɔna-n n-ilu* 'give him it' (Morano), as illustrated in (i).

(i) F
 | \
 rɔna nni lu

In some dialects also simple object clitics following the imperative attract the word stress, as in the examples in (13a, b, c). The reassignment of the main stress in post-verbal position goes together with the insertion of 3rd person clitics with the base *l-*. Manzini and Savoia (2017a) conclude that the stress together with a richer morphology are required in contexts where definite elements must be read outside of the scope of the modal operator.

Imperatives of 1st/2nd plural person trigger mesoclisism of 1st person and dative/locative object clitics (characterizable as deictic), in contexts where the 3rd person clitic occurs in enclisis (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2017a, Baldi and Savoia 2020). In other words, mesoclisism shows up only in *deictic/dative/locative clitics + verbal inflection + 3rd person clitics* strings, as in (14) and (15). (14a) and (15a) and (14b) and (15b) illustrate mesoclisism of deictic clitics in the contexts of 1st plural and 2nd plural forms respectively. (15c) illustrates the post-verbal position of simple object clitics. In the dialect of Albidona 1st/2nd plural OCIs are realized by the form *mə-sə/ sə* (in enclisis and mesoclisism).⁶ As for the imperative person inflections, these dialects have a paradigm similar to the Italian: 1st and 2nd plural coincide with the present indicative forms; 2nd singular of the first class has the specialized ending *-a*, as in (15a) for Morano. In Albidona in final unstressed position the inflectional vowels have changed to *-ə*.

(14) (a) d-a- ʎʎə- 'mu- ll-ə
 give-TV- 3PL- 1PL- 3-Infl
 'Let us give her/him/them it!'

(b) pərt-ə_ sə- 'tɛ- ll-ə
 bring-TV 1PL- 2PL- Def-Infl
 'Bring us it!'

Albidona

(15) (a) rən-a- n'ni- mu- l-u
 give-TV- 3PS.DAT- 1PL- Def-MSG
 'Let us give it to him/ her!'

(b) rən-a- m'mi- ti- l-u
 give-TV- 1SG- 2PL- Def-MSG
 'Give it to me!'

Morano

As noted above, in these systems mesoclisism is admitted only on condition that the 3rd person clitic is present in final position, as in (15a, b) for Morano, so that with a single OCI we have enclisis, as in (14'a) and (15'a) for 1st plural and (14'b) and (15'b) for 2nd plural.

(14')(a) pərt-a- 'mu- llə
 bring-TV- 1PL- Def-Infl
 'Let us bring it!'

6 The alternant *mə-sə* seems to be traceable back to the combination of the 1st plural exponent *mə* with *sə*, the reflexive/impersonal element (Manzini and Savoia 2005).

(b) cam-ə- 'tε- mə
 call-TV- 2PL- 1SG
 'Call me!' Albidona

(15')(a) ca'm-a- mu- l-u
 call-TV- 1PL- Def-MSG
 'Let us call him!'

(b) ru'n-a- tə- mə kwiss-u
 give-TV- 2PL- 1SG that-MSG
 'Give me that!' Morano

In negative imperatives OCLs, alone or in the string *dative+accusative*, occur in proclitic position, between the negative marker and the verb. The 2nd singular is lexicalized by the infinitive, as in (16a) and (17a, a'). In the other persons the usual inflection occurs, as in (16b, c, c') and (17b, c). We find the 3rd person *l-* forms, in (16a) and (17a), while in Colobraro variety the simple 3rd person form is preserved, as in (18a). The strings *dative+accusative* are exemplified in (16b, c, c') and (17a', b, c) and (18b).

(16) (a) ə- ll-u ca'm-a
 Neg 3-MSG wait-TV
 'Don't call him!'

(b) ə- ll u d-a-mə
 Neg 3PS.DAT It.MSG give-TV-1PL
 'Let us not give it to her/him/them!'

(c) ə- mm u d-a-tə
 Neg 1SG MSG give-TV-2PL
 'Don't give it to me!'

(c') ə- ll u d-a-tə
 Neg 3PS.DAT MSG give-TV-1PL
 'Don't give it to her/him/them!' Albidona

(17) (a) nu- ll-u ca'm-ε
 Neg 3-MSG wait-TV
 'Don't call him!'

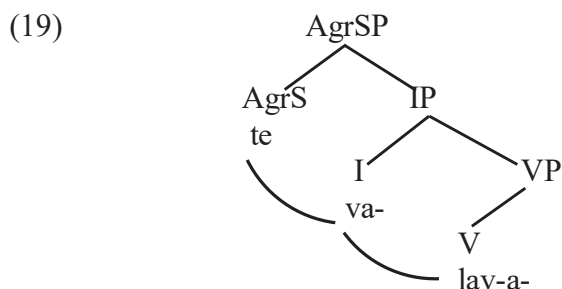
- (a') nu- nn u ru'n-ε
 Neg to. 3PS MSG give-TV
 'Don't give it to her/him/them!'
- (b) nu- nn u run-ε-mu
 Neg to.3PS MSG give-TV-1PL
 'Let us not give it to her/him/them!'
- (c) nu- mm u purt-ε-ti
 Neg 1SG MSG give-TV-2PL
 'Don't give it to me!' Morano
- (18) (a) nɔnn- u ca'm-ε-tə
 Neg MSG call-TV-2PL
 'Don't call him!'
- (b) nɔ mm- u d-ε
 Neg 1PS It.MSG give-TV
 'Don't give it to me!' Colobraro

Summarizing:

- ✓ The enclitic form of accusatives includes the definiteness lexical base *l-*, missing in proclitic elements.
- ✓ Mesoclysis is triggered only by clitic clusters in 1st and 2nd forms of imperative.
- ✓ Dative/locative and 1st person clitics occur between root and inflection while accusatives occur to the right of inflection.
- ✓ Negative imperatives require clitics and clitic clusters to be inserted between the negation and the verb, in proclisis.
- ✓ *l-* clitics occur when immediately preceded by the negative head.

3. Is There a Morphological Component?

In the generative syntax framework, the best known generalization concerning the distribution of inflectional morphemes is Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle, whereby the verb moves to combine with the closest suffix: V attaches itself to T, and then T-V moves to AgrS, that closes the complex word, as in (19), representing the 2nd plural of the Italian imperfect *lava-va-te* 'you(pl) washed'. The Mirror Principle substantially translates into syntactic operations the idea, traditional in generative grammar, that the composition of complex words is an ordered cyclic mechanism. At once, it associates the treatment of inflection with syntax.



Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994), the traditional approach to morphology within the generative framework, identifies morphology with an autonomous component, in which the insertion of morphemes is however based on an insertion mechanism in which subword elements (affixes and clitics), are understood as “dissociated morphemes” conveying an information “separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker” (Embick and Noyer 2001, 557) and involving post-syntactic rules of linear adjacency (Local dislocation) (Embick and Noyer 2001). Hence, agreement and case morphemes are not represented in syntax but they are added postsyntactically “during Morphology”. Thus, we can expect there are morphological elements devoid of any syntactic import, “ornamental pieces of morphology” as in the case of Thematic Vowels of Romance languages (Embick 2010; cf. Calabrese 2015).

As an illustration, coming back to the alternation *a-* vs *ε-*, in DM framework the change from *ε-* to *a-* could be seen as the outcome of a “Fusion” adjustment rule of the type in (20), where the ϕ -features defining the object clitic are associated to the auxiliary head. As a result, the insertion of the object clitic is prevented and the specialized form of the auxiliary is inserted.

$$(20) \quad [{}_{\text{OCl}} \phi\text{-features}] \text{ Aux} \rightarrow \emptyset [\text{Aux}, \phi\text{-features}]$$

The motivation of rules such as (20) is to create the correct slot for the subsequent Vocabulary insertion. The question is why languages, also understood in broad sense (Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002), should commit themselves to obscure the relation between sensory-motor (SM) and interpretive (IC) interfaces (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2018). Naturally, we defend a vocabulary-based framework in the sense of Bobaljik (2002, 53), that is “the pieces that constitute paradigms and rules for generating them”. More precisely, approaches based on abstract constructs such as basic paradigms, understood as the grammatical level organizing the morphological structure and accounting for syncretism (Williams 1994), appear to add a costly and unmotivated explanatory structure in the grammar (Bobaljik 2002). On the contrary, it is possible to think of the relation between syntax and morphology as based on the lexical content of those “pieces”.

We will follow a different approach to morphology, based on the idea that morphology is part of the syntactic computation and there is no specialized component for the morphological structure of words (Manzini and Savoia 2017b, 2011a, Manzini et al. 2020, Savoia et al. 2018). Morphosyntactic features of lexical elements, including morphemes, are fully interpretable, and contribute to externalizing the syntactic structure. Morphemes are endowed with semantic content, so excluding Late Insertion and the adjustments provided by Distributed Morphology, such as the manipulation of terminal nodes, impoverishment and fusion rules of φ -features, that feed it.

Inflected words are analyzed as the result of a Merge operation that combines inflectional heads with a category-less lexical root R, interpreted as a predicate. In the case of nominal elements, inflectional contents are Class (gender feminine/masculine) and other classificatory properties such as number and case (Manzini and Savoia 2011b). In inflected verbal forms agreement features and mood/ tense/ voice inflections are merged with R. Specifically, syncretism and other kinds of ambiguity imply a treatment based on the interpretive properties of the items/inflectional exponents and not on different syntactic structures. Similar conclusions are now supported by Wood and Marantz (2011), and specifically for morphology/ syntax relation theorized in Collins and Kayne (2020).

As we noticed, also subword elements are bona fide lexical entries endowed with interpretive content and contribute to forming the relevant structure. So, we can assume that the Merge operation (Chomsky 2020a,b) in (21) underlies the combination of morphemes in complex words:

(21) Merge (X,Y) \rightarrow [X,Y]

Specifically, morphology involves the combination of heads, roots and other morphemes. Chomsky (2020a: 55) sees in pair-merge the way of treating head raising: “It’s always described incorrectly. If a verb raises to inflection, say to T, it’s always described as if the T-V complex becomes a T; but it’s not, it’s a V-the outcome of the adjunction is really verbal, not inflectional.” As for modification as in the case of an adnominal adjective expression such as *young man*, Chomsky concludes that it is the result of an operation of conjunction where the same categorizer *n* (Link) is shared by the conjuncts; R(oots) merge with the Link/categorizer *n*. Chomsky, referring to Marantz (1997), speaks of categorizers such as *v*, *n*, that we can conceptualize as the bundles of φ -features that characterize the functional content of words entering into the agreement operations.

Drawing on Manzini (2021) and Baldi and Savoia (2021), it seems natural to assume that *n* is the label for the class and number features of nominal agreement. Extending this idea to verbs it is possible to identify *v* with the verbal categories of tense, aspect and mood that make an eventive/ stative root a verb. Trivially, we can observe that the inflection, for instance of tense or agreement, is sufficient to make a root, generally used as a noun, a verb, as in the case of *(s)he water-s/-ed*. In the model proposed here,

Agreement can be accounted for as the morphological manifestation of the identity between referential feature sets corresponding to the arguments of the sentence. In other words, there is no uninterpretable category triggering raising of a goal (see Chomsky et al. 2019, Chomsky 2020a,b).

An effective intuition proposed by Marantz (2001, 2007) is that words correspond to phases, substantially to work spaces, formed by combining the uncategorized lexical root with inner and outer morphological elements, where typically the latter are the inflections. Inflectional morphemes select for the compound including the root and its immediately attached morpheme. This model, therefore, excludes the separation between inflectional morphology, introduced in syntax, and derivational morphology, substantially lexical as implied in Baker’s and usually in the generative approach. Again the idea is that “syntax perform[s] all merger operations including those between morphemes within a word” (Marantz 2001, 6). A point remains to be clarified, i.e. the role of the little “v, n, a” determining “the syntactic category for roots”. As we suggested above, we identify these elements with the verbal or nominal features expressed by morphemes immediately combining with the root.

3.1 Proposals for the Analysis of Clitics

Let us consider the treatment of verbal inflection and clitic insertion in terms of merger operations. Starting from Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994) the interplay between clitics and inflections has induced a unified treatment of them as realizations of ϕ -features associated with syntactic structure. This solution is confirmed by mesoclisism (Manzini and Savoia 2011b, Baldi and Savoia 2020), presented in (14)–(15), where clitic elements are interpolated within the inflectional string.

We assume that the inflectional content of the verb fulfils the task of satisfying the properties of the sentence. For instance, consider the simple clause in (22) (cf. (10a), Morano):

- (22) $[\text{OCI } a]$ $[\text{T/V } \text{vir-iri}]$
 her see-3SG
 ‘(s)he sees her’

In the light of Chomsky (2015, 2020b), the inflection, identifying the EA of the verb, is merged with R, giving rise to a labeled amalgam, assuming that ϕ -features of inflection can be identified as the realization of the category v , as in (23).

- (23) $\langle \text{vir}_R, \text{iri}_\phi \rangle \rightarrow [\text{v/3ps } \text{vir} + \text{iri}_\phi]$

If words, here the verb, are phases, we need to think that inflectional head is accessible to operations at vP, where it agrees with the features of v , as suggested in (24).

- (24) (a) vP phase⁷: T v word-phase
 u_ϕ, ϕ iri+vir-

More to the point, if, in accord with Roberts (2010, 57), Romance OCl have to be considered the head of agreement for v phase, the OCl can be treated as the phase edge, specifically merged with the verb realizing v, as in (25).

- (25) $\langle OCl_\phi, \text{viriri}_v \rangle \rightarrow [{}_v u [\text{viriri}]] \dots$

We can think that inflectional properties of the verb satisfy T by merging to T, in the sense that vP and TP absolve the Agreement criterion invoked in Chomsky (2015, 2020b), yielding (26), where the amalgam *OCl+R* is associated with T.

- (26) $\langle T_\phi, [u [\text{vir-iri}_\phi]] \rangle \rightarrow [{}_T [u \text{vir-iri}_{Infl}]]$

In imperatives we find the order *verb-OCl*s, as generally in Romance languages. What does the order in imperative come from? In generative tradition the inversion of OCl is connected to the movement of the verb to C or to a higher position, as proposed in cartographic models where the illocutionary nature of imperatives is associated with the Speech Act Phrase (Speas and Tenny 2003), implying a directive illocutionary force as a property involved in their interpretation. In semantic literature imperatives are devoid of truth value not making assertions about the current world (Han 2011); in other words, they assign a property to a prominent argument, identified with the addressee, rather than denoting events (Platzack and Rosengren 1998, Portner 2004). In keeping with Portner (2004, 239), we can treat imperatives as predicates resulting from an abstraction operator λ , introducing an argumental variable x fixed by the addressee. As suggested in (27), the imperative form *rɔn-a* ‘give!’ (Morano) includes the verbal root combined with the inflection *-a* of 2nd person specialized for imperative, differing from the usual ending of 2nd person that in this type of dialects is *-ISI*, e.g. *rɔn-ISI* ‘you give’ (Morano).

- (27) $rɔn-a_{2SG}$ ‘give’
 $\lambda x, \text{give } (x,y)$, $x = \text{Addressee}$

7 Chomsky (2001) identifies phases with lexical subarrays, i.e. structures, computed at the SM and C-I interfaces as the result of the operation of Transfer. The procedure is constrained by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (Chomsky (2001, 14), whereby in a structure $[{}_{ZP} Z \dots [{}_{HP} \alpha [H YP]]]$, where Z and H are heads, the complement YP of H is not accessible to operations at ZP and only H and its *edge* are accessible to such operations (Richards 2011).

As for the enclisis of the clitic string in imperatives, we remind that it reflects a structural possibility independently implemented by the externalization in Italo-Romance varieties, as in the case of some West Piedmont varieties (Manzini and Savoia 2005), that show enclisis also in declarative forms. In Standard Italian enclisis characterizes infinitive/ gerundive and participial sentences, in addition to imperative. We can wonder what is the link between enclisis and non-veridical contexts. The simplest hypothesis is that the left position of the verb realizes the scope of the predicative abstraction on the subject and the other arguments. In this sense, the order *verb-OCLs* is the morphological encoding of the imperative reading.

We can treat the OCLs string as a complex item formed by merging the dative *ni* to the IA *l-u* yielding the amalgam *ni lu* ‘to.her/him/them-it’, in (28a); the latter realizes the relation of possession between the possessum, the accusative, and the possessor, the dative (Manzini and Savoia 2011b, Baldi and Savoia 2021). The cluster merges to [_v *rɔn-a*] as the realization of the φ features of *v* as in (28b). The inverted order and the form of clitics satisfy the requirements of T/C, as in (28c). The conclusion that clusters of OCLs are the result of merging of dative and accusative is supported by the evidence provided by many dialects, where dative and accusative assume specialized realizations in clusters. This is the case of Morano, where the dative is *i* in isolation, in (11b’), while it is *ni* in clusters, in (15a). The order dative-accusative reflects the usual order of these clitics also in preverbal position. As noticed in the previous discussion, the linearization possessor-possessum expresses the scope of the relation, where the dative restricts the referential content of the object clitic, as clearly manifested by the use of the partitive/genitive element *ni*.

- (28) (a) < ni_φ, l-u_φ > → [_φ ni [lu]]
 (b) < [_φ ni [lu]], [_v rɔn-a] > → [_v [_φ ni lu] [_φ rɔna]]
 (c) < T_φ, [_v ni lu [rɔna]] > → [_T [[rɔna] n’ni+lu]]

Continuing along this line of analysis, if clusters are merged into specialized amalgams, we should conclude that mesocclisis is the result of a similar morphological procedure. In other words, a string as *m’mi-ti_{ni}-lu* ‘to.me-you-it’ in *rɔna-m’mi-ti_{ni}-lu* ‘give(2pl) me it’ from (15b) for Morano, implies that the inflection *-ti_{2pl}* does not have a different status from that of clitics (cf. Halle and Marantz 1994), i.e. a clitic string is formed that includes the inflectional exponent, as in (29a). In (29b) the cluster is merged to the verbal stem and the verbal inflectional element *-ti* is externalized as usually to the left of the OCL, yielding (29b) with the effect of mesocclisis.

- (29) (a) < mmi [_φ ti], l-u > → [_φ [_φ mmi-_φ ti]] l-u]
 (b) < [_φ [_φ mmi-ti] l-u], rɔn-a_v > → [_v [rɔn-a] mmi - ti - lu]]

At least two phenomena support the idea that OCl and the inflectional exponent are combined into a cluster, as in (29a). Firstly, the stem combining with mesoclitis is different from the one in the other contexts as highlighted by the comparison between *fatf-i-ti-lu* ‘do it!’ in (30a) and *fatf-a-mi-ti-lu* ‘do it to me’ in (30b) with different TVs. Moreover, examples of doubling of the inflectional material are frequently realized, as in (30c) for the dialect of Albidona.

- (30) (a) fatf-i- ti- l-u
do-TV- 2PL- Def-MSG
‘do it there!’
- (b) fatf-a- mi- ti- l-u
do-TV- me- 2PL- Def-MSG
‘Do it there!’ Morano
- (c) d-a- tə- mə- 'tə- llə
give-TV 2PL- 1PS- 1PL- it
‘Give it to me!’ Albidona

The occurrence of 3rd person clitics of the type *l+u/a/i* satisfies a requirement of definiteness implied by these constructs, that we can relate to the non-veridicality of the imperative contexts. The idea, that we will discuss in reference to (39), is that the complex forms are inserted in order to fix referents that are interpreted independently from the scope of the modality.

The DOM effect whereby only 1st person OCl and dative clitics can occur in mesoclitis but not 3rd person clitics, can be traced back to the general point concerning the order in the clitic string. In fact, we see that pronouns interpreted in relation to the discourse context, i.e. 1st/2nd person clitics and dative, as the possessor or location of the direct object, precede accusatives. We have already concluded that this order expresses the scope of the part-whole relation, from 1st/2nd persons or dative over the accusative. Thus, the accusative/ dative syncretism of the 1st and 2nd person clitics suggests that they are however treated as possessors independently of their thematic role (Manzini and Savoia 2010, 2011b, 2017a). This appears to be excluded for the 3rd person clitics, that however are to be read in relation to the event. In mesoclitis this order is however retained 3rd Person obliging elements in the right position. Forcing the elements of 3rd person to the right position.

3.2 The Alternation *a-* vs *ε-*

As discussed in the previous paragraphs, the meaning of the sentence is projected from morphosyntactic properties of lexical items, inflections/clitics included as associated

with interpretable content.⁸ Let us consider the auxiliary. We start from the elementary conjecture – the null hypothesis – that the auxiliary *have* is a full verbal projection, embedding a predicative relation between a noun and a participle selecting it as IA (Manzini and Savoia 2011a). As for the internal structure of the participle, we see that in Romance varieties and, specifically, in Italian dialects, inflectional properties identify the participle with a nominal element. The category-less lexical root R combines with the participial suffix, *-t* in the most verbal classes, and the exponent for φ-features. Between the root and the inflectional elements, the Thematic Vowel is inserted, as in (31) (from (1) for Morano).

(31) [[[cam_R -ε_{TV}] t_{part}] u_{infl}] ‘called-MSG’

The participial suffix, *-t* in (28), has a resultative/stative value (Manzini and Savoia 2005). Thematic Vowel, resuming a proposal of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007, 2011a), can be identified with a nominal element, introducing an indefinite variable “x”, whose value is fixed by the internal (or external) argument of the sentence. More precisely, thematic vowels are nominal inflections making the verbal root into a nominal form of the verb available to insert in the aspectual/modal head. In the terms of the merger operations, the past-participle *cam-ε-t-u* ‘called- MSG’ is created by merging the TV with R in (32a), this amalgam with the stative suffix *-t* in (32b) and the φ-features with its result, in (32c). The participle in v satisfies agreement.

(32) (a) < cam_R, ε_x > → [x [R cam] ε]
 (b) [v < [x [cam_R] ε], t_{stative} > ... → [v [prt [tʃam_R] ε_x] t_{stative}] ...
 (c) [v < [prt [tʃam_R] ε_x] t_{stative}, u_{infl} > → [T/v [[[tʃam_R] ε_x] t_{stative}] u_φ] ...

Consider now in this perspective the alternant *a-* of the auxiliary, which is introduced when it agrees with the participle, or, more precisely, when the participle is associated with the 3rd person IA by its φ-features. The stem *a-* is able to introduce referential properties compatible with the 3rd IA specified by the participle, in (32); it works like the corresponding OCl in other contexts. We can, therefore, deal with *ajj-u* ‘I have.it’⁹ as an internally inflected stem selected in combination with the past participle of which it specifies the IA. The head *a(jj-u)* is pair-merged with the participle yielding (33a), based on sharing compatible (i.e. non contradictory) φ-features, able to refer to the

8 This assumption excludes the hypothesis that a morpheme ∅, i.e. a non-readable category, alternates with *l-* in auxiliary contexts where the 3rd person is realized through a specialized form of the auxiliary.

9 For the sake of clarity, we remind that in this dialect the ending *-u* of the first person of auxiliary is the usual verbal inflection corresponding to the subject.

same argument. *ajj-* is merged to T forming the verbal amalgam *ajj-u*, agreeing with the subject, in (33b).

- (33) (a) $\langle a_{\varphi}(\text{JJ-}), \text{cam}\varepsilon\text{-u}_{\varphi} \rangle \rightarrow [a(\text{JJ-})_{\text{R}}][\text{cam}\varepsilon\text{-u}_{\text{Prt}}]$
 (b) $[_{\text{T}} \langle \text{ajj-}, u_{\varphi} \rangle \dots \rightarrow [\text{ajju}_{\text{Infl/T}}]$

The result is the sequence in (34), where the participle externalizes by the alternant *a-* the φ -properties of *v*.

- (34) $[[a_{\text{3RD}} \text{JJu}_{\text{T/Infl}}] [[_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{Prt}} \text{cam}\varepsilon\text{-t-u}_{\text{MSG}}]]]$ Morano

The other option, implemented by the dialects of Colobrarò (cf. (2b)) and Albidona (cf. (6a, c, d)), is that 3rd person clitics are in enclisis. In this respect, we recall that 1st/2nd person OCl occur in proclisis on the auxiliary, as in (35a) and (35b) for Albidona.

- (35) (a) *mə nə vist-ə*
 1SG have.3PL seen-INFL
 ‘they have seen me’

- (b) *tə ddʒ- u / a / i dat-ə*
 2SG have.1SG MSG / FSG / PL given-INFL
 ‘I have given it / them to you’ Albidona

- (b’) *m εn- u / a / i det-ə*
 1SG have.1SG MSG / FSG / PL given-INFL
 ‘they have given it / them to you’

- (b’’) *n εn- u / a / i det-ə*
 3PS.DAT have.1SG MSG / FSG / PL given-INFL
 ‘they have given it / them to her/him/them’ Colobrarò

The proclisis of the 1st/2nd person OCl is what we expect since this is the usual position of OCl in declarative sentences, seen in (24). The issue is the occurrence of the 3rd person OCl in enclisis. Superficially, the distribution is similar to what we saw for imperatives in (28), where the OCl of 1st person precedes the inflectional morpheme of the verb and the 3rd person OCl in final position.

Let us assume that 3rd person OCl are pair-merged in the workspace of *v*, where they realize the IA agreement of *v*, as in (36a). In other words, the endings *-u/-a/-i* are to be considered as the objective inflections of the auxiliary in *v*, in (36a), agreeing with the participle. Then the person clitic is merged to *ddʒ-u* ‘I have it’ (from (2a)), realizing

the second object (the recipient), in (36b); this amalgam is merged to T where realizes the subject agreement, in (36c). The sequence in (36d) is the result:

- (36) (a) $[_v < ddʒ_{Aux} u_{\phi} >] \rightarrow [ddʒ-u_{\phi Aux}]$
 (b) $[_T t\grave{a}, [ddʒ-u_{\phi Aux}] \dots] \rightarrow [t\grave{a} [ddʒ-u]_{Aux}]$
 (c) $[_T < \varepsilon ddʒ_{1SG} -u_{\phi}, T_{1SG} > \dots] \rightarrow [\varepsilon ddʒ_{1SG} -u_{\phi Infl/T}]$
 (d) $[[t\grave{a} ddʒ-u]_{Infl/T}] [_{VP} v [_{VP} [_{PRT} da-t-\grave{a}]]]$

The morphological link between the enclitics elements and the auxiliary is evidenced by an interesting phenomenon, i.e. the occurrence of *-u/-a/-i* even in the negative contexts where the proclitic realization of the OCl is triggered. Thus, as shown in (37), the OCl is divided into two elements, the definiteness root *l(ə)* in proclisis and the gender/number element in enclisis.

- (37) $\text{ɔ} \quad ll\grave{a} \quad ddʒ- \quad u \quad / \quad u \quad / \quad i \quad vist-\grave{a}$
 Neg 3PS have.1SG MSG / FSG / PLseen-INFL
 ‘I have not seen her/ him/ them’ Albidona

Two Phase contexts are realized, i.e. *v* and T; in the latter OClS are merged to the verb (auxiliary), as suggested in (38):

- (38) CP/vP phases: $T \quad v_{Aspectual} \quad \text{word-phase}$
 $ll\grave{a} \quad \text{have-u}_{\phi}, \quad \phi, vist\grave{a}$

Our intuition is that the auxiliary in the aspectual construct realizes the event properties of *v*, and the enclitic element behaves exactly like an inflection on the IA of 3rd person, typically inserting itself in final position. We have already noticed that 3rd person OClS are anchored to the event, to the effect that they are interpreted with respect to it. On the contrary, 1st/2nd person clitic pronouns are interpreted in reference to the discourse universe, so that they are free to occupy the T work-space. We can extend the idea that the auxiliary realizes the aspectual properties of *v*, to account for its ability to introduce the reference to the IA. In other words, differently from lexical verbs, auxiliary forms have as their only content the features associated with *v*, both the aspectual properties and, possibly, the IA agreement features. As a consequence, we see that the auxiliary can, somehow, realize the reference to IA by its inflection. The different interpretive mechanism of 3rd person and 1st/2nd person explains why the latter escape this type of agreement, as far as their content is not read in relation to the event but is anchored to the universe of discourse, determining a strong effect of DOM. In other words, they are introduced by independent specialized exponents.

This explanation seems to be supported by deontic periphrasis *have-to-V*, where the auxiliary selects for the infinitive of a lexical verb preceded by the preposition *a* ‘to’-. In some dialects, i.e. Colobraro and Albidona, we find the ε - stems preceded by the 3rd person OCl *l-*, in (39a, a’). Other systems do not differentiate the behaviour of *have*, introducing however the stem *a-*, as in Morano, in (39b).

- | | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|---------|-----------|
| (39) (a) | l | ε | dda | ca'm-a | |
| | 3PS | have.3SG | PREP | call-TV | |
| | ‘(s)he has to call him/ her/ them’ | | | | Colobraro |
| | | | | | |
| (a’) | l | ε | dda | ca'm-a | |
| | 3PS | have.3SG | PREP | call-TV | |
| | ‘(s)he has to call him/ her/ them’ | | | | Albidona |
| | | | | | |
| (b) | a-r | a | f- ε | | |
| | have-3PS | PREP | do-TV | | |
| | ‘(s)he has to do it’ | | | | Morano |

Interestingly, the other auxiliary constructs, as for instance the pluperfect, present a certain degree of variability, in the sense that in some dialects the auxiliary includes the reference to the 3rd person, as in (40a, a, b’), while in others the OCl *l-* is inserted, as in (40c).

- | | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|---------------|--|-------------------------|-----------|
| (40) (a) | | avi-jə | | cam- ε -t-ə | |
| | (3PS) | have-IPF.1SG | | call-TV-PTP-INFL | |
| | ‘I had called her/him/them’ | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (a’) | | av-erə | | cam- ε -t-ə | |
| | (3PS) | have-COND.1SG | | call-TV-PTP-INFL | |
| | ‘I would have called her/him/them’ | | | | Colobraro |
| | | | | | |
| (b) | | avi-a | | cam- ε -t-u | |
| | (3PS) | ave-IPF.1SG | | call-TV-PTP-MSG | |
| | ‘I had called her/him/them’ | | | | Morano |
| | | | | | |
| (c) | l | avi-ə | | vis-t-ə | |
| | 3PS | have-IPF-1SG | | see-PTP-INFL | |
| | ‘I had seen her/him’ | | | | Albidona |

We can expect that a dialect such as the one of Albidona, which alternates enclisis and *l*-proclisis, adopts the latter solution in contexts where enclisis is

non morpho-phonologically admitted, as in the case of the imperfect. This solution appears also in the 2nd plural person of the present perfect where again the dialects vary from inserting *l̄* (Albidona), cf. *l̄ avisə camatə* ‘you have called her/him’, to not inserting *l-* (Colobrarò, Morano). After all, the definiteness root *l-* for the 3rd person OCl is the outcome that occurs regularly before lexical verbs beginning in vowel, including *have* of possession, that excludes the *a-/ε-* alternation and behaves like the other lexical verbs, as in (9c).

As regards the inability of the form *ε-* to register the referential properties of the object, we point out that in these varieties only one auxiliary form is attested, that applies to all verb classes (transitives, unergatives, unaccusatives), save to represent with the stem alternant *a-* the 3rd person IA (Baldi and Savoia 2019). In other words, *ε-* forms have the typical *Elsewhere* distribution, only registering the usual T agreement and excluding the v argumental properties (perhaps reminiscent of the properties of *be*).

We still have to look at negative and modal (imperative) contexts, where 3rd person OClS manifest a referentially richer alternants including the definiteness root *l-* and the gender/ number inflection, as illustrated in the examples in (12), (13), (14), (15) and (17). Manzini and Savoia (2017b) propose that the introduction of the definiteness root *l-* (and possibly the stress, cf. fn. 1) in non-veridical contexts, such as imperative and negation (Giannakidou 1998, 2011), is required as it provides a complete referential content in contexts where the pronoun is out of the scope of the relevant operator. Combining with a non-veridical state of affairs, 3rd person OClS incorporate also the definiteness morpheme. In other words, this make them able to be interpreted independently of the usual connection with the event, on a par with 2st/2nd person elements. Thus, in negative contexts the pronoun provides the restriction for the variable *x* introduced by the negation, something like (41) (Baldi and Savoia 2021).

- (41) $[\neg \exists x \quad [_{\text{Neg}} \text{nu} [x [ll_{\phi}]]]] [_{\text{T}} \epsilon\text{ju} \dots]$ Morano
 ‘I have not ... it/her/him/them’ cf. (5a)

4. Concluding Observations

The data concerning the realization of the 3rd person OClS in auxiliary contexts presented in Manzini and Savoia (2005, § 5.11) can help us to highlight some generalizations. If only by focusing on the data from Southern Italian dialects, we note that the realization of the auxiliary *have* with the simple object clitic drop is very widespread. In that corpus, we find the alternation between \emptyset and *l-* in the 2nd singular in Montesano (South Campania) dialect in (42a) and between \emptyset and *l-* in 1sg and plural in the dialect of Volturino (North Apulia) in (42b). The systems we have found in Lausberg area are attested in other adjacent varieties: Colobrarò’s system characterizes also the dialects of the nearby Valsinni and Cersosimo, and the alternation between *a-* and *ε-* forms, as in the dialect of Morano, characterizes other North Calabrian varieties, for instance that of Nocera.

- (42) (a) addʒə camatə
 l e camatə
 a ccamatə ...
 ‘I have called him, etc.’ Montesano
- (b) l ejə camatə
 a camatə
 a camatə
 l emə camatə
 l etə camatə
 l ennə camatə
 ‘I have called him/her/them, etc.’ Volturino

The table in (43) schematizes the distribution of the different alternants, where \emptyset indicates the simple drop of the 3rd person OCl, *a-* the specialized form of the auxiliary, *l-* the insertion of the prevocalic form of the clitic, enclisis the enclitic occurrence of the OCl.

(43)	Many dialects	Morano	Montesano	Volturino	Colobraro	Albidona
1sg	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	\emptyset	<i>l-</i>	encl	encl
2sg	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	<i>l-</i>	\emptyset	encl	<i>l-</i>
3sg	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	<i>l-</i>
1pl	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	\emptyset	<i>l-</i>	encl	encl
2pl	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>l-</i>	\emptyset	<i>l-</i>
3pl	\emptyset	<i>a</i>	\emptyset	<i>l-</i>	encl	encl

We see that the simple drop is the basic solution. Enclisis is limited to a subset of persons: in particular, enclisis on the second person implies its occurrence on the first, that seems to be the specialized context for it to be implemented. Generally, the third singular person excludes enclisis. 1st singular person and 1st/ 3rd persons apply the same pattern, favouring the realization of the enclitic or *l-* clitic. The 3rd singular generally excludes the independent realization of the pronoun. We note that the realization of the 3rd person OCl can be uniform (\emptyset or *a-*) along the paradigm or not. In this second case, the overt realization of the 3rd person IA is generally associated with the persons that are discourse-implicated, such as 1st singular, or discourse anchored, 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural. Needless to say, we are speculating on constraints that, on a par with the DOM effects, belong to a more external linguistic knowledge of the speaker and not to the inner grammar (cf. Bobaljik 2002). We can think of them as the result of the ordinary syntactic combinatory procedure of pair-merge and the effect of “third factor” constraints that regulate the interpretation (Chomsky 2005). A plausible hypothesis is that the interpretive work can possibly involve general semantic constraints.

Summing up, we have applied a morphological model based on the idea that there is no specialized morphological component nor a different nature for morphological rules. The hypothesis we have pursued is that morphemes (lexical and functional) are endowed with interpretable properties that determine their occurrence in syntax, thus detaching ourselves from the typical perspective of DM. This approach has in the operation of (pair-)merge its basic mechanism, able to treat the formation of complex words and their relation with syntax.

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Part II. Explorations in Syntax