

# John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2012. Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Leuven 2012.*

Edited by Karen Lahousse and Stefania Marzo.

© 2014. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible to members (students and staff) only of the author's/s' institute, it is not permitted to post this PDF on the open internet.

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com)).

Please contact [rights@benjamins.nl](mailto:rights@benjamins.nl) or consult our website: [www.benjamins.com](http://www.benjamins.com)

Tables of Contents, abstracts and guidelines are available at [www.benjamins.com](http://www.benjamins.com)

# Clausal domains and clitic placement generalizations in Romance\*

Christina Tortora

CUNY College of Staten Island and The Graduate Center

Adopting the view that Romance object clitics adjoin to functional heads within the functional structure of clause, this chapter offers a novel approach to object clitic syntax in Romance, which brings together an array of clitic placement patterns across a variety of languages under one system. In order to explain why some “clausal domains” are available for clitic placement in some languages but not others, I examine a unidirectional entailment regarding object clitic syntax in simple and complex predicate clauses, in an understudied group of Italian dialects. The facts suggest that all Romance languages have the same series of functional heads within the clause, and as such, the inability of some varieties to place the clitic in a particular clausal domain cannot be attributed to the idea that some languages or structures are missing the appropriate functional head. Instead, I propose that the languages in question vary with respect to which junctures in the clause “divide” domains; this together with a theory of uninterpretable *feature spreading* allows us to capture the cross-linguistic patterns.

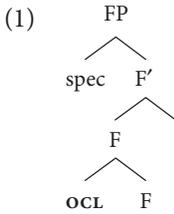
## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background: Object clitics and functional heads

Since the work of Kayne in the late ‘80s/early ‘90s (1989, 1991), generative syntacticians have widely pursued an approach to complement clitic placement in Romance which takes cliticization to involve adjunction of the clitic to a functional head, within the functional structure of the clause (v. work by Belletti, Benincà, Bianchi, Cardinaletti, Manzini & Savoia, Martins, Ordóñez, Pescarini, Poletto, Rizzi, Roberts, Shlonsky, Terzi, Uriagereka, and many others); OCL = object clitic. This idea is sketched in (1):

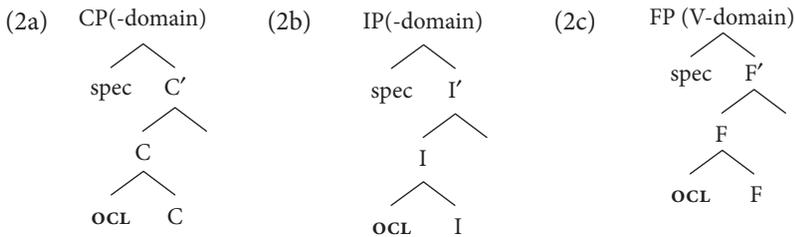
---

\* Many of the issues discussed in this chapter are covered in Chapter 3 of Tortora (2014), and I thank all of those friends and colleagues acknowledged there, for their input. In addition, I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their comments, the audience at *Going Romance 2012* for excellent discussion, and Karen Lahousse and Stefania Marzo for their input, guidance, and incredible generosity and kindness. All errors are solely my responsibility.



Let us assume this approach to Romance OCL placement for the remainder of the chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Within this approach, various authors have proposed different clitic adjunction sites within the clause, depending on the language, and/or depending on the clause-type (e.g. finite vs. non-finite). Some propose a relatively high adjunction site in the left periphery of the finite clause for some languages (2a) (e.g. within the Complementizer-domain; e.g. Uriagereka 1995 for Galician), while some propose a slightly lower adjunction site, within the Inflectional-domain (2b) (e.g. Italian). Others still have proposed that there is an even lower adjunction site, in the lower functional field of the clause (e.g. Tortora 2002; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005; Benincà & Tortora 2009; Tortora 2010), which is available only in some structures and/or some varieties, as in (2c):



The array of proposals in the literature has to a great degree enriched our understanding of cross-Romance variation in OCL placement, allowing us to tease apart

1. It is worth emphasizing, from the very start, that this chapter pursues the question of Romance OCL placement within this particular framework, i.e. one which takes as a given the idea that Romance OCLs left-adjoin to functional heads, as in the illustration in (1). Under this view, any apparent morpho-phonological effects of “cliticization” are taken to reflect processes outside of the domain of syntax (such that the concepts of “clisis” and “host” become deconstructed). There is no question that there are many other possible approaches to Romance OCL placement represented in the literature, including those that take such “cliticization” to involve syntactic adjunction of the OCL to another word (such as the verb, or an adverb), rather than to a functional head. Indeed, as the discussion progresses and as different types of data are considered, the reader might be driven to consider such alternative approaches; in this regard, I do not question the possibility that the adjunction-to-functional-head approach assumed in this paper may turn out to be wrong-headed – in the long run. Nevertheless, in order for the discussion and arguments in this chapter to make sense, it is important to remain mindful of the assumed functional-head approach, which is widely argued for by many authors.

the different possible OCL adjunction sites for the different languages and for different constructions/clause-types.

Nevertheless, a pair of questions continues to remain open, under this adjunction-to-functional-head approach: if the cross-linguistic variation reveals that different adjunction sites within the extended projections of the verb exist for different languages and different clause-types, then (1) what governs which functional head is used in which language? And (2) what governs which functional head is used for which sentence-type (e.g. finite vs. non-finite, causative vs. modal+infinitive, declarative vs. imperative)?

### 1.2 Variation in object clitic placement

In these still introductory comments, I provide a preliminary illustration of the problem with the following contrast between the Italian present perfect on the one hand (3a), and the Piedmontese present perfect on the other (3b):

Italian: OCL in high position in compound tense

- (3) a. *Lo hanno mangiato.* / a.' \**Hanno mangiato-lo.*  
 OCL they-have eaten  
 'They have eaten it.'

Piedmontese (Cairo-Montenotte; Parry 2005):

OCL in low position in compound tense

- (3) b. *I an rangiò-la.*<sup>2</sup>  
 SCL they-have fixed-OCL  
 'They fixed it.'

---

2. One anonymous reviewer asks “what is the evidence that the *clitic* in (3b) is not a weak pronoun”, while a second anonymous reviewer asks the same question about the equivalent pronominal form in Borgomanerese (Section 2).

Under the view that the distinction between “weak” vs. “clitic” amounts to XP vs. X<sup>0</sup> status (where assumed relevant behaviors, e.g. a ban against modification/coordination/use-in-isolation etc. are otherwise identical between weak and clitic), it is not easy to give convincing arguments for one analysis vs. the other. In other words, if the question reduces to “what is the evidence that the *clitic* in (3b) is an X<sup>0</sup> and not an XP”, then it becomes a difficult question to answer, if we believe that weak XP and clitic X<sup>0</sup> otherwise have similar behaviors. I therefore think that the clearest way to approach this is to ask the following two questions: (1) For the cases that are accepted in the literature to be clitics and not weaks (e.g. Italian/Spanish *la, ti/te, si/se*, etc.), what is it about their behavior that leads us to bestow on them the status of “clitic” (and not “weak”), and (2) Do the forms in question in the lesser-known varieties exhibit the same behavior? If they do, then it becomes difficult to argue against the claim that the Piedmontese/Borgomanerese forms are clitics. Worth noting, then, is that the pronominal forms in question do behave like those pronominal forms which in the better-known Romance languages (like Italian and Spanish) are widely taken to be clitics – and unlike those pronominal forms which in the better-known Romance languages are widely taken to

As can be seen in the examples in (3), in Italian, the OCL cannot appear to the right of the past participle in the compound tenses, while in Piedmontese varieties it must.

Under the assumption that the OCL adjoins to a functional head within the extended projections of the verb, we can ask which functional head the OCL is adjoined to in the Piedmontese example in (3b).<sup>3</sup> To get at the answer to this question, let us follow previous arguments in the literature (e.g. Kayne 1993; Rizzi 2000; Tortora 2010), which support the idea that the participial verb has its own series of extended projections, not unlike those found in the lower functional field projected by tensed verbs; in other words, think of the compound tense as “lightly biclausal”. We can illustrate this idea for the compound tense clause as in (4), where “Clause2” (on the right of the vertical line) represents the participial VP and its projections; the CP to the left of the vertical line represents the “matrix” clause. The heads X, Y, and Z represent the functional heads in the lower functional field of each clause (where in (4), the lower functional field associated with the embedded participle is in bold).

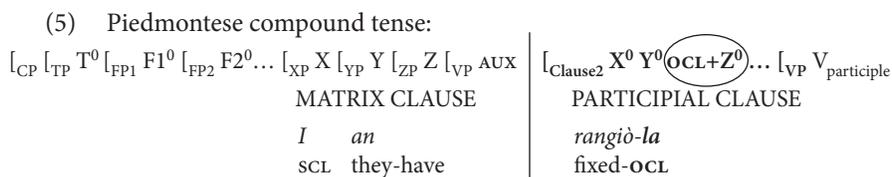
(4) Compound tense:

$[_{CP} [_{TP} T^0 [_{FP1} F1^0 [_{FP2} F2^0 \dots [_{XP} X^0 [_{YP} Y^0 [_{ZP} Z^0 [_{VP} AUX$	$[_{Clause2} X^0 Y^0 Z^0 \dots [_{VP} V_{participle}$
MATRIX CLAUSE	PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

be weaks. For example, unlike weak pronouns, the forms in question cluster in clitic-like ways with other clitics: they lose/change vowel form in certain clustering environments; there is suppletion in other clustering environments; and so forth (see Tortora 2014: Chapters 3 & 4 for extensive discussion). In addition, these forms induce various types of morpho-phonological effects on their “hosts” (*pace* Footnote 1, which admits to a deconstruction of the notion of “host” under the functional head approach), something not attributed to weaks, like Italian *loro, esse*, etc.; for example, they can induce vowel loss.

3. Regarding the assumption that the OCL in (3b) adjoins to some functional head, one reviewer states that “the assumption should be argued for: it isn’t clear that (3b) is not a case of local merger of the OCL (perhaps a determiner) and the verb in situ and not to some functional head”. A very short response to this observation would be that, as noted in Footnote 1, this chapter chooses to pursue a line of inquiry that follows from a widely held view, which itself derives from previous argumentation offered by e.g. the authors referenced in Section 1.1 (namely, that the Romance OCL adjoins to a functional head). Unfortunately, space considerations prevent me from giving the much longer response for Piedmontese and Borgomanerese, which is contained e.g. in Tortora (2000, 2002; 2010, 2014). This involves arguments revolving around how OCL placement interacts with (1) participles more generally (both within and across varieties), together with (2) locative prepositions (and whether or not the locatives form part of the argument structure of the verb), together with (3) adverb order (which gives rise to effects such as the “right-most host requirement”, as in Tortora 2002).

Let us assume (again, following the above-cited authors) that the clitic *la* in (3b) adjoins to some head within the participial clause in (4). Let us further assume that this head is Z (and that for other reasons, X and Y are not possible adjunction sites); a rough sketch of the structure underlying (3b) would thus be as follows:



The idea is that the OCL (which is assumed to be first merged within VP, as an argument of the participial verb) moves and head-adjoints to Z. (Subsequent movement of the participle to the left of the OCL+Z complex would yield the order participle+OCL.)

If this idea (or one along these lines) is correct, then the question arises as to why this participial Z head in (5) is not available for OCL adjunction in Italian.

### 1.3 Possible approaches to the question

The purpose of this chapter is to explore two possible approaches to the question; I refer to them as the “Missing-Head Hypothesis” and the “Feature Content Hypothesis”.

Under the Missing-Head Hypothesis, a language like Italian exhibits obligatory proclisis on the auxiliary in compound tense clauses, on account of the fact that the participial Z head (seen in (5)) is missing. With no participial Z head for the OCL to adjoin to, it must move further up the structure to find an appropriate clitic-adjunction site.

Under the Feature Content Hypothesis, in contrast, all languages have the same series of functional heads, and therefore, the same series of potential clitic adjunction sites. As such, there has to be some other mechanism governing the distribution of OCLs across the potential hosting sites. Thus, in some languages a particular head will be available for OCL adjunction, while in others that same head will be unavailable. Under this hypothesis, “availability” depends on whether the head in question has the appropriate feature content.

I argue that the Missing-Head Hypothesis is problematic on two grounds: first, there is no independently establishable principle that predicts which languages and/or structures will be missing which OCL placement heads, and second (and more importantly), as I will show, it makes incorrect predictions regarding the clitic placement possibilities within languages. This approach is thus untenable, by itself. Instead, I argue for the Feature Content Hypothesis.

The mechanism I propose to account for choice of OCL placement head is inspired by a series of facts exhibited by dialects spoken in the Piedmont region.

Let us begin in Section 2 by looking at the clitic placement facts in simple tense clauses in this group of dialects. As we shall see, an understanding of the behavior of OCLs in simple tense clauses in these varieties will bear directly on the proper analysis of the wider range of OCL placement facts to be accounted for across Romance.

## 2. Low OCL placement dialects (the “Borgomanerese-type” language)<sup>4</sup>

### 2.1 OCL placement in simple tense clauses in Northeast Piedmont

Let us consider a group of dialects spoken in the Northeast part of the Piedmont region, where object clitic syntax is relatively unusual. The varieties exhibiting this low OCL placement are scattered around the Valsesia area of Piedmont (a group of valleys in Northeast Piedmont), in the Province of Vercelli, and also in the Province of Novara.

Tuttle’s (1992) important analysis of work on the topic reveals that authors such as Biondelli (1853), Rusconi (1878), Salvioni (1903), Pagani (1918), Rohlf’s (1968), and Wanner (1983) have, throughout the decades, grappled with the question of the unusual “generalized enclisis” (as I will call it), found in these dialects of Borgomanero, Trecate, Galliate, Cerano, and Quarna-Sotto. Data on this general brand of object clitic syntax can be gleaned from primary sources such as the *AIS*, and from the studies of single dialects, such as Tonetti (1894) for Valsesiano, Belletti, et al. (1984) for Galliatese, Lana (1969) for Trecatese, and most recently, Manzini & Savoia (2005), for the above-listed dialects, in addition to Romentino. Let us refer to all of these languages as “Borgomanerese-type” varieties. Tortora (2000, 2002, 2010, 2014) pursues a detailed analysis of the phenomenon in Borgomanerese, so let us look at Borgomanerese a bit more closely.

---

4. This section represents an abridged version of Tortora (2002) and Chapter 3 of Tortora (2014). As such, many of the details (and much data) supporting the conclusions with respect to OCL placement in the V-domain are unfortunately missing from this paper.

2.1.1 *An up-close look at one of these varieties: Borgomanerese simple tense clauses*

As just noted, Borgomanerese exhibits “generalized enclisis”, that is, enclisis of the OCL in all syntactic environments, including all simple tense environments. Consider the example in (6):

- (6) *I vônghi-ti.*  
 SCL I.see-OCL  
 ‘I see **you**.’

It is important to understand (as argued in the above cited works) that the enclisis exhibited in simple tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type languages is the reflex of an entirely different property from that found in e.g. the Ibero-Romance languages (Galician and European Portuguese). In a nutshell: it is true that some Ibero-Romance varieties also allow enclisis in simple tense clauses – under certain circumstances. Consider the following examples from Galician and Portuguese:

Galician (Uriagereka 1995)

- (7) *Ouvimo-lo.*  
 we.hear-OCL  
 ‘We hear **it**.’

Portuguese (Martins 1994)

- (8) *O António viu-o ontem.*  
 the Anthony saw-OCL yesterday  
 ‘Anthony saw **him** yesterday.’

In contrast with the generalized enclisis found in Borgomanerese-type dialects, however, the enclisis exhibited in languages like Galician and Portuguese is really only “occasional” (as opposed to “generalized”), in the sense that there are certain syntactic conditions under which enclisis is not exhibited in simple tense clauses in these varieties. Consider in this regard the following, where the OCLs in Galician and Portuguese appear to the left of the verb, in the presence of a complementizer and a negative marker (respectively):

Galician (Uriagereka 1995)

- (9) *Quero que o oiades.*  
 I.want that OCL you.hear  
 ‘I want you to hear **it**.’

Portuguese (Martins 1994)

- (10) *O António não o viu ontem.*  
 the Anthony NEG OCL saw yesterday  
 ‘Anthony didn’t see him yesterday.’

It seems, then, that enclisis in simple tense clauses in Ibero-Romance (as in (7)/(8)) obtains for particular reasons: as the above authors argue, the OCL in these varieties is placed relatively high in the clause (in (7) through (10)); the post-verbal position of the OCL in (7) and (8) would thus be the result of even-higher movement of the verb to the left of the OCL. Thus, Galician and Portuguese are really no different from Italian, Spanish, French, and Piedmontese (of the non-Borgomanerese-type), in that the OCL adjoins to a functional head relatively high in the functional structure of the finite clause.

A first important observation is that the enclisis found in Borgomanerese-type varieties is not at all of the Ibero-Romance type: there is no syntactic condition under which the OCL is ever proclitic in simple tense clauses, and the OCL never interacts with elements that reside in the higher functional field (such as complementizers and pre-verbal negation).

Previous work in fact shows that enclisis in simple tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type varieties (seen for example in (6)) reflects placement of the object clitic in the lower functional field (or, the V-domain). The idea that Borgomanerese-type enclisis reflects relatively “low” OCL placement within the functional architecture of the clause is supported by many different facts; here I only review one of them; I refer the reader to e.g. Tortora (2002, 2014: Chapters 3 & 4) for a complete exposition and discussion of the details.

In a nutshell, in Borgomanerese-type varieties, OCLs are placed to the right of some of the “lower” adverbs. As can be seen by the examples in (11), (12), and (13), when the low adverbs *più* ‘anymore’, *già* ‘already’, and *mija* ‘neg’ (the “higher” lower adverbs) are present in the structure, the OCL necessarily occurs to these adverbs’ right:<sup>5</sup>

---

5. One reviewer notes that “the attachment to adverbs might indicate that these clitics are not like other clitics, since they are not sensitive to lexical class”. As discussed in the Introduction and in Footnote 1, I pursue a line of inquiry in which it is understood that Romance OCLs are left-adjoined to an independent functional head (see (15)). I thus do not accept the presupposition that such forms can be attached to adverbs. It follows then that under the present view, there is no issue of (in)sensitivity to lexical class. The reviewer further notes that “the data with adverbs must be compared with data involving interpolation with proclisis. It is considered that interpolation is not attachment to adverbs, when the clitic is proclitic, hence it should be demonstrated why V-Adv-Cl is not treated on a par with Cl-Adv-V”. Again, as

*piö* ‘anymore’

- (11) *I vônghi piö-lla.*  
 SCL I-see anymore-OCL  
 ‘I don’t see her anymore.’

*già* ‘already’

- (12) a. *i vangumma già-nni da dü agni.*  
 SCL we.see already-OCL of two years  
 ‘We’ve already been seeing each other for two years.’  
 b. \**i vangumma-ni già da dü agni.*  
 SCL we.see-OCL already of two years

*mija* (post-verbal NEG)

- (13) a. *I porti mi-lla.*  
 SCL bring(1SG) NEG-it  
 ‘I’m not bringing it.’  
 b. \**I porta-la mija.*  
 SCL bring(1SG)-it NEG

In contrast, the OCL necessarily appears to the “lower” lower adverbs’ left (e.g. *sempri* ‘always’ and *bej* ‘well’).

Furthermore, as independently demonstrated (in e.g. Tortora 2002, 2014), the low adverbs in question occur in a rigid order, which directly recalls the rigid lower adverb ordering demonstrated by Cinque (1999) for Italian:

Borgomanerese “lower” pre-VP adverbs (Tortora 2002, 2014; same as Italian: Cinque 1999):

- (14) *mija* > *già* > *piö* > *sempri* > *bej*  
 NegP > TP<sub>anterior</sub> > AspP<sub>terminative</sub> > AspP<sub>imperfect</sub> > VoiceP

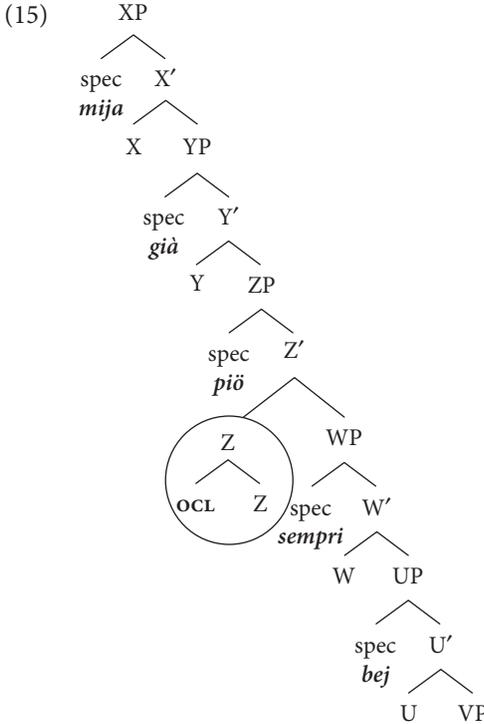
It is argued that this independently establishable rigid adverb ordering in Borgomanerese, together with obligatory placement of the OCL to the right of the three “higher” lower adverbs *piö*, *già*, and *mija* (and its obligatory placement to the left of the “lower” lower adverbs *sempri* ‘always’ and *bej* ‘well’), supports the following idea: the functional head to which the OCL adjoins in this dialect is none other than the Asp<sub>terminative</sub>, the head of the projection of the adverb *piö*. This is illustrated in (15) (where I have translated NegP, TP<sub>anterior</sub>, AspP<sub>terminative</sub>,

---

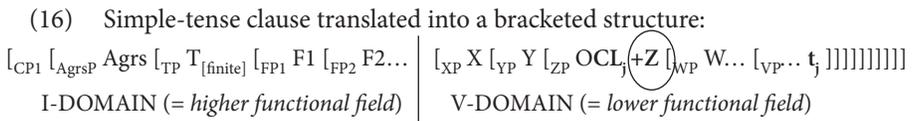
the text discussion and the example in (15) illustrates, I do not treat OCL placement in Borgomanerese as attachment to adverbs. As such, V-Adv-Cl is treated on a par with Cl-Adv-V in my analysis.

AspP<sub>imperfect</sub>, and VoiceP into XP, YP, ZP, WP, and UP, for convenience; as such, the AspP<sub>terminative</sub> head = Z<sup>0</sup>):

Lower functional field (or, the V-domain):



I will from hereon in use bracketed structures in place of tree structures; furthermore, in such structures I will identify the “lower functional field” seen in (15) on the right of a vertical line, and label it the “V-domain”, as in (16):



Assuming the correctness of the analysis in (15)/(16), the question which immediately arises is why the Z head in the simple tense clause in (16) cannot serve as an OCL adjunction site in simple tense clauses in other Romance languages (beyond those varieties noted in Section 2.1). In Section 3 we shall examine these simple tense constructions together with compound tense clauses; taken together, they will illuminate our understanding of OCL placement across structures and varieties more generally. But first, let us review the behavior of compound tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type languages, in Section 2.2.

## 2.2 OCL placement in compound tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type varieties and in Piedmontese

As is to be expected from the term “generalized enclisis”, the Borgomanerese-type varieties exhibit apparent enclisis of the OCL to the past participle in the compound tenses (keep in mind though that “enclisis” is only a descriptor here, and not a theory, as we are adopting the view that the Romance OCL adjoins to a functional head):

Borgomanerese:

- (17) *I ò mangià-lla.* / (17') \**I la ò mangà.*  
 SCL I-have eaten-OCL  
 ‘I ate it.’

However, as we already saw with the Cairese example in (3b), enclisis to the past participle in the compound tenses is actually a more general phenomenon, found more widely, even in the non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese varieties (where these varieties otherwise exhibit placement of the OCL to the left of the finite verb in simple tense clauses, in contrast with Borgomanerese; see (29) through (32) below). This apparent enclisis to participles in non-Borgomanerese type Piedmontese can be seen in (18) through (21):

Torino (ASIt database):

- (18) *A l' ha rovina-lo.*  
 SCL SCL has ruined-OCL  
 ‘He has ruined it.’

Moncalieri (ASIt database):

- (19) *L' hai vist-lo jer.*  
 SCL you-have seen-OCL yesterday  
 ‘You saw **him** yesterday.’

Biella (ASIt database):

- (20) *Antè ca l' à büta-lu?*  
 where that SCL has put-OCL  
 ‘Where did he put it?’

Cairo Montenotte (Parry 2005):

- (21) *I an rangiò-la.*  
 SCL they-have fixed-OCL  
 ‘They fixed it.’

As already previewed in Section 1.2, let us suppose that the OCL in these varieties (and in Borgomanerese) is adjoined to a participial  $Z^0$  head, found within the embedded participial clause. This is illustrated in (22), which depicts the

participial clause to the right of the rightmost vertical line; to the left of this line is the “matrix” clause, which itself is divided into a (lower) V-domain and a (higher) I-domain:

$$(22) \text{ Borgomanerese/Piedmontese compound tense:}^6$$

$[_{CP} [_{TP} T^0 [_{FP1} F1^0 [_{FP2} F2^0 \dots$	$[_{XP} X [_{YP} Y [_{ZP} Z [_{VP} AUX$	$[_{Clause2} X^0 Y^0 (Z^0) \dots [_{VP} V_{participle}$
matrix I-domain	matrix V-domain	
MATRIX CLAUSE		PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

The structure in (22) thus depicts three different clitic placement domains, within a compound tense clause.

Again, here (as in Section 1.2), the question arises as to why OCL adjunction to the participial Z head (circled in (22)) is obligatory in Borgomanerese-type and non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese compound tenses alike, but banned in other Romance languages.

### 3. A first attempt at an approach to the question of variation in OCL placement (the Missing-Head Hypothesis)

In examining both simple tense and compound tense clauses in Borgomanerese, we can summarize the clitic placement possibilities across Romance as follows:

1. There are those varieties that exhibit “high” OCL placement (in the I-domain) in simple tense clauses (Italian, Spanish, Galician, non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese dialects, etc.);
2. There are those varieties which exhibit “low” OCL placement (in the V-domain) in simple tense clauses (Borgomanerese-type varieties, listed in Section 2.1);
3. There are those varieties which exhibit “high” OCL placement (in the matrix I-domain) in compound tense clauses (Italian, Spanish, etc.);
4. There are those varieties which exhibit “low” OCL placement (in the participial domain) in the compound tense clauses (non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese dialects and Borgomanerese-type dialects)

---

6. Note that the order participle+OCL (as seen (17) through (21)) obtains via subsequent movement of the participle to the left of the OCL, within the participial clause; see Tortora (2010) for discussion. See Footnote 11 for mention of cases where the participle fails to move past the OCL.

As already noted, the overarching question which arises, given this variation, is what governs which functional head is used in which language? This question, broken down for simple vs. compound tense clauses, can be restated as follows: If the low matrix  $Z^0$  head is available for OCL adjunction in simple tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type languages, then why is it not available in Italian (and non-Borgomanerese Piedmontese varieties), for example? That is, why does the OCL have to move all the way up to an adjunction site in the I-domain in Italian simple tense clauses? And similarly, if the participial  $Z^0$  head is available for OCL adjunction in compound tense clauses in Borgomanerese-type languages (and also in other Piedmontese dialects), then why is it not available in Italian, for example? That is, why does the OCL have to move all the way up to an adjunction site in the I-domain in Italian compound tense clauses?

The hypothesis under consideration in this section is the “Missing-Head Hypothesis.” Under this hypothesis, the variation reflects the fact that the functional head available for OCL adjunction in some languages is simply missing in others; this is a view advocated for by Rizzi (2000).

Under this hypothesis, in simple tense clauses in Borgomanerese, there would be a low functional head that the OCL can adjoin to, circled in (15)/(16) above (repeated here as (23)), while Italian would simply be missing the  $Z^0$  head (see the empty circle, in (24)):

(23) Simple-tense clause in Borgomanerese:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 [_{CP1} [_{AgrSP} Agrs [_{TP} T_{[finite]} [_{FP1} F1 [_{FP2} F2 \dots [_{XP} X [_{YP} Y [_{ZP} OCL_j + Z ]_{WP} W \dots [_{VP} \dots t_j ]]]]]]]]] \\
 \text{I-DOMAIN (higher functional field)} \quad \Bigg| \quad \text{V-DOMAIN (lower functional field)}
 \end{array}$$

(24) Simple-tense clause in Italian/Piedmontese:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 [_{CP1} [_{AgrSP} Agrs [_{TP} T_{[finite]} [_{FP1} F1 [_{FP2} F2 \dots [_{XP} X [_{YP} Y ]_{WP} W \dots [_{VP} \dots t_j ]]]]]]] \\
 \text{I-DOMAIN (higher functional field)} \quad \Bigg| \quad \text{V-DOMAIN (lower functional field)}
 \end{array}$$

Similarly, under this hypothesis, in compound tense clauses in Borgomanerese (and “regular” Piedmontese), there is a low functional head within the embedded participial clause that the OCL can adjoin to, as in (22) above (repeated here as (25)), while Italian would simply be missing the participial  $Z^0$  head, as in (26):

(25) Compound-tense clause in Borgomanerese/Piedmontese:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 [_{CP} [_{TP} T^0 [_{FP1} F1^0 [_{FP2} F2^0 \dots [_{XP} X [_{YP} Y [_{ZP} Z [_{VP} AUX [_{Clause2} X^0 Y^0 CL_j + Z^0 ] \dots [_{VP} V_{participle} ]]]]]]] \\
 \text{MATRIX CLAUSE} \quad \Bigg| \quad \text{PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE}
 \end{array}$$

(26) Compound-tense clause in Italian:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 [_{CP} [_{TP} T^0 [_{FP1} F1^0 [_{FP2} F2^0 \dots [_{XP} X [_{YP} Y [_{ZP} Z [_{VP} AUX [_{Clause2} X^0 Y^0 ] \dots [_{VP} V_{participle} ]]]]] \\
 \text{MATRIX CLAUSE} \quad \Bigg| \quad \text{PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE}
 \end{array}$$

### 3.1 Problems with the Missing-Head Hypothesis

There are two main problems with this hypothesis. First, there is no independently establishable principle that predicts which languages and/or structures will be missing which heads.<sup>7</sup> Second, and perhaps more importantly, it makes incorrect predictions regarding the clitic placement possibilities within and across languages. Specifically, it cannot account for a basic (and previously unnoted) cross-linguistic generalization. I discuss this generalization in 3.1.1.

#### 3.1.1 *Cross-linguistic entailment*

To my knowledge, the following fact has not been previously noted: if a language exhibits Borgomanerese-type enclisis (i.e. generalized enclisis) in simple tense clauses (as in (27)), then it necessarily exhibits enclisis on the past participle in the compound tenses (as in (28)).<sup>8</sup>

Borgomanerese:

(27) *I vônghi piö-lla.*  
 SCL I-see anymore-OCL  
 ‘I don’t see her anymore.’

(28) *I ò mangià-lla*  
 SCL I-have eaten-OCL  
 ‘I ate it.’

There is thus no variety which exhibits generalized enclisis in simple tense clauses (= low OCL adjunction in our terms), but which does not exhibit enclisis on the past participle in the compound tenses (= adjunction to the participial Z,

---

7. A reviewer states that “it is not true that there are no principled ways to tell when a head is missing. First, the postulation of a head requires positional arguments for its existence. Second, general economy of projection principles should rule the assumptions concerning clausal structure.” I agree with the reviewer on general terms. However, focussing on the issue at hand, let us ask the following question, to make the problem clearer: consider Rizzi’s (2000) hypothesis, that the participial functional head responsible for OCL placement in an Italian Absolute Small Clause (ASC; see (44) below) is missing when the participial clause finds itself in a compound tense structure (hence the lack of appearance of the OCL in the participial domain, in compound tense structures in Italian, under Rizzi’s analysis). The question I would raise (much like in the text discussion) is the following: what principles would derive the existence of a functional head for OCL placement in an Italian ASC participial structure, but the absence of that same functional head in a participial structure that finds itself embedded in an Italian compound tense?

8. Recall from Section 2.1 that Borgomanerese is but one variety that exhibits generalized enclisis; see Tuttle (1992), *inter alia*.

in our terms). That is, there is no “Borgomanerese-*prime*”, as in (27') and (28'), where the OCL appears to the left of the auxiliary in the compound tenses (i.e. “clitic climbing”), despite the fact that there is low placement in the simple tense clause:

\*Borgomanerese-*prime*

\*(27') *I vòngni piö-lla.*  
 SCL I-see anymore-OCL  
 'I don't see **her** anymore.'

\*(28') *I la ò mangià*  
 SCL OCL I-have eaten  
 'I ate **it**.'

As we shall see in Section 5, this generalization holds not just for compound tense clauses, but for all complex predicate structures, including causatives.

### 3.1.2 Cross-linguistic entailment unidirectional

Note that the entailment described above is unidirectional: other (non-Borgomanerese-type) Piedmontese dialects in fact exhibit proclisis on the finite verb in simple tense clauses, just like Italian, despite the fact that they exhibit enclisis of the OCL on the participle in the compound tenses, as we already saw in (18) through (21):

Torino (ASIt database):

(29) *I lo presento a Giors.*  
 SCL OCL I-present to Giorgio  
 'I'll introduce **him** to Giorgio.'

Moncalieri (ASIt database):

(30) *Lo presento a Giorgio.*  
 OCL I-present to Giorgio  
 'I'll introduce **him** to Giorgio.'

Biella (ASIt database):

(31) *A t' è ti ca t la cati sempi.*  
 SCL SCL is you that SCL OCL you-buy always  
 'It's you that always buys it.'

Cairo Montenotte (Parry 2005):

(32) *La còrn, a la fuma sempre chi.*  
 the meat, SCL OCL we-make always here  
 'We always make **it** here (the meat).'

This cross-linguistic generalization can be summarized as follows:

- (33) Summary of unidirectional entailment:<sup>9</sup>  
 Low OCL placement in simple tense → OCL placement in participial clause  
 $\therefore \neg$  OCL placement in participial clause →  $\neg$  Low OCL placement in simple tense

### 3.1.3 Predictions of Missing-Head Hypothesis

Let us return to the Missing-Head Hypothesis, and in particular, the predictions it makes regarding the possibilities for OCL placement, with respect to simple and compound tense clauses. I summarize the predictions in (34):<sup>10</sup>

- (34) Predictions of Missing-Head Hypothesis:
- a. There should be languages which *do not* have the *simple-tense* Z head, and which *do not* have the *participial* Z head. This is a correct prediction; Italian is one such language:  
 Italian:  
*Lo mangio*  
*Lo abbiamo mangiato*
  - b. There should be languages which *do not* have the *simple-tense* Z head, but which *do* have the *participial* Z head. This is a correct prediction; Piedmontese is one set of varieties that exhibit this:  
 Piedmontese:  
*Lo mangio*  
*Abbiamo mangiato-lo*
  - c. There should be languages which *do* have the *simple-tense* Z head, and which *do* have the *participial* Z head. This is a correct prediction; Borgomanerese-type varieties exhibit this:  
 Borgomanerese:  
*Mangio-lo*  
*Abbiamo mangiato-lo*

---

9. To be read: *Low object clitic placement in simple tense clauses entails object clitic placement in participial clauses; as such, lack of object clitic placement in participial clauses entails lack of low object clitic placement in simple tense clauses.* Because the entailment is uni-directional, it does *not* mean that placement of the object clitic in participial clauses entails low object clitic placement in simple tense clauses.

10. For convenience I illustrate the various predictions in (34) with examples using Italian words.

- d. There should be languages which *do* have the *simple-tense* Z head, but which *do not* have the *participial* Z head. This is an incorrect prediction.

N/A:

\**Mangio-lo*

\**Abbiamo-lo mangiato* or \**Lo abbiamo mangiato*<sup>11</sup>

As can be seen in (34d), the Missing-Head Hypothesis incorrectly predicts an unattested pattern of clitic placement. Thus, while the approach does at first glance seem like a straightforward solution to the question of cross-linguistic variation in OCL placement, it does not connect the behavior of OCLs in simple tense clauses with the behavior of OCLs with participles in the compound tenses, across languages. In fact, it does not connect the behavior of OCLs in simple tense clauses with the behavior of OCLs in any complex predicate constructions, and as we shall see in more detail in Section 5, the generalization summarized in 3.1.1 actually extends to all complex predicates (e.g. modal+infinitive and causative constructions).

Given the empirical problems with the Missing-Head Hypothesis, let us now turn to our alternative approach.

---

11. The compound tense configuration predicted by the description in (34d) is actually the first one (\**Abbiamo-lo mangiato*); however, I include the second possibility (ungrammatical \**Lo abbiamo mangiato*) for the sake of completeness, as there is likewise no variety where we find generalized enclisis in simple tense clauses, but proclisis in compound tense clauses.

A reviewer states that “it is not clear why (34d) is not what happens in Galician or Portuguese.” To clarify: the enclisis illustrated in (34d) is intended to capture the “generalized enclisis” type of enclisis, i.e. the type exhibited by Borgomanerese-type languages. As argued in Section 2.1.1, Galician/Portuguese do not exhibit generalized enclisis (there are various root syntactic contexts in which proclisis is the rule). I follow previous authors in taking the enclisis of these varieties to involve adjunction of the OCL to a high functional head, and hence to be more like the Italian/Spanish type (both in terms of typology and in terms of analysis).

Note that the order aux-OCL-participle is in fact found in some varieties (v. e.g. Abruzzo). However, as argued in Tortora (2014), these are cases of OCL placement within the participial clause, where the participial verb has not subsequently moved to the left of the clitic:

- (i) [CP Aux [Clause2 OCL V<sub>participle</sub> ] ]

Importantly, varieties that exhibit the order aux-OCL-participle do not exhibit OCL enclisis in simple tense clauses.

#### 4. The Feature Content Hypothesis: All languages have the same potential OCL adjunction sites

As already previewed in the introduction in Section 1, our alternative hypothesis states the following: all Romance languages have the same series of functional heads, and therefore, the same series of potential OCL adjunction sites. Under this hypothesis, then, there has to be some other mechanism governing the distribution of OCLs across the potential hosting sites. This section proposes such a mechanism.

##### 4.1 Back to the cross-linguistic generalization

Let us revisit the cross-linguistic entailment presented in 3.1.1 here, as (35) (recast in terms of the theory of OCL placement in the V-domain in simple tense clauses):

- (35) Cross-linguistic uni-directional entailment for OCL placement:  
 If a language utilizes a *low functional head in simple tense clauses*, then it exhibits *enclisis on the past participle in the compound tenses* (but not vice versa).

Fully recast in terms for OCL placement established in this chapter, we can revise (35) as follows:

- (35') Cross-linguistic uni-directional entailment for OCL placement:  
 If a language utilizes the *Z head in simple tense clauses*, then it *utilizes the participial Z head in compound tenses* (but not vice versa).

Once stated in this way, we can ask the following question: What does it mean for a particular functional head to be “available” for OCL placement? In the following section, I sketch a way to answer this question.

##### 4.2 Eligibility of a particular functional head for OCL adjunction: The Feature Content Hypothesis

###### 4.2.1 Simple tense clauses

Let us begin by assuming, in contrast with the Missing-Head Hypothesis, that all simple tense clauses in all varieties (Borgomanerese, Italian, and the various other Piedmontese dialects) project the Z head in (15) (i.e.  $Asp_{\text{terminative}}$ ) in simple tense clauses (and also in participial clauses). Under this view, we can consider Z a *potential* low OCL placement head. In other words, it has the potential to host an OCL, if a particular condition is met. What is this condition?

Let us assume that although all varieties project the Z-head in simple tense clauses, this head does not have the same uninterpretable features in each variety.

Let us further assume that the OCL can adjoin to the Z-head only if it has the appropriate features: specifically, *it can adjoin to the Z-head only if the Z head does not have the feature* [finite]. Let us refer to this as the “Feature Content Hypothesis.”

As we saw, Borgomanerese allows OCL adjunction to the simple tense Z-head, while Italian and non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese do not. By hypothesis, then, this would mean that the matrix Z-head in Piedmontese has the feature [finite], while Borgomanerese matrix Z does not; I sketch this out in (36) and (37):

Matrix Z in Borgomanerese (utilized as an OCL site in the simple tenses):

$$(36) \quad Z_{[...]}$$

Matrix Z in Piedmontese/Italian (not utilized as an OCL site in the simple tenses):

$$(37) \quad Z_{[finite]}$$

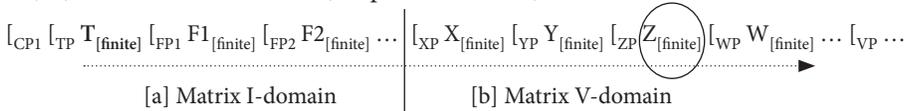
To understand how the idea illustrated in (36)/(37) could make sense of the cross-linguistic generalizations, I need to make one more proposal, which I will term the “Feature Spreading Hypothesis”:

$$(38) \quad \textit{Feature Spreading Hypothesis:}$$

Clauses exhibit a mechanism of *feature spreading*, whereby certain features fundamental to the interpretation of the proposition successively spread to lower heads. One such case of Feature Spreading involves the T-head in the Infl-domain, which provides the feature [finite] to the next lower head, F1, and then F1 provides this feature to the next lower head F2, and so on.

This feature spreading “mechanism” is illustrated for Italian/Piedmontese in (39):

$$(39) \quad \text{Italian/Piedmontese (simple tense clause):}$$



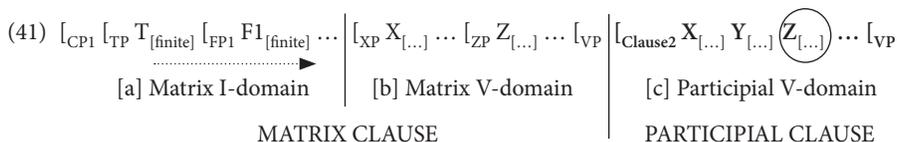
In (39), we see that by hypothesis, the feature [finite] “spreads” (from head to head) all the way from the I-domain, down into the lower functional field, in simple tense clauses in Italian/Piedmontese-type languages. Because the Z head (i.e. the “potential” OCL placement site) acquires the feature [finite] via feature spreading, by hypothesis it does not have the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL (see (37)). As such, the OCL must continue to “climb”, until it finds an appropriate functional head to adjoin to.<sup>12</sup> This yields the effect of proclisis of OCLs in

12. Given that the OCL cannot adjoin to any functional head containing the feature [finite], I assume it adjoins to a functional head that c-commands T (not depicted in (39)). Given that feature-spreading is only downwards, any heads c-commanding T cannot acquire the feature [finite].



clause headed by the auxiliary verb. It is in fact the participial Z head which serves as the host for the OCL in Borgomanerese-type (and also non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese) dialects.

Focussing just on Borgomanerese for the moment, the question arises as to why the participial Z head can function as an appropriate host of the OCL. Let us consider in this regard the structure for a compound tense in Borgomanerese, in (41):



In (41), we see that, just as with the Borgomanerese simple tense clause in (40), by hypothesis the feature [finite] cannot spread all the way down into the lower functional field of the matrix clause (given the hypothesized “barrierhood” of the left periphery of the lower functional field of the matrix clause). Given this limitation, it follows that the functional structure of the embedded participial clause likewise cannot acquire this feature. That is, the participial Z head (by transitivity) cannot acquire the feature [finite], and thus (by transitivity) the participial Z head will always serve as host to the OCL in such varieties. In other words, the barrierhood of the left periphery of the matrix V-domain entails that nothing embedded below it will ever be reached by feature spreading.

In this way, the uni-directional entailment presented in Section 3.1.1 is predicted. In fact, note that this approach predicts that Borgomanerese-type languages should always exhibit enclisis on the most deeply embedded verb in complex predicate structures generally, given that the barrierhood of the left periphery of the (matrix) V-domain trumps feature spreading on any embedded structure. As we shall see in Section 5, this prediction is borne out.<sup>14</sup>

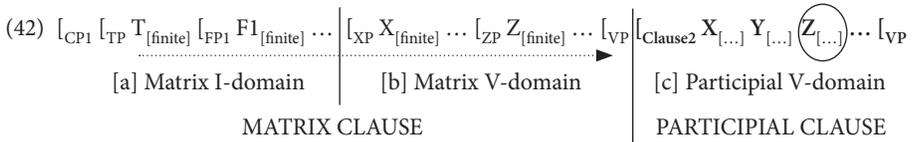
4.2.2.2 *Piedmontese (compound tense clause).* As noted above, non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese dialects exhibit enclisis of the OCL on the participle in compound tense clauses (see (18) through (21)). This is despite the fact that they exhibit proclisis of the OCL in simple tense clauses (recall (29)

---

14. An anonymous reviewer states that “it must be shown that the Feature Spreading Hypothesis is more principled than the Missing Head Hypothesis. In a way, they are similar. Finding an argument to say that a given functional head is missing is similar to saying that a given functional head lacks a feature. Since functional categories are just the expression of features, the two hypotheses appear to be non-distinguishable.” The response to this comment is to be found in Section 5.2.1, where I re-cap the fact that the Missing Head Hypothesis does not make correct predictions; as such, the two analysis are not similar.

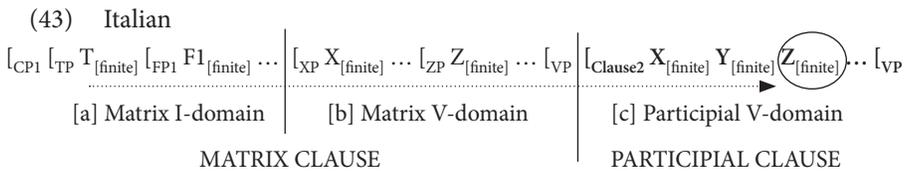
through (32)). While proclisis in Piedmontese simple tense clauses was already explained (see (39)), the question arises as to why enclisis obtains on the participle, in compound tense clauses.

For this I propose the following: while the left periphery of the (matrix) V-domain is not a barrier to feature spreading in Piedmontese, the left periphery of the participial clause in Piedmontese is; this is depicted in (42):



In (42), we see that the feature [finite] cannot spread all the way down into the participial clause, in Piedmontese compound tense constructions (given the hypothesized “barrierhood” of the left periphery of the participial clause in these varieties). Because the participial Z head (i.e. the “potential” OCL placement site) does not acquire the feature [finite], by hypothesis it has the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL. As such, the participial Z head is the final resting place for the OCL in these varieties. Note furthermore that nothing here entails that simple tense Z should host the OCL in Piedmontese. In other words, the uni-directional nature of the cross-linguistic entailment (seen in (33)) is captured.

4.2.2.3 *Rounding out the picture: Italian (compound tense clause).* As already noted, the OCL is obligatorily proclitic on the “matrix” auxiliary verb in Italian compound tense clauses. Under the approach advocated for here, this would mean that the Italian participial Z head is unavailable for OCL adjunction. As such, I assume that in contrast with Piedmontese (see (42)), the left periphery of the participial clause in Italian is not a barrier to feature spreading:



In (43), we see that the feature [finite] spreads all the way down into the participial clause, in Italian compound tense constructions. Because the participial Z head acquires the feature [finite], it does not have the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL. As such, as with the Italian/Piedmontese simple tense clause in (39), the OCL must continue to “climb”, until it finds an appropriate functional head to

adjoin to. This yields the effect of proclisis of OCLs in compound tense constructions in Italian.<sup>15</sup>

4.2.2.4 *Absolute Small Clauses (ASCs)*. Although Italian does not allow enclisis on past participles in the compound tenses, it is well known that it requires enclisis on participles in Absolute Small Clauses (Belletti 1990):

- (44) *Conosciuta-la ieri, ...*  
 met-OCL yesterday, ...  
 ‘Having met her yesterday, ...’

Kayne (1991:659) and Shlonsky (2004) argue that in ASCs, the OCL resides in the same functional head as it does in simple tense clauses. In other words, the OCL in (44) is taken to reside in the same head seen in (2b)/(3a).

In contrast, I claim that while the OCL adjoins to a higher I-domain head in finite clauses in Italian, it adjoins to the (lower) V-domain Z head in ASCs such as that in (44). Enclisis on the participle in ASCs is in fact predicted under the present approach, for the following reason: OCL adjunction to Z obtains only if this head does not have the feature [finite] (i.e.  $Z_{[...]}$ ). As we saw, the Z head can only acquire the feature [finite] if there is a higher head in the clause from which the feature can spread down (i.e.  $T_{[finite]}$ ). Given the tenselessness of ASCs (Belletti 1990), there is no  $T_{[finite]}$  in the structure in (44) to begin with, so Z has no chance of ever acquiring this feature:

Structure of ASC (no [finite] feature to spread from above, because no TP):

- (45) [<sub>ASC</sub> [~~NO I-DOMAIN~~] X<sub>[...]</sub> Y<sub>[...]</sub> Z<sub>[...]</sub> ... [<sub>VP</sub> ] ]

---

15. We can think of this idea (i.e. that the left periphery of the participial clause in (43) is not a “barrier” to feature spreading) as a modern translation of the original idea of “restructuring” in Rizzi (1982). The ideas are similar in that they both appeal to the notion of something like a “clause union”, where the matrix and embedded verbs are analyzed as being part of a single domain (as opposed to two separate domains). Many researchers since Rizzi have taken something like “clause union” to be responsible for the so-called transparency effects (such as clitic climbing); however, see Cinque 2004 for the idea that “transparency effects” should be given an analysis independent of the idea of restructuring.

The present proposal, though reminiscent of the old “restructuring” analysis, does have different consequences. For example, as discussed earlier, it captures the cross-linguistic entailment summarized in (33). Additionally, as we shall see below, it relates the OCL placement facts of Absolute Small Clauses and Imperatives to the wider range of OCL placement variation discussed here and in Tortora (2014).

Because the participial Z head in ASCs in Italian has no way of acquiring the feature [finite], it has the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL.<sup>16</sup>

4.2.2.5 *Romance Imperatives.* It is also well known that all Romance behaves like Borgomanerese-type languages when it comes to Imperatives. That is, Romance Imperatives robustly exhibit OCL enclisis:

Italian:

- (46) *Mangia-lo!*  
eat-OCL  
'(you-sg.) Eat it!'

Borgomanerese:

- (47) *Tira-lu!*  
pull-OCL  
'(you-sg.) Pull it!'

Just as with the Italian ASC, this universal enclisis in Imperatives is predicted, under the view that Imperatives (like ASCs) are tenseless. Compare the Imperative structure in (48) with the ASC structure in (45):

- (48) [IMPERATIVE [~~NO-T-DOMAIN~~] X<sub>[...]</sub> Y<sub>[...]</sub> Z<sub>[...]</sub> ... [VP ] ]

Again, the Z head can only acquire the feature [finite] if there is a higher head in the clause from which the feature can spread down (i.e. T<sub>[finite]</sub>). Given the tenselessness of Imperatives, there is no T<sub>[finite]</sub> in the structure in (48) to begin with, so Z has no chance of ever acquiring this feature. The Z head thus has the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL, yielding the effect of “enclisis” in Imperatives.<sup>17</sup>

16. The analysis I propose for enclisis in Italian ASCs thus takes “enclisis” in these structures to have essentially the same source as “enclisis” in Borgomanerese simple tense clauses. The reader might wonder, then, why it is that in Italian ASC enclisis, we never find lower adverbs (such as *più*, *già*, and *mica*) intervening between the participle and the OCL, along the lines of the V<sub>finite</sub>+ADV+OCL structures we find in Borgomanerese (see (11), (12a), (13a)):

- (ii) Italian ASC (cf. (44)):  
\**Vista già-la*, ...

Tortora (2010) argues on independent grounds that non-finite clauses do not contain their own series of adverbs; as such, it would not be possible to find any adverbs inbetween the V<sub>participle</sub> and the OCL.

17. See Zanuttini (1997) for the question of tense in Imperatives. As argued in Tortora (2014) and Poletto & Tortora (forthcoming), the fact that Imperatives uniformly lack subject clitics

## 5. Another prediction made by feature spreading/feature content hypotheses for causatives

As I pointed out earlier, my approach to variation in OCL placement (i.e. “feature spreading” and the Feature Content Hypothesis) predicts that Borgomanerese-type languages should always exhibit OCL enclisis on the most deeply embedded verb in complex predicate structures (and not just on participles in compound tenses). This is because the hypothesized “barrierhood” of the left periphery of the (matrix) V-domain in Borgomanerese precludes feature spreading onto any structures embedded under the matrix V.

In Tortora (2014), I demonstrate how this prediction is borne out for various kinds of structures (including modal+infinitive). In the present section, I focus exclusively on causative constructions. As we shall see, however, the plot thickens in other non-Borgomanerese-type Piedmontese varieties. The Piedmontese data I review will thus require further refinements to the present approach.

### 5.1 Obligatory clitic climbing in Romance Causatives

I begin with a review of the OCL placement facts in Romance Causatives, generally speaking.

It is well known that Romance Causatives involve obligatory clitic climbing; this can be seen in the Italian Examples in (50) and (51):

Italian:

- (49) *Paolo fa piangere Gianni.*  
 Paolo makes to.cry Gianni  
 ‘Paolo makes Gianni cry.’
- (50) a. *Paolo lo fa piangere.* (embedded subject of intransitive)  
 Paolo OCL makes to.cry  
 ‘Paolo makes him cry.’
- b. *\*Paolo fa pianger-lo.*  
 Paolo makes to.cry-OCL

---

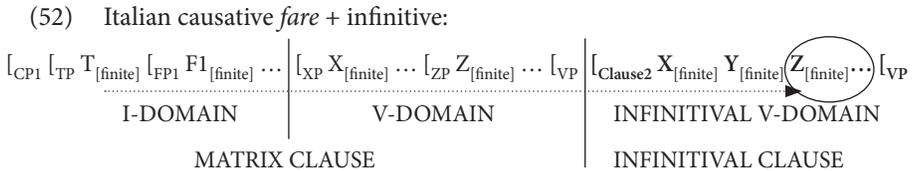
(in languages that have them) supports the idea that this sentence-type has a deficient higher functional field.

Note that the present proposal (namely, that the OCL in Imperatives resides in the lower functional field, giving rise to the effect of universal “enclisis” across Romance) contrasts with theories which take OCL enclisis in Imperatives to reflect higher-than-normal verb movement (to the C-domain), with the OCL in the same (high, I-domain) head position in which it is found in tensed clauses. Under the present proposal, there is no reason to assume that the Imperative moves to C<sup>0</sup>.

- (51) a. *Paolo gliela fa scrivere da*  
 Paolo **to him.it** makes write by  
*Maria.* (embedded complements  
 Maria of transitive)  
 ‘Paolo makes Maria write it to **him.**’
- b. \**Paolo fa scriver-gliela da Maria.*  
 Paolo makes to.write-to **him.it** by Maria

As can be seen in the above examples, the OCL under no circumstances can remain to the right of the infinitival embedded under a causative verb in Italian (and in many other Romance languages).<sup>18</sup>

Given this fact, the current approach would have to assume that Romance causative *fare* selects an embedded infinitival clause whose left periphery is never a barrier to feature spreading. This is illustrated in (52):



Thus, in causative constructions, spreading of the feature [finite] will always go down into the embedded infinitival clause, and as such, the infinitival Z head will always have the feature [finite]. As a result, the OCLs pronominalizing the arguments of the infinitival verb can never adjoin to this infinitival Z head, in turn making clitic climbing to a head in the matrix I-domain obligatory in causatives.

## 5.2 Causatives in Borgomanerese-type dialects and the Feature Content Hypothesis

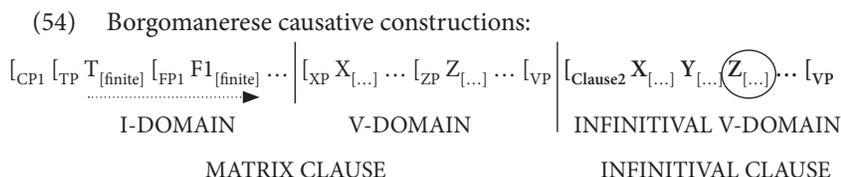
Let us assume that the hypothesis put forth in 5.1 is universal for Romance:

- (53) *Romance Causatives:* The left periphery of the infinitival clause embedded under *fare* (i.e. the causative infinitival clause) is never a barrier to feature spreading.

---

18. This is a robust generalization for Romance. This pattern contrasts with modal+infinitive constructions, which in many varieties allow for low (post-infinitival) clitic placement. Unfortunately, due to space reasons, I cannot discuss how the present theory plays out with respect to cross-linguistic variation in these structures. The details are hammered out in Chapter 3 of Tortora (2014).

Note that even if this is a universal fact about the selectional properties of Romance causative *fare*, Borgomanerese-type dialects are nevertheless predicted to exhibit OCL placement within *fare*'s complement clause; this is because the left periphery of the matrix V-domain (projected by *fare* in this case) is a barrier to any further downward feature spreading. This is depicted in (54):



Thus, regardless of the status of the left periphery of Clause2 in (54) as a non-barrier for feature spreading (as per (53)), the barrierhood of the left periphery of the matrix V-domain trumps everything, such that the infinitival Z head in causatives is predicted to never acquire the feature [finite] in Borgomanerese-type languages. As such, we predict that the OCL stays inside the infinitival clause in Borgomanerese causatives.

This prediction is borne out, making the otherwise unexpected Borgomanerese causative facts seem natural; consider the examples in (55) and (56) (from Tortora 2014):<sup>19</sup>

#### Borgomanerese causative

(embedded intransitive verb, pronominalized subject)

- (55) a. *Stu mondo, 'nzogna fè bur-lè-lu 'nsé.*  
 this world (it)needs to.make to.spin-OCL like-so  
 'It's necessary to make it spin like this, this world.'  
 (It.: *Questo mondo, bisogna far-lo girare così*)
- b. *I faghi cosa-lu bil bél.*  
 SCL I-make to.cook-OCL good good  
 'I'm making it cook on a low fire.'  
 (It.: *Lo faccio cuocere a fuoco lento*)
- c. *Fé mja ghignè-mmi.*  
 you(pl.)-make NEG to.laugh-OCL  
 'Don't make me laugh.'  
 (It.: *Non fate-mi ridere*)

19. To aid in the processing of the examples, I have provided Italian equivalents to the Borgomanerese examples in parentheses; the OCL is in bold, and the embedded infinitival verb is underlined.

Borgomanerese causative  
(embedded transitive verb, pronominalized internal argument)

- (56) a. *Va fè banadi-tti 'n Piàza.*  
 go to.make to.bless-OCL in piazza  
 ‘Go make (someone) bless **you** in the piazza.’  
 (It.: *Va a far-ti benedire in piazza*)
- b. *I fè gni-mmi al magôj.*  
 SCL make.2PL to.come-OCL the lump-in-throat  
 ‘You(pl.) make **me** get a lump in my throat.’  
 (It.: *Mi fate venire il magone*)
- c. *L' è ustu, c l' à faciu gni-tti la bulgira!*  
 SCL is this, that SCL has made to.come-OCL the anger  
 ‘This is what made **you** get angry.’  
 (It.: *E' questo che ti ha fatto venire la rabbia*)

### 5.2.1 *The Missing Head Hypothesis revisited*

Note that in order to explain the widespread clitic climbing found in Romance Causatives (Section 5.1), the “Missing Head Hypothesis” would have to hold that the embedded infinitive in Romance Causatives is universally missing the relevant OCL placement head altogether (see Rizzi 2000 for this claim). To explain the Borgomanerese facts above, then, an exception to this otherwise universal rule would have to be made (such that only Borgomanerese-type dialects have the Z head in infinitivals embedded under causative *fare*). Thus, the Missing Head Hypothesis could technically be tweaked to account for the Borgomanerese-type varieties.

Note, however, that the account would not capture the correlation between the behavior of OCLs in simple tense clauses, and the behavior of OCLs in all other (complex predicate) constructions. In other words, under this hypothesis, the fact that Borgomanerese-type languages are the only Romance languages to have a Z head embedded in Causatives would be merely coincidental, and not predicted.

## 6. When the Missing Head Hypothesis is actually needed

I have thus far been arguing for the hypothesis that all languages have the same series of functional heads, and therefore, the same series of potential OCL adjunction sites.

Now that I have established the mechanisms which can account for the variation in OCL placement in simple and complex predicate clauses in Romance

under this hypothesis, it is time to take a look at a couple of cases where we can see that sometimes (under a very strict set of circumstances), it seems that the clause is indeed missing the Z head.

### 6.1 Standard French reduced relatives

The following data from Standard French (Kayne 1991:658) suggest that there may be some cases where we do have to admit the radical absence of any potential OCL placement head:

Standard French *Reduced Relative Clause*:

- (57) a. \**Tout individu* [*nous présenté*]  
           any person CL introduced  
       b. \**Tout individu* [*présenté-nous*]  
           any person introduced-CL  
           ‘Any person introduced to us’

As can be seen in (57), a reduced participial relative clause in French has no hosting site for an OCL.

In the following section, I review the so-called “Partial Clitic Climbing” facts of Standard Piedmontese, which I argue will help us understand the circumstances under which a clause can truly have a missing OCL head.

### 6.2 What kinds of clauses truly have a missing OCL head?

The French facts in (57) cause us to modify our original position against the Missing-Head Hypothesis, as follows:

- (59) *Modified Missing-Head Hypothesis*: There is a limited set of structures (in the abstract, all of the same type) where a clause can be missing the appropriate OCL adjunction site altogether.

What is the key to understanding the circumstances under which the relevant functional head is truly missing?

#### 6.2.1 *Standard Piedmontese partial clitic climbing*

Here I argue that Standard Piedmontese offers the key.

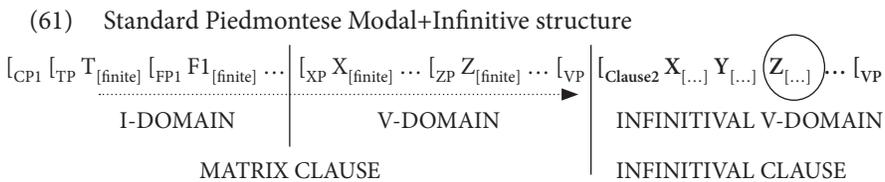
First, let us note that Standard Piedmontese is like many other Northern Italian varieties, in that it exhibits obligatory lack of clitic climbing in modal+infinitive structures. Understood in the present terms, it exhibits obligatory placement of the OCL in the extended projections of the infinitival verb selected by the modal. In other words Standard Piedmontese modal+infinitive structures behave like

Piedmontese compound tense constructions (which we have already seen in detail). Consider (60):

Standard Piedmontese Modal+Infinitive structure:

- (60) *A vuria mustre-m-lu.*  
 SCL wanted to.show-OCL-OCL  
 ‘S/he wanted to show it to me.’

Under the analysis advocated for in this paper, we would have to say that the left periphery of the infinitival clause embedded under the modal is a barrier to [finite] feature spreading in Standard Piedmontese, as in (61):



In (61), we see that the feature [finite] cannot spread down into the infinitival clause, in Standard Piedmontese modal+infinitive structures. Because the infinitival Z head does not acquire the feature [finite], it has the appropriate featural make-up to host the OCL. This yields the effect of no clitic climbing in modal+infinitive structures in Standard Piedmontese.

Surprisingly, however, Standard Piedmontese exhibits a kind of “partial clitic climbing” with modal+infinitive structures, precisely when the modal itself is participial; consider (62) (adapted from Parry 1995), where the non-finite (participial) form of the modal is underlined:

Modal in non-finite (participial) form

- (62) *I l avriu vursy-la duverte.*  
 SCL SCL would.have wanted(PasPar)-OCL to.open  
 ‘We would have wanted to open it.’

This “partial clitic climbing” is also found when the modal is infinitival, as in (63) (adapted from Parry 1995):

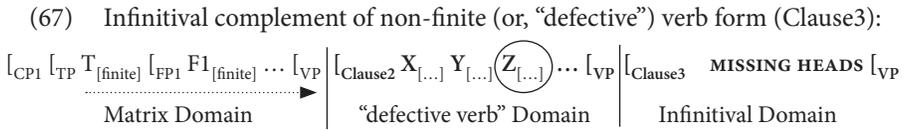
Modal in non-finite (infinitival) form

- (63) *Pèr podej-je vive ndrinta.*  
 for to.be.able-OCL to.live inside  
 ‘To be able to live **there** inside.’

Interestingly, this is also the case when the modal (or aspectual verb) is in the imperative form (which incidentally provides another piece of evidence supporting the idea that imperatives are like non-finite/uninflected verbs; see Section 4.2.2.5 above):



Under this hypothesis, the infinitival complement of a non-finite (or “defective” verb) would have the following structure (see Clause3 in (67)):

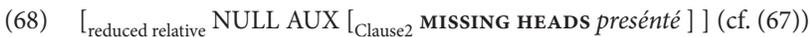


An infinitival clause embedded under a “defective” verb would thus have no Z head; with no head to adjoin to, the OCL must move up to the next available head, which in (67) would be the Z head in the “defective verb” domain. Hence the “partial clitic climbing”.

### 6.2.2 Back to Standard French Reduced Relative clauses

How does the discussion immediately above bear on our Standard French Reduced Relative clause in (57)?

On independent grounds, Tortora (2010) argues that reduced relatives are embedded under a NULL AUX; in (68), take Clause2 to be the reduced relative clause:



If we take the NULL AUX to be in the category of “defective verbs”, then it too will select non-finite clauses with radically impoverished functional architecture. Thus, just like the participial modal in (62) (or the infinitival modal in (63), or the imperative in (64)), any clause embedded under the NULL AUX will have no functional heads for OCL adjunction. Thus, in Standard French, there is no place for the OCL to adjoin to, in Reduced Relative Clauses.

## 7. Conclusions

The Feature Content Hypothesis for OCL placement takes into account the uninterpretable featural make-up of the functional head to which the OCL adjoins, and addresses the question of why a certain functional head serves as a host in some varieties, but not in others. Under this view, the variation observed in Romance rests on the question of what uninterpretable features reside on the head in question (making it an eligible host or not). The idea is that an OCL is incompatible with a functional head that has the feature [finite]. The series of mechanisms proposed to account for OCL distribution allows us to account for certain entailments and make correct predictions regarding the Romance variation.

But the idea of “missing heads” cannot be thrown out altogether: there is a very circumscribed set of circumstances under which we can say that a particular

domain is actually missing the potential host: namely, when the domain is selected by a defective verb.

It is important to note that, despite the advantages of the present proposal, a valid criticism that was levelled against the unmodified Missing-Head Hypothesis (at the beginning of Section 3.1) could also just as easily be levelled against the present analysis: specifically, one problem for the Missing-Head Hypothesis is that there is no independently establishable principle which predicts which languages and/or which structures will be missing which heads. But it should by now be eminently obvious that I likewise have not established any principle which predicts when a particular “juncture” in the clause will act as a barrier to [finite] Feature Spreading (the left-edge of the lower functional field? the left edge of the participial clause?).

I would like to suggest, however, that it is possible that the “barrierhood” status of particular junctures in the clause could be derived from other independent syntactic phenomena, which do or do not render left edges of certain clausal domains “phase edges”. In other words, while it is not clear how to derive which languages will be missing the Z head and which languages will not, phase edges can be derived (rendering the present proposal more promising). Verb movement is one place to look for this, as the Romance languages notoriously differ with respect to how high verbs move. As such, the present proposal has the promise of reducing OCL syntax to more general, and independent, principles of the grammar.

The proposed mechanism for the spreading of the feature [finite] itself also appeals to a more general idea which speaks to the question of whether the functional structure of a clause needs to “share” particular features relevant to the semantic interpretation of the proposition. In this regard, Blanchette (2013) has recently shown that the co-existence of Negative Concord and Double Negation interpretations in English grammars is derivable from the hypothesis that the [NEG] feature spreads, in a way similar to that proposed here for the feature [finite]. In this way, variation in OCL placement in Romance is reduced to a more abstract mechanism, which in turn allows us to find connections between two linguistic phenomena as seemingly dissimilar as OCL syntax in Romance and Negative Concord in English. I consider this to be a step forward.

## References

- AIS (Atlante Linguistico ed Etnografico dell'Italia e della Svizzera Meridionale (Sprach und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz)).
- ASIt (Atlante Sintattico d'Italia), University of Padua, Department of Linguistics. <http://asis-cnr.unipd.it/>
- Belletti, Angelo, Ezio Bozzola, Antonio Garzulano, and Alessandro Mainardi. 1984. *Gajà spitas-cià. Grammatica e antologia del dialetto galliatese* (Libro I). Novara: La Moderna.

- Belletti, Adriana. 1990. *Generalized Verb Movement. Aspects of Verbal Syntax*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Benincà, Paola, and Christina Tortora. 2009. "Towards a finer-grained theory of Italian participial clausal architecture." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, Volume 15.1: 17–26.
- Biondelli, Bernardino. 1853. *Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici. Dialetti pedemontani* (parte terza). Milano: Gius. Bernardoni di Gio.
- Blanchette, Frances. 2013. "Negative Concord in English." *Linguistic Variation* 13.1: 1–47. DOI: 10.1075/lv.13.1.01bla
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Ur Shlonsky. 2004. "Clitic Positions and Restructuring in Italian." *Linguistic Inquiry* 35.4: 519–557. DOI: 10.1162/0024389042350523
- Chomsky, Noam 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross Linguistic Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2004. "Restructuring" and functional structure." In *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* vol. 3, ed. by A. Belletti, 132–191. New York: Oxford University Press. (Reprinted as Chapter 1 in: Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. *Restructuring and Functional Heads. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* vol. 4, 11–63. New York: Oxford University Press.)
- Kayne, Richard. 1989. "Null Subjects and Clitic Climbing," In *The Null Subject Parameter*, ed. by O. Jaeggli, and K. Safir, 239–261. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-009-2540-3\_8
- Kayne, Richard. 1991. "Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO." *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 647–686.
- Kayne, Richard. 1993. "Toward a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection." *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3–31. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9582.1993.tb00837.x
- Lana, Lorenza. 1969/1970. *Il dialetto di Trecate*. Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Milano.
- Ledgeway, Adam. & Alessandra Lombardi. 2005. V-movement, adverbs, and clitic positions in Romance. *Probus* 171: 79–113.
- Manzini, Rita, and Leonardo Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa* (Vol. II). Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 1994. "Enclisis, VP deletion, and the Nature of Sigma." *Probus* 6: 173–205. DOI: 10.1515/prbs.1994.6.2-3.173
- Pagani, Giuseppe. 1918. "Il dialetto di Borgomanero." *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* II.51: 602–611; 919–949.
- Parry, M. 1995. "Some observations on the syntax of clitic pronouns in Piedmontese." In *Linguistic theory and the Romance languages*, ed. by M. Maiden, and J.C. Smith, 133–160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: 10.1075/cilt.122.06par
- Parry, Mair. 2005. *Sociolinguistica e grammatica del dialetto di Cairo Montenotte. Parluma 'D Còiri*. Savona: Società Savonese di Storia Patria.
- Poletto, C., and C. Tortora. forthcoming. "Subject Clitics." In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, ed. by A. Ledgeway, and M. Maiden, Oxford: OUP.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Walter de Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110883718
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2000. "Some notes on Romance cliticization." Chapter 4 in *Comparative Syntax and Language Acquisition*. Routledge.
- Rohlf, Gerhard. 1968. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia*. Torino: Einaudi.

- Rusconi, Antonio. 1878. *I parlari del Novarese e della Lomellina*. Novara: Tipografia Rusconi.
- Salvioni, S.C. Carlo. 1903. "Del pronome enclitico oggetto suffisso ad altri elementi che non sieno la voce verbale." *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* (seria seconda) 37: 1012–1021.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 2004. "Enclisis and Proclisis." In *The Structure of CP and IP (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 2)*, ed. by L. Rizzi, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tonetti, Federico. 1894. *Dizionario del dialetto valsesiano*. Varallo: Tipografia Camaschella e Zanfa.
- Tortora, Christina. 2000. "Functional Heads and Object Clitics." In *Proceedings of the 30th Meeting of the Northeast Linguistics Society (NELS30) V. 2*, ed. by M. Hirotani, A. Coetzee, N. Hall, and J.-Y. Kim, 639–653.
- Tortora, Christina. 2002. "Romance Enclisis, Prepositions, and Aspect." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20.4: 725–757. DOI: 10.1023/A:1020455332427
- Tortora, Christina. 2010. "Domains of clitic placement in finite and non-finite clauses: Evidence from a Piedmontese dialect." In *Syntactic Variation: The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Roberta D'Alessandro, A. Ledgeway, and I. Roberts, 135–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tortora, Christina. 2014. *A Comparative Grammar of Borgomanerese* (In the *Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax* Series). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tuttle, Edward. 1992. "Del pronome d'oggetto suffisso al sintagma verbale. In calce ad una nota salvioniana del 1903." *L'Italia Dialettale* 55: 13–63.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. "Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Romance." *Linguistic Inquiry* 26: 79–123.
- Wanner, Dieter. 1983. "Intorno alla sintassi pronominale alpina." In *Problemi linguistici nel mondo alpino*, ed. by Renato Martinotti, and Vittorio F. Raschèr, 169–185. Napoli: Liguori.
- Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and Clausal Structure: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

