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Functional Heads and Object Clitics[1]

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0. Introduction

In this paper I discuss direct object clitic placement in Borgomanerese (a Northern Italian dialect spoken in the Piedmont region of Italy). In particular, I show that object clitic placement in this dialect is best understood if we take cliticization to involve both verb-adjunction and adjunction of the clitic to a functional head.[2] There are a few assumptions I make in this paper that are perhaps worth clarifying now: first, clitics (which I take to be X^0's) move from their base (i.e., theta-) positions to a position higher in the clause. Second, I ultimately assume (following Kayne 1991) that apparent 'enclisis' to a lexical item can be understood in terms of syntactic left-adjunction of the clitic to a functional head, with the apparent 'host' appearing to the left of the clitic (in a distinct syntactic position); nevertheless, for convenience I use the terms 'enclisis' and 'host' throughout the paper. Third, since the position of 'lower' (pre-VP) adverbs is relevant to understanding direct object clitic placement in this language, I adopt a theory of adverb placement that allows me to easily describe the word order facts. In particular, I adopt Cinque's (1999) analysis, which takes adverbs to occupy specifiers of functional heads.

This paper is organized as follows: in section 1 I outline the facts of clitic placement in Borgomanerese, which I then attempt to account for in section 2. In section 2.4, I discuss a particular piece of data which appears to contradict generalizations

[1] Thanks go to Mark Baker, Paola Benincà, Guglielmo Cinque, Diana Cresti, Sam Epstein, Jon Gajewski, Richard Kayne, Richard Larson, Alan Munn, Cecilia Poletto, Cristina Schmitt, Dan Seely, Ur Shlonsky, and Annemarie Toebosch for very helpful discussion. As always, a heartfelt thanks, too, to all my Borgomaneresi friends/consultants (especially Giuseppe and Mila Bacchetta). All mistakes, lapses, and gaps, or any boredom on the part of the reader, is purely my responsibility.

[2] The object pronouns I examine in this paper exhibit all the properties of clitic pronouns discussed in Kayne (1975) (they cannot be modified, coordinated, stressed, used in isolation, or placed in peripheral positions); they also have phonological effects on their 'hosts' which are typical of clitic pronouns (and not of weak DPs, in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke 1998).

arrived at earlier in the paper. In order to account for this data, I suggest that clitic placement must be understood in terms of the clitic's need to be adjoined both to the verb and to a functional head.

1. The Data: Generalized Enclisis in Borgomanerese

In this section I outline some facts of clitic placement in Borgomanerese (I characterize these facts as 'generalized enclisis').

Borgomanerese is like other Piedmontese dialects (e.g., Burzio's 1986 Torinese; also, many varieties found in the ASIS (see references)) in that in the compound tenses, it exhibits enclisis of object clitics on the past participle:

(1) a. i o purtè la torta.
SCL have(1sg) brought the cake
'I have brought the cake.'

b. i o purtè-**lla**.
SCL have(1sg) brought-**it**(fem.sg)
'I have brought it.'

This is in contrast with languages like Italian and French, whose object clitics are proclitic on the finite (auxiliary) verb:

ITALIAN:
(2) a. L'ho portata.
it-have(1sg) brought(fem.sg)
'I have brought it.'

b. *Ho portata-**la**.
have(1sg) brought-**it**

1.1. Enclisis on the Finite Verb

Borgomanerese differs from Torinese, however, in that it exhibits enclisis of object clitics in the simple tenses as well; this can be seen in (3b):

(3) a. i porti la torta.
SCL bring(1sg) the cake
'I'm bringing the cake.'

b. i porta-**la**.[3]
SCL bring(1sg)-**it**(fem.sg)
'I'm bringing it.'

1.2. Enclisis on Certain Adverbs

In addition to finite (non-auxiliary) verbs, enclisis is obligatory with the following adverbs: ***mija*** 'NEG', ***già*** 'already', and ***piö*** 'no more'.

1.2.1. Enclisis on NEG

I will first concentrate on ***mija*** 'NEG'. *Mija* is a 'post-verbal negative marker' (not unlike French *pas*; see Zanuttini 1997); this can be seen in (4a). As can be seen in (4b), when *mija* is present, the object clitic encliticizes to it:

(4) a. i porti mija na torta.
SCL bring(1sg) NEG a cake
'I'm not bringing a cake.'

b. i porti mi-**lla**.
SCL bring(1sg) NEG-**it**
'I'm not bringing it.'

The sentence in (4c) shows that enclisis on *mija* is obligatory:

c. *i porta-**la** mija.
SCL bring(1sg)-**it** NEG

If we compare (4c) with (3b), we must conclude the following: the finite verb can act as a host to the (en)clitic, as long as there is not another potential host to the right of it; if there is another potential host to its right, then that must host the clitic. For the purpose of exposition, let us call this the *right-most host requirement*.

1.2.2. Enclisis on *already* and *no more*

The data in (5b), (6b), and (7a) show that enclisis also obtains with ***già*** 'already', and ***piö*** 'no more':

[3] Enclisis induces a change in the final vowel of the host from [*i*] to [*a*]. I take this to be a phonological effect, irrelevant to the present discussion. Such effects are also seen, for example, with enclisis on prepositions (e.g., *denti* 'inside', but *i porti denta-la* 'I bring it inside' – see (8b) below) and negation (*mija*, but *i porti mi-lla* 'I'm not bringing it' – see (4b)). The reader may have also noticed that while the [l] of the clitic *la* 'it.fem' is geminate in (1b), it is not geminate in (3b). Again, this is a phonological effect (the initial consonant of a clitic becomes a geminate when the preceding syllable is stressed).

(5) a. i vœnghi Maria già da dü agni.
SCL see(1sg) Maria already of two years
'I've already been seeing Maria for two years.'

b. i vangumma già-**nni** da dü agni.
SCL see(1pl) already-**us** of two years
'We've already been seeing each other for two years.'

(6) a. i vœnghi piö la mata.
SCL see(1sg) no-more the girl
'I don't see the girl anymore.'

b. i vœnghi piö-**lla**.
SCL see(1sg) no.more-**her**
'I don't see her anymore.'

(7) a. i mœngi piö-**nnu**.
SCL eat(1sg) no.more-**of.them**
'I'm not eating anymore of them.'

Note that the *right-most host requirement* also applies to *già* and *piö*; compare, for example, (7a) with (7b):

(7) b. *i mœngiu-**nu** piö.
SCL eat(1sg)-**of.them** no.more

1.3. Enclisis on 'Resultative' Prepositions

Another class of elements that can host the direct object clitic is 'resultative' prepositions (including: ***denti*** 'inside', ***fora*** 'outside', ***ndre*** 'behind', ***vija*** 'away' ***sö*** 'up', ***sgiö*** 'down' ***cà*** 'home').[4] We can see the effects of the *right-most host requirement* once again if we include this type of potential host in a construction that contains two other potential hosts, as in (8b):

[4] I define 'resultative preposition' here as a preposition which acts as a second internal argument of the verb which indicates the 'goal' or 'endpoint' of the action denoted by the verb. So, for example, in (8) *denti* 'inside' indicates the location in which the object finds itself as the result of 'the bringing'. It is worth comparing (8b), where *denti* has this resultative interpretation, with the following:
(i) i moengia-**la** denti. 'I eat it inside.'
(ii) *i moengi denta-**la**
In particular, note that while the clitic must occur after *denti* when it is a resultative preposition (8b), it must occur before *denti* when it is not (as in (i) above, where *denti* is interpreted as a location adverbial). It is possible that this contrast obtains due to syntactic (leftward) movement of resultative *denti* (in contrast with non-resultative *denti*). While the nature of this purported movement needs to be explored in future research, it is worth noting here that it does not look unlike the cases of preposition incorporation discussed in Baker (1988). Putting negation aside, it is further worth noting the semantics of the adverbs *già* and *piö* (in contrast with the semantics of the adverbs which do not allow enclisis; see below). It may turn out to be non-coincidental that the non-verbal elements which allow enclisis (already, no more, and resultative prepositions) all make a contribution to the completive aspectual interpretation of the event (I thank Mark Baker and Richard Larson for helpful input here). For now, this question will have to remain open.

(8) a. i porti mija denti la torta.
SCL bring(1sg) NEG inside the cake
'I'm not bringing the cake inside.'

b. i porti mija denta-**la**.
SCL bring(1sg) NEG inside-**it**
'I'm not bringing it inside.'

c. *i porti mi-**lla** denti.
SCL bring(1sg) NEG-**it** inside

d. *i porta-**la** mija denti.
SCL bring(1sg)-**it** NEG inside

In particular, (8b-d) show that given the presence of a finite verb, the negative marker *mija*, and a resultative preposition such as *denti* 'inside' (i.e., three potential hosts), the object clitic must be enclitic on the right-most of these.

1.4. Enclisis on Past Participles

As we saw in (1b) above, in the compound tenses the object clitic encliticizes to the past participle. Given the fact that the past participle is a potential host, a question arises as to whether the *right-most host requirement* is respected when it occurs with other potential hosts. The following data show that the answer to this question is affirmative:

(9) a. i o piö vüsta-**la**.
SCL have(1sg) no.more seen-**her**
'I haven't seen her anymore.'

b. *i o piö-**lla** vüstu.
SCL have(1sg) no.more-**her** seen

(10) a. l eva piö saludà-**mmi**.
SCL had(3sg) no.more greeted-**me**
'She didn't say hi to me anymore.'

b. *l eva piö-**mmi** saludà.
SCL had(3sg) no.more-**me** greeted

So, as can be seen in (10), for example, although *piö* is a potential host (see (6b) and (7a)), if the past participle occurs to its right, it cannot host the clitic. It is also worth noting that the past participle optionally occurs to the left of the adverb *piö* (past participle movement will be discussed in more detail below in sections 2.2 and 2.3); the past participle thus seems to be the only 'mobile' potential host. Note that in this case, the object clitic must encliticize to the adverb (so compare, for example, (9) with (11)):

(11) a. i o vüst piö-**lla**.
SCL have(1sg) seen no.more-**her**
'I haven't seen her anymore.'

b. *i o vüsta-**la** piö.
SCL have(1sg) seen-**her** no.more

c. l eva saludà piö-**mmi**.
SCL had(3sg) greeted no.more-**me**
'She didn't say hi to me anymore.'

d. *l eva saludà-**mmi** piö.
SCL had(3sg) greeted-**me** no.more

1.5. Non-Potential Adverbial Hosts

While enclisis is obligatory with the adverbs *mija*, *già*, and *piö* (barring the presence of another potential host to their right), note that it is not possible with other adverbs, like manner adverbs (e.g., ***bej*** 'well', ***mal*** 'badly', & ***nsè*** 'like so') and ***sempri*** 'always'.[5] This can be seen in (12) through (14):

(12) a. i faga-**la** nsè.
SCL do(1sg)-**it** like.so
'I'm doing it like this'

b. *i faghi nsè-**lla**.
SCL do(1sg) like.so-**it**

(13) a. i trata-**lu** mal.
SCL treat(1sg)-**him** badly
'I treat him badly.'

[5] Unlike the adverb ***sempri*** 'always', the adverb ***maj*** 'never' optionally hosts the clitic; this can be seen in (ii) and (iii):
(i) *dopu sceni, i mængi maj la fruta.*
after dinner, SCL eat(1sg) never the fruit
'After dinner, I never eat fruit.'
(ii) *i mængia-la maj.*
SCL eat-**it** never
'I never eat it.'
(iii) *i mængi maj-lla.*
SCL eat(1sg) never-**it**
'I never eat it.'
One possible explanation for this optionality is the following: *maj* is ambiguous between an "always-type" adverb and a negative morpheme (like *mija*). That is, it can either occupy the syntactic position that *sempri* 'always' occupies (yielding (ii)), or it can occupy the syntactic position that *mija* 'NEG' occupies (yielding (iii)); see (26) below.

b. *i trati mal-**lu**.
SCL treat(1sg) badly-**him**

(14) a. i mængia-**la** sempri.
SCL eat(1sg)-**it** always
'I always eat it.'

b. *i mængi sempra-**la**.
SCL eat(1sg) always-**it**

To summarize, then, while some adverbs are potential object clitic hosts, others are not. Furthermore, the past participle is a (mobile) potential host. However, given the *right-most host requirement*, any one of the potential hosts may not host the clitic.

In what follows, I provide an analysis of clausal structure and head movement which allows us to understand both the *right-most host requirement*, as well as what I will call the *potential host question* (i.e., the question of why some adverbs are potential hosts, while others are not).

2. Addressing the *Right-Most Host Requirement* and the *Potential Host* Question

In this section I would like to consider an analysis which allows us to understand both the *right-most host requirement* and the *potential host question*. To do this, I will follow Kayne (1991) and assume that clitics adjoin to functional heads. In order to understand this assumption, let's first look at Kayne's concerns.

2.1. Kayne (1991): Clitic Placement

Kayne (1991) sets out to explain the following contrast between Italian (15) and French (16):

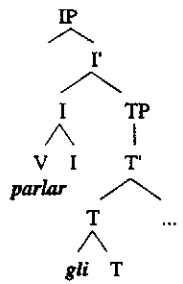
(15) *Parlar-**gli** sarebbe un errore.*
to.speak-**him** would-be a mistake
'To speak to him would be a mistake.'

(16) ***Lui** parler serait une erreur.*
to.him to.speak would-be a mistake
'To speak to him would be a mistake.'

That is, Kayne notes that while the (in this case indirect) object clitic follows the (non-finite) verb in Italian (15), the same type of clitic precedes the (non-finite) verb in French. To explain this, Kayne proposes the following: in Italian, the clitic moves from its base position to adjoin to a functional head (represented as T in (17)); the verb, on the other hand, moves to a position to the left of this head (represented as I in (17)):[6]

[6] The structure in (17) is a personal re-interpretation of Kayne's structure (which actually involves adjunction of the verb to a bar-level).

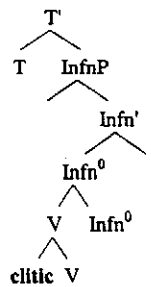
(17)



This movement is what yields the order verb-clitic in (15) above.

In contrast with Italian, the French verb does not move as high as I; rather, it moves only as high as a functional head below I (represented as $Infn^0$ in (18)). The French clitic subsequently left-adjoins to the verb, yielding the order clitic-verb in (16) above; an approximation of the structure for (16) is represented in (18):

(18)

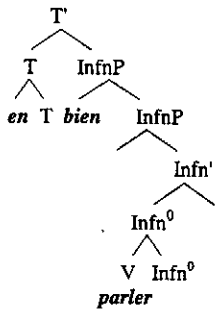


What is of interest (for the present purposes) about Kayne's analysis is the following: given the idea that the verb and the clitic can move to distinct positions, we predict the existence of languages that allow an adverb to intervene between the two. Kayne notes that Occitan is an example of just such a language. In particular, in Occitan a (pro)clitic can be separated from the verb by an adverb like ***bien*** 'well'; this can be seen in (19):

(19) ***en bien parler...***
of.it well to.speak

Kayne's analysis of (19) involves the following structure:

(20)



As can be seen in (20), he proposes that the clitic *en* and the verb *parler* occupy two distinct functional heads, which is what enables an adverb like *bien* to intervene (in this structure, the adverb is taken to adjoin to InfnP).

I would like to suggest here that the Borgomanerese data can be accounted for in a similar manner. To understand how, consider again the sentences in (3b) and (4b). In (3b), the verb 'hosts' the clitic. In (4b), the negative marker 'hosts' the clitic. If we take the verb to be adjoined to one head and the clitic to be adjoined to another (distinct) head (even in the case of (3b)), we can understand how the negative marker can 'intervene', as in (4b) (where it is the negative marker which appears to 'host' the clitic). In other words, (4b) can be given an analysis not unlike that seen in (20) for Occitan.

In section 2.3, I work out the details of this idea. In doing so, I show that such an analysis allows us to account both for the *right-most host requirement* and the *potential host question*. But in order to understand the details, it is first necessary to look at the relative syntactic position of the adverbs in question. In what immediately follows, then, I will lay out the adverb ordering facts of Borgomanerese.

2.2. Order of Adverbs and Clausal Structure

In this section, I address the question of the order of the adverbs discussed so far in this paper.

Adverbs in Borgomanerese (like those in Italian and French – see Cinque 1999), seem to occur in a fixed order. For example, we see in (21) that *mija* must precede *già*:

(21) a. T è **mija già** mangià-llu.
SCL have(2sg) NEG already eaten-it
'You haven't already eaten it.'

b. *T **è già mija** mangià-llu.

Concerning the adverbs *mija* and *piö*, note that they cannot co-occur, so in contrast with the case of *mija* and *già* in (21), it is impossible to use a sentence which

contains both of them to determine their relative ordering. Their complementarity potentially leads to the conclusion that they occupy the same syntactic position, but indirect evidence exists for the claim that *mija* is structurally higher than *piö*.[7] In particular, note that an infinitive verb in Borgomanerese appears to the left of *piö* (22), but not to the left of *mija* (23):

(22) a. durmì piö sarissi brüttu.
to.sleep no.more would.be horrible
'To not sleep anymore would be bad.'

b. *piö durmì sarissi brüttu.
no.more to.sleep would.be horrible

(23) a. mija mangè fa mal.
NEG to.eat makes ill
'To not eat makes you sick.'

b. *mangè mija fa mal.
to.eat NEG makes ill

Under the assumption that the infinitive moves from its base position to the left of *piö* in (22a), we can explain the ungrammaticality of (23b) (and the grammaticality of (23a)) by claiming that *mija* occurs in a structural position that is higher than *piö*.

In a similar manner, the relative order of the adverbs *piö* and *già* can also be determined. Consider the data in (24):

(24) a. i o piö parlà.
SCL have (1sg) no.more spoken
'I didn't talk anymore.'

b. i o parlà piö.
SCL have(1sg) spoken no.more

As can be seen in (24), the past participle *parlà* 'spoken' can occur either to the right (24a) or to the left (24b) of the adverb *piö*. Again, let us take the position of the past participle (PasPar) in (24b) to indicate its movement to the left of *piö*. Now consider the following:

(25) a. i o già parlà.
SCL have(1sg) already spoken
'I already spoke.'

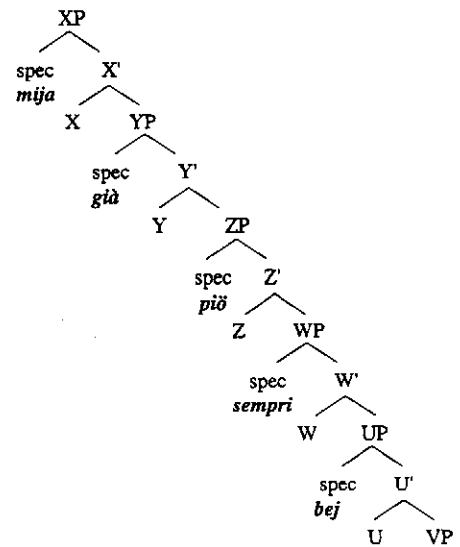
[7] The inspiration for investigating this question in Borgomanerese came from Cinque's (1999) discussion of Pollock's (1989:413) discussion of *pas* and *plus* in French. I thank P. Beninca for directing me to investigate this question.

b. *i o parlà già.
SCL have(1sg) spoken already.

As can be seen, the PasPar cannot occur to the left of *già*. Once again, we can explain the ungrammaticality of (25b) (and the grammaticality of (25a)) by claiming that *già* occurs in a structural position that is higher than *piö* (that is, *già* occupies a position that is higher than the highest position to which the PasPar can move).

To summarize, the above data indicate that the three adverbs *mija*, *già*, and *piö* occur in a fixed order, with *mija* preceding *già*, *già* preceding *piö* (and *mija* preceding *piö*, both by transitivity, and by the data seen in (22) and (23)). Adopting Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs, let us propose the following clausal structure, in which said adverbs occur in the specifier positions of functional heads:[8]

(26) Order of adverbs:



Now that we have a clearer picture as to the syntactic positions occupied by the adverbs discussed in this paper, I would like to turn to my analysis of the data discussed in this paper.

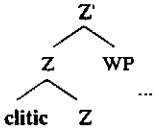
[8] For the present purposes I will have to stipulate (for space reasons) that *sempri* occurs to the right of *piö*, and manner adverbs (such as *bej*) occur to the right of *sempri* (although it is worth noting that data exist to confirm this claim).

2.3. Explaining the *Right-Most Host Requirement* and the *Potential Host* Question

To understand the data reviewed in section 1, let us adopt Kayne's (1991) idea (discussed in section 2.1) that object clitics move from their base positions and adjoin to functional heads.

I would like to claim that the object clitic in Borgomanerese moves to a functional head that is lower than that seen for Italian and French in (17) and (18). In particular, recall that the clitic occurs to the right of *mija*, *già*, and *piö*, but to the left of *sempri*. Given the structure in (26), this suggests that the clitic moves to the head labeled Z:

(27)



If Z is the position that the clitic occupies (by spell-out), we can see why *mija*, *già*, and *piö* are potential clitic hosts: said adverbs always occur to the left of Z (see (26)). We can also understand why *sempri* and the manner adverbs (e.g., *bej* 'well') are not potential clitic hosts: said adverbs always occur to the right of Z. This addresses the *potential host question.*

Furthermore, assuming the order of the adverbs is fixed as is illustrated in (26), the claim represented in (27) (i.e., that the clitic moves to Z by spell-out) gives us a way of understanding the *right-most host requirement*. In particular, if we assume that the finite verb occupies a position higher than *mija* by spell-out (see (4)), then given the presence of any one of the potential hosts (finite verb, *mija*, *già*, or *piö*), the clitic in Z will necessarily occur to the right of it; so when more than one of these is present, the clitic will occur to the right of the last one[9] (this implies that even if the adverbs are not present in the structure, as in (3b), the clitic is still in Z).

I now raise the question of the PasPar, which complicates matters somewhat, since it is a 'mobile' host. Furthermore, like the clitic, the PasPar too is a head, so a question arises as to how to account for the data given a structure like that in (26) (with the presence of multiple head positions). What I will ultimately suggest is that at some point in the movement of the PasPar and the clitic, the two cross paths.

[9] For the case of *denti* in (8b), it would seem that this type of preposition moves from its base position to the zone between X and Y in (26) (see footnote 4 above). The following facts motivate this claim: while *denti* occurs to the right of *mija* (cf. **denti mija*), it must occur to the left of *piö*:

(i) i porti denti piö-**llu**.
SCL bring(1sg) inside no.more-**lt** 'I don't bring it inside anymore.'
(ii) *i porti pió denta-**lu**.
(iii) *i porti pió-**llu** denti.

Given this comment, the question arises as to the relative position of *denti* and *già* (since *già* occupies the zone between X and Y in (26)). This data has yet to be collected.

To understand the interaction of the PasPar and the clitic, let us first revisit the data in (9), (11), (24), and (25), and consider more carefully the exact positions which the PasPar can/must occupy. In particular, note that the PasPar can occur to the right or left of *piö* ((9a) and (11a), respectively), but it can only occur to the right of *già*. This suggests that the PasPar optionally occupies Z or Y in (26), but never X. In fact, if the PasPar can occupy Z, we predict it to appear to the left of *sempri*. This is a correct prediction:

(28) i o parlà sempri.
SCL have(1sg) spoken always
'I have always spoken.'

Note, however, that the PasPar can also appear to the right of *sempri*:

(29) i o sempri parlà.
SCL have(1sg) always spoken
'I have always spoken.'

This suggests that the PasPar can also occupy W. So, to summarize, the PasPar moves to W, Z, or Y.[10]

2.4. The Question of *sempri*

A question arises at this point. In particular, if the clitic adjoins to Z (as per the claim depicted in (27)), and the PasPar can adjoin to Z, do they ever share this position?

I would like to suggest that the answer to this question (which is *yes*) resides in the analysis of a piece of data which appears to contradict the generalization arrived at in view of (14). That is, given (14), we concluded that the object clitic cannot occur to the right of *sempri*. However, the following data indicate that the clitic can occur to right of this adverb (only) when there is a past participle to *sempri*'s right:

(30) Gianni l a sempri mangià-**llu**.
Gianni SCL has(3sg) always eaten-**it**
'Gianni has always eaten it.'

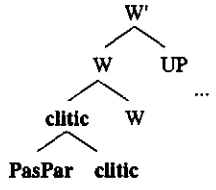
Why can the clitic occur to the right of *sempri* under these circumstances? Let us assume that when the clitic moves (head-to-head) from its base position to W, the past participle must also move (obligatorily) to W too; this creates the following structure:

[10] Note, however, that the PasPar must occur to the left of manner adverbs:

(i) i o mangià bej.
SCL have(1sg) eaten well 'I ate well.'
(ii) *i o bej mangià.

This suggests that the PasPar moves obligatorily from its base position (from within VP) to W in (26). Subsequent movements to Z and Y are optional.

(31)

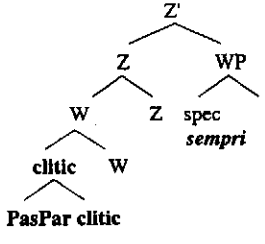


At this point in the derivation, the [past participle + clitic] can cease to move, yielding (30). However, as we have seen above, after the PasPar obbligatorily moves to W, it can optionally move to the next head to the left, namely, Z. At this point, I must claim that the [past participle + clitic] move as a constituent, given the following fact:

(32) Gianni l a **mangià-llu** sempri.
Gianni SCL has(3sg) eaten-**it** always
'Gianni has always eaten it.'

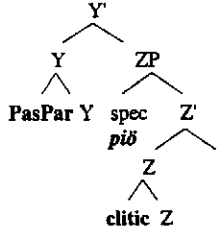
The structure representing (32) is given in (33):

(33)



However, given sentences such as those in (11a) and (11c), subsequent (optional) movement of the PasPar to the next head up (i.e., Y) must involve excorporation of the verb, yielding the following structure (which represents (11a,c)).

(34)



The fact that the clitic remains in Z (while the verb moves on) is consistent with the idea that Z is the position which the clitic must occupy at spell-out (barring the scenario in (30-31), where the [PasPar+clitic] remain in W).

3. Conclusions

In this paper I hope to have shown that apparent enclisis to adverbs, *the right-most host requirement*, and the *potential host question* in Borgomanerese are understandable if we assume (a) that adverbs occur (in a rigidly fixed order) as the specifiers of functional heads, and (b) that the clitic must adjoin to a functional head which is situated relatively low in the clausal structure (but which is relatively high with respect to lower adverbs like *sempri*). Furthermore, the *sempri* paradox (namely, the clitic cannot occur to the right of *sempri* / the clitic occurs to the right of *sempri*) is explainable if we assume that the verb must adjoin to the clitic at a certain point in the derivation. In other words, the final piece of data regarding *sempri* suggests that clitics in Romance have a dual requirement: (i) they must adjoin to a functional head, and (ii) they must (at some point in the derivation) form a constituent with the verb. Of course, this analysis raises many questions for which I have no answer, such as, (a) what is the nature of Z such that the clitic must move there? (b) why is the target head for the clitic different in different Romance languages? (c) why must the verb excorporate at a certain point in the derivation? (d) why must the clitic and the verb form a constituent at some point in the derivation? (e) given the (tacit) assumption that only left-adjunction is allowed, why does the clitic move before the verb moves? (f) why is the "Z-requirement" on the clitic overridden in the case of (31-32)? While I am unable to answer these questions, perhaps they will serve as fodder for future research.

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