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## ROMANCE ENCLISIS, PREPOSITIONS, AND ASPECT

**ABSTRACT.** This paper provides evidence that supports the view, argued for independently by various authors (including Kayne 1989, 1991; Martins 1994; Uriagereka 1995), that direct object clitics in Romance are independent syntactic elements adjoined to functional heads. In particular, I show that an array of puzzling facts involving potential clitic hosts in a Northern Italian dialect can be understood once we adopt the view that object clitics must be taken to independently occupy distinct functional heads (in spite of phonological indications to the contrary). To show this, I establish that certain adverbs in this language occupy fixed positions within the clause. Once these positions are identified, I use them as probes to understand the position of the clitic. This paper also explores an independent consequence of this explanation of clitic placement: the position of argument prepositions with respect to the fixed object clitic indicates that there is an 'Aspectual Phrase' in the clause's functional structure. I show that argument prepositions move from their base positions within VP to a functional projection which encodes the semantics of telicity, in contrast with non-argument prepositions (location adverbials), which do not exhibit such movement.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I argue that the complexities of clitic placement in Borgomanerese, a Northern Italian dialect,<sup>1</sup> are best understood if we adopt the view (independently argued for by Kayne 1989, 1991; Martins 1994;

<sup>1</sup> Borgomanero (the town where Borgomanerese is spoken) is located in the northeastern part of the Piedmont region of Italy; it belongs to the so-called 'Gallo-Italic' family of languages, and has features characteristic of both Piedmontese dialects (e.g., Burzio's (1986) Torinese) and Lombard dialects (e.g., Milanese).

The data used in this article are a result of several field trips I have made to Borgomanero over the last several years. The inspiration for this field work came from data found in the *Atlante Sintattico Italia Settentrionale* (ASIS – see references). Further inspiration and help came from the generous input of several people, whom I would like to thank: Elena Benedicto, Paola Benincà, Anna Cardinaletti, Guglielmo Cinque, Diana Cresti, Sam Epstein, Dan Finer, Bob Frank, Steven Franks, Jon Gajewski, Peter Hook, Richard Kayne, Richard Larson, Nicola Munaro, Alan Munn, Francisco Ordóñez, Cecilia Poletto, Ur Shlonsky, Cristina Schmitt, Annemarie Toebosch, Dieter Wanner, Sandy Wood, Karen Zagona, and Raffaella Zanuttini. Thanks also to four extremely careful anonymous reviewers.

My Borgomanerese consultants have also been very gracious and generous, and it goes without saying (but is nevertheless worth saying) that this work would be impossible



Uriagereka 1995, among others) that direct object clitics in Romance are independent syntactic elements adjoined to functional heads.

Once we have a handle on the question of clitic placement in Borgomanerese, I further show that we can use the position of the direct object clitic as a probe to understanding the behavior of argument vs. adjunct prepositions. In this regard, consider as a preview the following contrast between the behavior of *portè* ‘bring’ on the one hand (1), and *mangè* ‘eat’ on the other (2):

(1)a. \*i porta-**la** denti.

*SCL bring(1sg)-it inside*

I’m bringing it inside.

b. i porti denta-**la**.

*SCL bring(1sg) inside-it*

I’m bringing it inside.

(2)a. i moengia-**la** denti.

*SCL eat(1sg)-it inside*

I’m eating it inside.

b. \*i moengia denta-**la**.

*SCL eat(1sg) inside-it*

I’m eating it inside.

In particular, note that with *portè* ‘bring’ in (1b), the clitic must occur to the right of the preposition *denti* ‘inside’. In contrast, with the verb *mangè* ‘eat’, the clitic must occur to the left of the very same preposition (2a).

There are (at least) two ways one can view the contrast seen in (1) and (2). One way is to take the clitic to occupy distinct syntactic positions in (1b) vs. (2a), while the preposition’s syntactic position is taken to be constant. Another way is to take the preposition to occupy distinct syntactic positions in (1b) vs. (2a), while the clitic’s syntactic position is taken to remain constant. I argue that the correct view is the latter: in particular, depending on the type of verb (‘bring’ or ‘eat’), the preposition does (‘bring’) or does not (‘eat’) move to a higher syntactic position (one associated with an aspectual feature).

<sup>1</sup>without them, especially: Giuseppe Bacchetta, Mila Bacchetta, Mario Piemontesi, Osvaldo Savoini, and Piero Velati.

The idea that the clause's functional projections include something like an 'AspP' is not novel; such a phrase has been argued for independently by Borer (1998), Cinque (1999), and Zagana (1994), among others.<sup>2</sup> My purpose here is to shed more light onto the question by appealing to the apparently independent issue of object clitic placement in Borgomanerese.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I outline some basic facts of clitic placement in Borgomanerese, and in section 3 I argue that these facts are best understood if we take the clitic to occupy a fixed position within the pre-VP functional structure. In particular, I establish that the clitic occupies a functional head that is to the left of the adverb *always* but to the right of the adverb *anymore*. With the exact position of the clitic established, in section 4 I use its position as a probe to understanding where and why argument prepositions appear where they do. Ultimately, I argue that argument prepositions, in contrast with non-argument prepositions, move from their d-structure positions within VP to a functional projection associated with the interpretation of telicity.

## 2. GENERALIZED ENCLISIS

In this section I outline some facts of clitic placement in Borgomanerese, which in section 4 will become relevant to the question of preposition placement.

### 2.1. *Enclisis on the Finite Verb*

Borgomanerese exhibits enclisis of object clitics on the verb in the simple tenses.<sup>3</sup> This can be seen in (3b) (SCL = 'subject clitic'<sup>4</sup>):

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

<sup>2</sup> I will not be concerned here with an analysis of aspect within the VP, as in Hale and Keyser (1993), Snyder (1995), and Travis (1992).

<sup>3</sup> For formal analyses of other languages that exhibit superficially similar facts, see, e.g., Martins (1994) (Portuguese) and Terzi (1999) (Cypriot Greek).

<sup>4</sup> Borgomanerese, like many other Northern Italian dialects, is a subject clitic language. For discussion/analysis of subject clitics, see Brandi and Cordin (1989), Poletto (1993, 2000), and Rizzi (1986).

- b. i porta-**la**.<sup>5</sup>  
*SCL bring(1sg)-it(fem.sg)*  
 I'm bringing it.
- c. \*i **la** porti.  
*SCL it(fem.sg)-bring(1g)*

This is in contrast with related languages like Italian (and French and Spanish), whose object clitics are proclitic on the finite verb (4):

- (4) ITALIAN:
- a. **La** porto.  
*it-bring(1sg)*  
 I'm bringing it.
- b. \*Port**ola**.  
*bring(1sg)-it*  
 I'm bringing it.

## 2.2. Enclisis on Certain Adverbs

In addition to finite (non-auxiliary) verbs, enclisis is obligatory with the following adverbs: *mija* NEG, *già* 'already', and *piö* 'anymore'.

### 2.2.1. Enclisis on NEG

I will first concentrate on *mija* NEG.<sup>6</sup> *Mija* is a 'post-verbal negative marker' (not unlike French *pas*; see, e.g., Zanuttini 1997); this can be seen in (5a). As can be seen in (5b), when *mija* is present, the object clitic encliticizes to it:

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

<sup>5</sup> As can be seen, enclisis induces a change in the final vowel of the finite verb (1sg) from [i] to [a] (compare (3a) and (3b)). I take this to be a phonological effect, irrelevant to the present discussion. Such effects are also seen with enclisis on prepositions (e.g., *denta* 'inside', but *i porti denta-la* 'I bring it inside' (see (1b) vs. (2a)).

<sup>6</sup> The negative marker *mija* is etymologically related to Italian *mica* (Cinque 1976; Zanuttini 1997), although it is not like *mica* in terms of its informational status (i.e., it is not a 'presuppositional negative marker', in the sense of Cinque 1976 and Zanuttini 1997).

- b. i porti mi-**lla**.<sup>7</sup>  
*SCL bring(1sg) NEG-it*  
 I'm not bringing it.

When *mija* is present, enclisis on the verb is illicit; so compare the grammatical (3b) with the ungrammatical (5c):

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

For the purposes of exposition, it is worth summarizing this fact in the following terms: a potential host (like the finite verb) cannot host the clitic if there is another potential host to its right. For the sake of convenience I will refer to this as the *right-most host requirement*.

### 2.2.2. Enclisis on Already and Anymore

Now consider the following data, which show that enclisis is also obligatory with the adverbs *già* 'already' and *piö* 'anymore':<sup>8</sup>

- (6)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.

- (7)a. i vœnghi piö la mata.  
*SCL see(1sg) anymore the girl*  
 I don't see the girl anymore.

- b. i vœnghi piö-**lla**.  
*SCL see(1sg) anymore-her*  
 I don't see her anymore.

<sup>7</sup> The orthography I use here serves as a quasi-phonetic transcription; note that in (5b), the [l] of the clitic *la* 'it.fem' is geminate. Again, this is a phonological effect (note, too, that *mija* appears as *mi* when it has an enclitic).

<sup>8</sup> The adverb *piö* is etymologically related to French *plus* and Italian *più*.

- (8) i mængi piö-**nnu**.<sup>9</sup>  
*SCL eat(1sg) anymore-of.them*  
 I'm not eating anymore of them.

The *right-most host requirement* also applies to the above adverbs. Thus, for example, *nu* cannot encliticize to the finite verb when *piö* is present. This can be seen in (9):

- (9) \*i mængiu-**nu** piö  
*SCL eat(1sg)-of.them anymore*  
 I'm not eating anymore of them.

This is in spite of the fact that the following is possible:

- (10) i mængiu-**nu**.  
*SCL eat(1sg)-of.them*  
 I'm eating some of them.

### 2.3. 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', and *nsé*, 'like so') and *sempri* 'always'.<sup>10</sup> This can be seen in (11) through (14):

<sup>9</sup> The clitic *nu* is a partitive, like Italian *ne* and French *en* (discussion of which can be found in Burzio 1986).

<sup>10</sup> 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 mængia maj-**lla**.  
*SCL eat(1sg) never-it*  
 I never eat it.

- (11)a. i faga-**la** nsé.  
*SCL do(1sg)-it like.so*  
 I'm doing it like this.
- b. \*i faghi nsè-**la**.  
*SCL do(1sg) like.so-it*
- (12)a. i trata-**lu** mal.  
*SCL treat(1sg)-him badly*  
 I treat him badly.
- b. \*i trati mal-**lu**.  
*SCL treat(1sg) badly-him*
- (13) dopu sceni, i mcengi sempri la torta.  
*after dinner SCL eat(1sg) always the cake*  
 After dinner, I always eat cake.
- (14)a. i mcengia-**la** sempri.  
*SCL eat(1sg)-it always*  
 I always eat it.
- b. \*i mcengi sempra-**la**  
*SCL eat(1sg) always-it*

From here on, I will refer to such adverbs as *non-potential hosts* (in contrast with the finite verb, *mija*, *già*, and *piö*, which are potential hosts).

### 3. THE FIXED CLITIC

In this section I consider an analysis that allows us to understand both the *right-most host requirement* and the *potential host question*. In subsections 3.3 and 3.4 I will conclude that the best way to understand these phenomena is to assume that the object clitic in Romance occupies a fixed head position in the clausal structure.

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 section 3.2 below.

In particular, I pursue the idea, proposed by Kayne (1991) (followed by, e.g., Uriagereka 1995; Terzi 1999), that the object clitic in Romance adjoins to a pre-VP functional head. To understand the specifics of this idea that are relevant to the ultimate point in this section, in what follows (section 3.1) I review Kayne (1991).

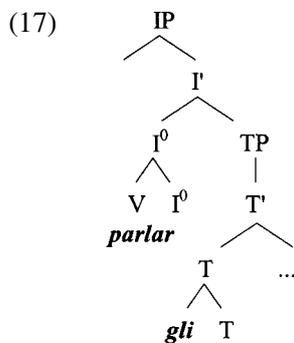
### 3.1. Kayne (1991): Clitic Placement in Romance

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.

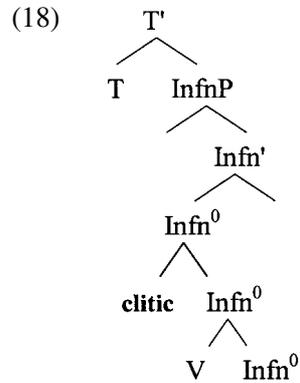
That is, Kayne notes that while the (in this case indirect) object clitic follows the infinitive verb in Italian (15), the same type of clitic precedes the infinitive verb in French (16). To explain this, Kayne proposes that in Italian, the clitic moves from its base position to adjoin to a functional 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<sup>0</sup> in (17)):<sup>11</sup>



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

<sup>11</sup> The structure in (17) is a personal (and insignificant) re-interpretation of Kayne's structure (which actually involves adjunction of the verb to a bar-level); I have done this for the purposes of exposition.

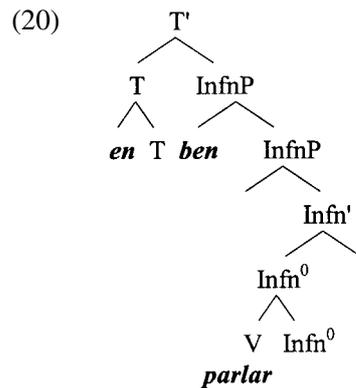
In contrast with Italian, the French verb does not move as high as I<sup>0</sup>; rather, it moves only as high as a functional head below I<sup>0</sup> (represented as Infn<sup>0</sup> in (18)). The French clitic subsequently left-adjoins to the complex, yielding the order clitic-verb in (16) above; an approximation of the structure for (16) is represented in (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 two distinct positions (as in Italian in (17)), 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 *ben* 'well'; this can be seen in (19):

- (19) **en** *ben* *parlar* ...  
*of.it well to.speak*  
 To speak well of it ...

The following is a structural representation of (19):



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

I suggest that the Borgomanerese data discussed in section 2.2 can be accounted for in a similar manner. To understand how, consider again the sentences in (3b) and (5b) (see also (6b) and (7b)), repeated here as (21) and (22):

- (21) i    porta-**la**.  
       *SCL bring(1sg)-it(fem.sg)*  
       I'm bringing it.

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

In (21), the verb 'hosts' the clitic. In (22), 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 head, as Kayne does for Occitan in (20), we can understand how the negative marker can intervene, as in (22) (where it is the negative marker which appears to host the clitic).<sup>21</sup> Thus, (22) can be given an analysis like that seen in (20) for Occitan; the only difference would be that in Borgomanerese, the adverb precedes the clitic, whereas in Occitan the adverb follows the clitic.

In sections 3.3 and 3.4, 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* in Borgomanerese.

Thus, my task here is to show how the assumption that the clitic is fixed allows a series of phenomena to fall out naturally (and so providing justification for said assumption). However, in order to tackle this task, it is first necessary to look at the relative syntactic positions of the adverbs discussed in section 2.2, since the analysis of clitic placement in Borgomanerese will rely crucially on the observation that adverbs seem to occupy distinct fixed positions within the clause. In what immediately follows, then, I will lay out the adverb ordering facts of Borgomanerese.

<sup>21</sup> I will assume, without further discussion, that the verb and the clitic occupy distinct positions, even in the case of (21). I will, however, continue to use the words 'host' and 'enclisis', hoping that the reader does not take these terms to indicate that the apparent host and the clitic share the same syntactic position.

3.2. *Adverb Order and Clausal Structure in Borgomanerese*

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.<sup>13</sup> For example, we see in (23) that *mija* must precede *già*:

(23)a. T è mija già parlà  
*SCL have(2sg) NEG already spoken*  
 You haven't already spoken.

(23)b. \*T è già mija parlà.  
*SCL have(2sg) already NEG spoken*  
 You haven't already spoken.

Concerning the adverbs *mija* and *piö*, note that they cannot co-occur, so in contrast with the case of *mija* and *già* in (23), it is impossible to use a sentence that 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 indicates that *mija* is structurally higher than *piö*.<sup>14</sup> In particular, note that an infinitive verb in Borgomanerese appears to the left of *piö* (24), but not to the left of *mija* (25):

(24)a. durmì piö sarissi brüttu.  
*to.sleep anymore would.be horrible*  
 To not sleep anymore would be bad.

b. \*piö durmì sarissi brüttu.  
*anymore to.sleep would.be horrible*

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

<sup>13</sup> I adopted the following ideas for testing the relative order of adverbs from Cinque (1999).

<sup>14</sup> The inspiration for investigating this question in Borgomanerese came from Cinque's (1999) discussion of Pollock's (1989, p. 413) discussion of *pas* and *plus* in French.

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

Let us assume that verbs move (e.g., Pollock 1989). Let us also assume that (at least certain) adverbs appear outside (to the left) of VP (again, Pollock 1989). Under these assumptions, the fact that the infinitive verb appears before the adverb *piö* would be a result of movement of the verb to the left of the adverb.<sup>15</sup> Having said that, a possible explanation for the contrast seen in (24) and (25) is the following: the adverb *mija* appears to the left of the verb because it is higher than the highest position to which the verb can move; since the verb must appear to the left of *piö*, and since *mija* must appear to the left of the verb, it must be the case that *mija* appears to the left of *piö*. So far, then, we have established the following ordering for the adverbs *mija*, *già*, and *piö*:

(26)a. *mija* is higher than *già*

b. *mija* is higher than *piö*

To determine the relative order of the adverbs *piö* and *già*, we can also appeal to verb movement. In this regard, Consider the following data:

(27)a. i o piö parlà  
*SCL have(1sg) anymore spoken*  
 I didn't talk anymore.

b. i o parlà piö.  
*SCL have(1sg) spoken anymore*  
 I didn't talk anymore.

As can be seen in (27), the past participle *parlà* 'spoken' can occur either to the right (27a) or to the left (27b) of the adverb *piö*. Again, let us take the position of the past participle (PasPar) in (27b) to indicate its (optional) movement to the left of *piö*. Now consider the following:

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

<sup>15</sup> As is the case for other Romance languages, in Borgomanerese non-finite verbs do not appear to move as high as finite verbs (and of the non-finite verbs, infinitives move higher than past participles).

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

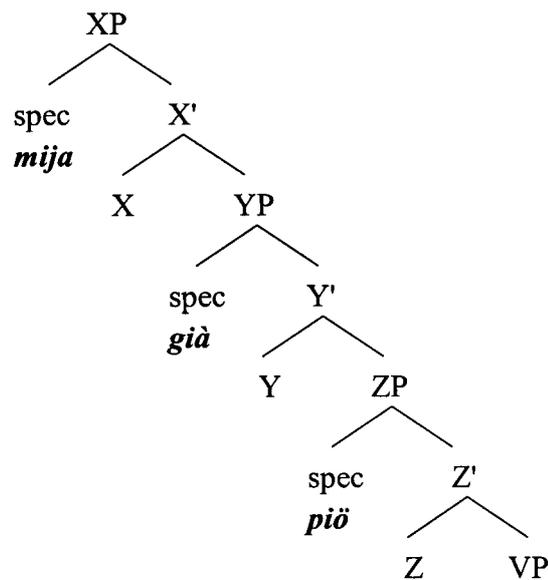
As can be seen in (28b), the PasPar cannot occur to the left of *già*. Once again, we can explain the contrast seen in (27) and (28) by claiming that *già* occurs in a structural position that is higher than *piö* (that is, *già* occupies a position that is higher than the highest position to which the 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 (24) and (25)). Adopting Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs, I propose the clausal structure in (29b), in which said adverbs occur in the specifier positions of a series of functional heads, which appear to the left of the VP:<sup>16</sup>

- (29)a. Order of adverbs:

*mija > già > piö*

- b.



<sup>16</sup> For immediate purposes, I will not identify the content of these heads; however, the idea that there are heads present in the structure (as opposed to just a series of headless, adjoined specifier positions) is relevant for the purposes of this paper, as I will be capitalizing on their presence to establish the clitic's position. Note that Cinque (1999) provides independent evidence for their existence.

Now that we have a clearer picture of the relative syntactic positions occupied by the potential adverbial hosts of object clitics, let us determine the relative syntactic positions of the non-potential adverbial hosts (which are *sempri* ‘always’, and the manner adverbs like *bej* ‘well’, *mal* ‘badly’, and *nsé*, ‘like so’).

First, let us discuss the manner adverbs; consider the following data:

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

b. \*i o bej mangià  
*SCL have(1sg) well eaten*

As can be seen, the PasPar *mangià* ‘eaten’ must appear to the left of the manner adverb *bej*. As we saw earlier in our discussion of *piö* in (28), past participles do appear to undergo some movement. Under the assumption that manner adverbs occur to the left of VP, (30) indicates that the past participle moves obligatorily at least past the manner adverbs.<sup>17</sup> Given that the past participle must appear to the left of *bej*, but can occur to the right of *piö*, we must assume that *bej* is lower than *piö*. In light of this, I provide an updated schema of the order of adverbs in Borgomanerese:

(31) *mija > già > piö > bej*

The last adverb whose place in the above order needs to be determined is *sempri* ‘always’. In this regard, consider the following data:

(32)a. i o sempri parlà.  
*SCL have(1sg) always spoken*  
 I have always spoken.

b. i o parlà sempri.  
*SCL have(1sg) spoken always*  
 I have always spoken.

In particular, note that while the PasPar *parlà* ‘spoken’ appears before the adverb *sempri* (32b), it may also appear after it (32a). Since the PasPar

<sup>17</sup> Subsequent movement past *piö*, as in (27b), appears to be optional, as is evidenced by (27a).

must appear to the left of *bej*, but can appear to the right of *sempri*, we must assume that *sempri* appears to the left of *bej*. As such, we can conclude:

(33)a. *mija* > *già* > *piö* > *bej*

b. *sempri* > *bej*

One question remains: what is the position of *sempri* relative to the other adverbs *mija*, *già* and *piö*? For Italian, Cinque (1999, p. 9) gives the following sentences, which indicate that *sempre* ‘always’ occurs after *più*:

(34)a. Lui non ha più sempre vinto, da allora.

*he NEG has more always won, since then* (my gloss)

He has not any longer always won, since then.

b. \*Lui non ha sempre più vinto, da allora

Cinque proposes that adverb order is universal; as such, I will hypothesize that, for Borgomanerese as well, *sempri* follows *piö*.<sup>18</sup> This yields the following order regarding the adverbs listed in (33):

<sup>18</sup> The obvious question here is what the facts are regarding the Borgomanerese equivalents to the examples in (34). Unfortunately, I presently have no clear data for Borgomanerese. When speakers are presented with the Italian sentence in (34a) (as well as that in (34b)), they offer a different sentence:

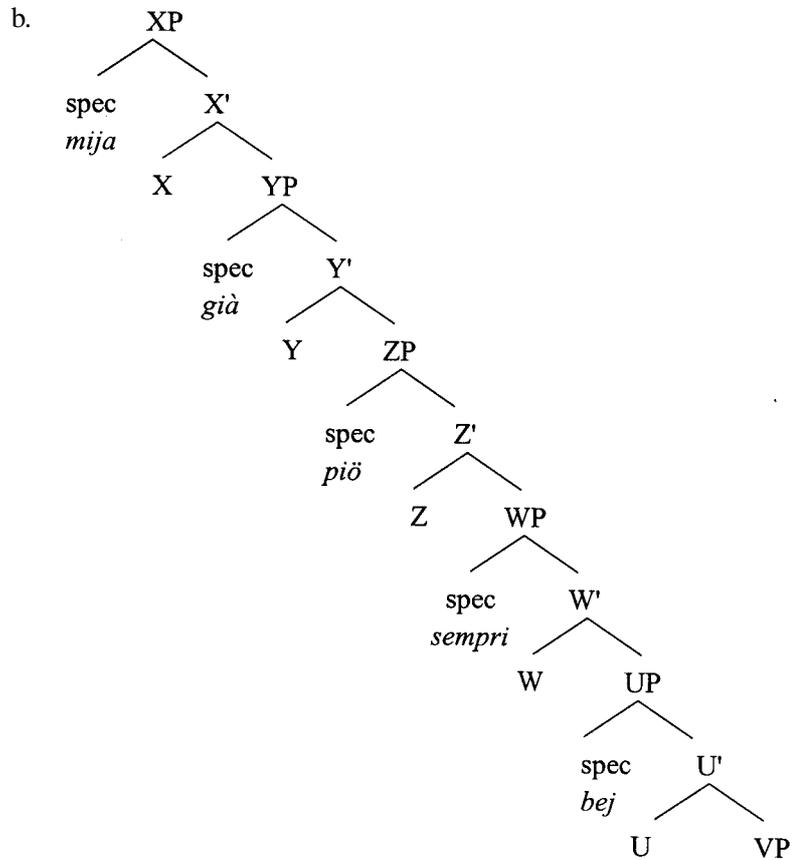
(i) Lü l a maj vingsjö piö.

*he SCL has never won anymore*

He never won anymore.

which has a different interpretation than that in (34a); the sentence in (34a) conveys that he used to always win, but since then, he no longer always won (= he didn't always win anymore = he stopped always winning; he did, however, still win sometimes). The sentence in (i) above, on the other hand, conveys that he didn't win anymore (at all). I cannot offer a definitive reason why my informants resist the sentence in (34), although one can imagine two possible reasons for their resistance: (a) the string is not possible in Borgomanerese, or (b) I have thus far been unable to convey to them the meaning of the intended sentence (which would have to do with my own lack of abilities, rather than with the grammar of Borgomanerese); I suspect the latter is the case, since my informants (as Italian/Borgomanerese bilinguals) find the Italian sentence difficult to interpret.

(35)a. *mija > già > piö > sempri > bej*

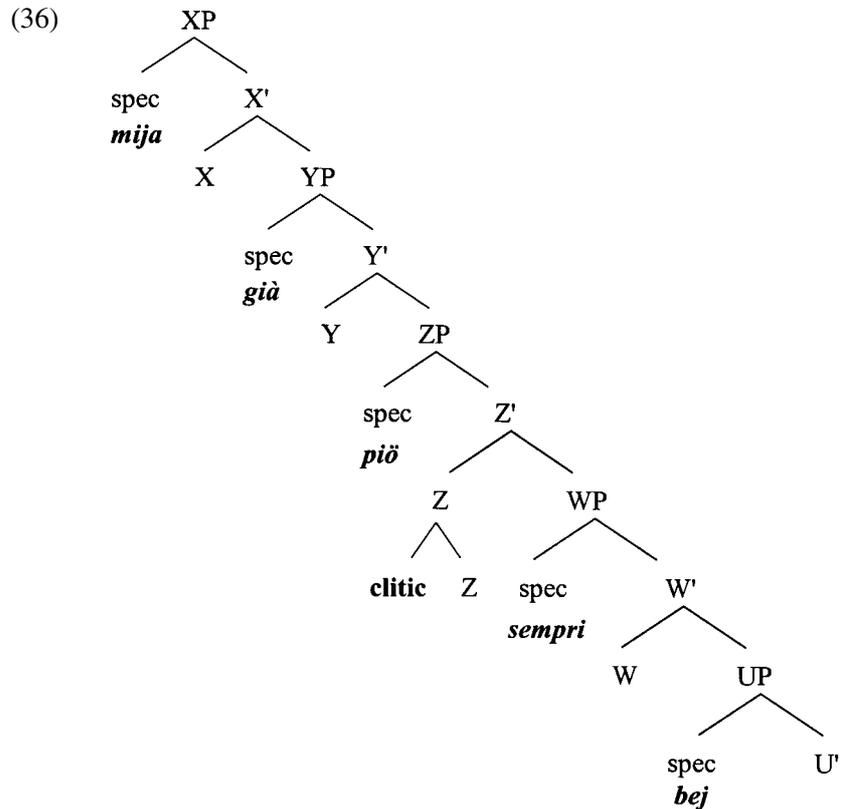


Now that the order of adverbs in Borgomanerese has been established, I return to the questions of the *right-most host requirement* and the *potential/non-potential hosts*. I will show that the simplest way to deal with these questions is to adopt the idea that the clitic occupies a functional head in the structure in (35b).

### 3.3. *Why Can't Some Adverbs Be Hosts?*

To understand the data reviewed in section 2.2, let us adopt the idea (discussed in section 3.1) that the Romance object clitic moves from its base position (as an argument within VP) and adjoins to a functional head. I propose for Borgomanerese that the object clitic moves to a relatively low functional head, at least compared with other Romance languages like Italian, French, and Occitan (see (17), (18), and (20)).

In particular, recall that *mija*, *già*, and *piö* are potential clitic-hosts, while *sempri* and the manner adverbs *mal*, *bej*, and *nsé*, are non-potential hosts. Another way to state this is to say that the clitic appears to the right of *mija*, *già*, and *piö*, but to the left of *sempri* and *bej*. To explain this fact, I propose that in Borgomanerese, the clitic moves to the functional head labeled Z in (35b):



If Z is the position that the clitic occupies (by spell-out), we can see why *mija*, *già*, and *piö* are potential clitic-hosts: these adverbs always occur to the left of Z. We can also understand why *sempri* and the manner adverbs (e.g., *bej* ‘well’) are not potential clitic-hosts: these adverbs always occur to the right of Z. Thus, the idea that the clitic adjoins to a functional head allows for a straightforward explanation of the potential/non-potential host phenomenon; any adverb that appears to the right of Z (the landing site of the clitic) will not be a ‘host’.

A few notes are in order here regarding clitic movement to the ‘Z’ head. First, one may wonder why the clitic moves to a functional head. I offer

no explanation, but direct the reader to analyses such as that in Uriagereka (1995). Of course, for any proposal in which the Romance object clitic adjoins to a functional head, the question arises as to why the clitic chooses that functional head.

Unfortunately, I can offer no insight as to why the Borgomanerese clitic moves to the lower Z head, while the Italian object clitic moves to the higher T head (as in (17)), and the French object clitic moves to the intermediate  $\text{Infn}^0$  head (as in (18)). The idea that object clitics move to different functional heads in different Romance languages may seem unmotivated and without explanation (although see Terzi 1999). All I can do here is draw an analogy with verb movement, which may allow us to view this alleged phenomenon as less anomalous. In particular, consider the claim that the English verb does not raise as high as the French verb (Pollock 1989). Why should this be so? Minimalism offers the notion of ‘feature strength’ as an explanation. Whatever the hypothesis, the fact remains that there is an appearance of variable verb movement across languages; perhaps object clitics in Romance have a similar variable behavior.

Second, regarding the semantic content of the ‘Z’ head, I can only assume that the head shares the semantic content of its specifier (in this case, *piö* ‘anymore’), and as such may have some aspectual semantic content.<sup>19</sup>

Finally (the last comment here), if we consider sentences such as that in (3b) (*i porta-la* ‘I bring it’), it may seem that the correct analysis of enclisis in Borgomanerese should instead be along the lines of that given for imperatives and gerunds in Rivero (1994), Rivero and Terzi (1995), Terzi (1999) and Zanuttini (1991, 1997). These authors propose that enclisis in Romance imperatives, for example, is a result of V-to-C movement, which is triggered by an attracting feature in C. As such, we can imagine an analysis of Borgomanerese enclisis whereby it is not the low position of the clitic that creates the appearance of enclisis with finite verbs; rather, we can imagine that the clitic moves to a higher functional head (just like in Italian), and that it is movement of the finite verb to a position that is higher than  $T^0$  which creates the appearance of enclisis. Note, however, that such an analysis is not sustainable for the Borgomanerese examples. As we have seen, enclisis is obligatory with declaratives (as in (3b)); as such, there is no motivation for positing the existence of a higher feature with a particular (marked) illocutionary force to which the verb moves in Borgomanerese. Furthermore, such verb movement could not explain enclisis with adverbs, such as we see in (7b) (*i vænghi piö-lla* ‘I don’t see her anymore’). If

<sup>19</sup> I will discuss the semantic content of these functional projections in greater detail in section 5.

enclisis in Borgomanerese were the result of movement of the host to a position higher than  $T^0$ , we would have to posit *piö*-movement (and *mija*-movement and *già*-movement) past  $T^0$ . Again, such movement would be unmotivated.<sup>20</sup>

At this point, then, I will assume that apparent enclisis on the finite verb and on the potential host adverbs is the result of the clitic moving to the (relatively low) functional head 'Z'.

#### 3.4. *Why the Right-Most Host?*

Assuming the order of the adverbs is fixed, note that the claim represented in (36) (i.e., that the clitic moves to Z by spell-out) also gives us a way of understanding the *right-most host requirement*. In particular, given the presence of any one of the potential hosts (i.e., the finite verb, *mija*, *già*, or *piö* (in that order)), the clitic in Z will necessarily occur to the right of it; so when more than one of these hosts is present, the clitic will occur to the right of the last one.<sup>21</sup>

#### 3.5. *Further Evidence for the Fixed Clitic*

The idea that the clitic moves to a particular position thus allows for a straightforward account of both the potential host phenomenon and the right-most host requirement. Here I would like to provide one more piece of evidence that indicates that the clitic remains in a fixed position by spell-out.

First, note that in addition to the finite verb, *mija*, *già*, and *piö*, the object clitic encliticizes to the past participle in Borgomanerese (as is the case with many other Piedmontese dialects, such as Burzio's 1986 Torinese). This can be seen in (37b) and (38b), where the clitic *la* ap-

<sup>20</sup> As Cinque (1999) discusses, these adverbs occupy relatively low positions in the functional structure.

Of course, one could analyze sentences such as that in (7b) as involving incorporation of the adverb into the verb (such that the clitic is adjoined to the [verb-adverb] complex). This would eliminate the problem of *piö/già*-movement. While I do not want to exclude adverb incorporation in principle, I have found it difficult to motivate (and implement) for Borgomanerese. First, note that languages that apparently have adverb incorporation, such as Greek (see Rivero 1992; Alexiadou 1997), do not incorporate adverbs like *piö* and *già*. Furthermore, if we want to maintain a theory that only allows left adjunction (Kayne 1995), an adverb incorporation analysis would involve an ordering of adverbs that is (at d-structure) the mirror image of the order seen in (29b). I will thus put such an analysis aside.

<sup>21</sup> I imply with this that even if the adverbs are not present in the structure, as in (3b) (*i porta-la*), the clitic is still in Z.

pears to encliticize to the past participles *purtè* ‘brought’ and *vüstu* ‘seen’, respectively:

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

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

(38)a. i o vüstu la torta.  
*SCL have(1sg) seen the cake*  
 I saw the cake.

b. i o vüsta-**la**  
*SCL have(1sg) seen-it(fem.sg)*  
 I saw it.

Since both *piö* and the past participle are potential hosts, the following question arises: when both *piö* and a past participle are present, which one hosts the clitic? It turns out that the right-most host requirement applies to past participles as well. Thus, when the past participle appears to the right of *piö*, it obligatorily hosts the clitic; this is evidenced by the grammatical (39a) and the ungrammatical (39b):

(39)a. i o piö vüsta-**la**  
*SCL have(1sg) anymore seen-her*  
 I haven’t seen her anymore.

b. \*i o piö-**lla** vüstu.  
*SCL have(1sg) anymore-her seen*

Now, independent of the above facts, recall that the past participle can occur either to the right or to the left of the adverb *piö* (as in (27), repeated here as (40)):

(40)a. i o piö parlà  
*SCL have(1sg) anymore spoken*  
 I didn’t talk anymore

- b. i o parlà piö.  
*SCL have(1sg) spoken anymore*  
 I didn't talk anymore.

We can thus characterize the past participle as a 'movable' host. What is worthy of note here is the following: when the past participle moves to the left of *piö*, it no longer hosts the clitic; this particular instance of the right-most host requirement can be seen in (41):

- (41) i o vüst piö-**lla**.  
*SCL have(1sg) seen anymore-her*  
 I haven't seen her anymore.

When we compare (39a) with (41), we find that leftward movement of the past participle *vüstu* 'seen' (past *piö*) does not involve movement of the clitic *la* 'her'. This suggests that, contrary to appearances in (39a), the clitic occupies a position that is distinct from the position occupied by the past participle. In other words, if it were the case that the clitic were adjoined to the host (forming the constituent [*vüsta+la*]), we would expect the past participle to pied-pipe the clitic to the left of *piö*. As can be seen by the ungrammatical (42), this is not possible:

- (42) \*i o vüsta-**la** piö.  
*SCL have(1sg) seen-her anymore*  
 I haven't seen her anymore.

I am thus led to conclude that the clitic occupies its own (head) position.

This claim not only allows us to explain why the clitic stays fixed while the past participle moves, but it also allows a ready explanation for the right-most host requirement, as well as for the fact that certain (lower) adverbs do not appear to 'host' the clitic, while other (higher) adverbs do.

To summarize, I hope to have provided some convincing arguments, based on the data from Borgomanerese, that the direct object clitic occupies an independent functional head. In what follows, I would like to discuss an interesting consequence of this view. In particular, I use the fixed clitic as a probe to understanding the behavior of argument vs. adjunct prepositions.

## 4. PREPOSITIONS

4.1. *Prepositions as 'Hosts'*

In the previous sections, we established that the finite verb, the past participle, and the adverbs *mija* NEG, *già* 'already', and *piö* 'anymore' appear to host the object clitic.

Another set of elements which appears to host the clitic are what I will refer to here as 'telic' prepositions. I define 'telic preposition' 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 a sentence like *I brought the cake inside*, the preposition *inside* indicates the location in which the object finds itself as the result of 'the bringing'. The telic prepositions in Borgomanerese include *denti* 'inside', *fora* 'outside', *ndre* 'behind', *vija* 'away', *sö* 'up', *sgiö* 'down', *cà* 'home'. The following are a couple of examples that illustrate apparent enclisis to the preposition:<sup>22</sup>

- (43)a. *i porti denta-la*  
*SCL bring(1sg) inside-it*  
 I'm bringing it inside.
- b. *i porti cà-tti.*  
*SCL bring(1sg) home-you*  
 I'm bringing you home.
- c. *i mötti sö-llu.*  
*SCL put(1sg) on-it*  
 I'm putting it on top.
- d. *tal porti vi-llu.*  
*SCL bring(2sg) away-it*  
 You're bringing it away.

<sup>22</sup> Many similar such examples can be found in the ASIS (see references), which is what originally inspired the fieldwork behind this paper.

As can be seen by the following ungrammatical examples, enclisis to the preposition is obligatory:<sup>23</sup>

- (44)a. \*i porta-**la** denti.  
*SCL bring(1sg)-it inside*  
 I'm bringing it inside.
- b. \*i porta-**ti** cà.  
*SCL bring(1sg)-you home*  
 I'm bringing you home.
- c. \*i motta-**la** sö.  
*SCL put(1sg)-it on*  
 I'm putting it on top.
- d. \*tal porta-**la** vija.  
*SCL bring(2sg)-it away*  
 You're bringing it away.

Note that if a preposition like *denti* 'inside' is used to specify a location at which a particular activity takes place, rather than a location-goal, the preposition cannot host the clitic:

- (45)a. i mœngia-**la** denti.  
*SCL eat(1sg)-it inside*  
 I'm eating it inside.
- b. \*i mœngi denta-**la**.  
*SCL eat(1sg) inside-it*

If we compare (43a) and (44a) with (45a) and (45b), we see that while argument prepositions must host the object clitic, adjunct prepositions obligatorily do not. There are (at least) two ways one can view the above contrast. One way is to take the clitic to occupy distinct syntactic positions in (43a) vs. (45a), while the preposition's syntactic position is taken to be

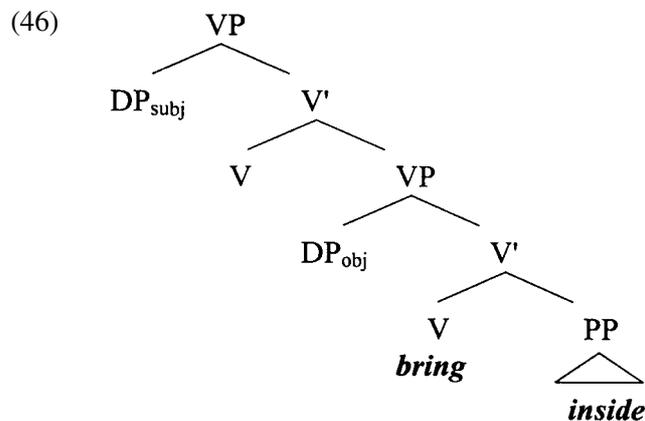
<sup>23</sup> The fact that the clitic cannot intervene between the finite verb and the preposition may lead one to believe that in the examples in (43), the preposition is incorporated into the verb. The example in (47) below provides evidence against a preposition incorporation hypothesis; see also footnote 26.

constant. Another way is to take the preposition to occupy distinct syntactic positions in (43a) vs. (45a), while the clitic's syntactic position is taken to remain constant.

Given the data and arguments presented in the earlier sections of this paper, I would like to suggest that the correct view is the latter: in particular, depending on the type of verb ('bring' or 'eat'), the preposition does ('bring') or does not ('eat') appear in a higher syntactic position. Notice that this view not only allows us to capitalize on the thesis that clitics occupy a fixed position in the functional structure; it also allows us to relate this contrast to the behavior of preposition incorporation (or lack thereof) in the languages discussed in Baker (1988).<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.2. *Where the Prepositions Come From and Where They Are Going*

Let us assume that the telic preposition is base generated within VP (as it is part of the argument structure of the verb). This is illustrated in (46):



In section 3 I established that the clitic resides in a pre-VP functional head (see (36)). Given that the argument preposition must occur to the left of the clitic (as can be seen by the examples in (43) and (44)), I am led to conclude that the telic preposition moves from its base position to some (yet to be determined) pre-VP position.

In what follows, I propose that the preposition moves to a position in the pre-VP functional structure that is between *già* and *piö* in (36); in particular, I propose that it moves to a functional projection which instantiates the semantics of telic aspect.

<sup>24</sup> Baker shows that only theta-marked prepositions incorporate into (their selecting) verbs.

4.2.1. *The Position of Argument Prepositions in the Clause*

In this section, I consider the exact position the argument preposition occupies in the clause. In this regard, consider the sentence in (47):<sup>26</sup>

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

As can be seen, the argument preposition *denti* must appear to the right of the post-verbal negative marker *mija*; this is evidenced by the fact that placement of the preposition to the left of *mija* results in ungrammaticality:

- (48) \*i porti denti mija la torta.  
*SCL bring(1sg) inside NEG the cake*

While *denti* must appear to the right of *mija*, note that it appears to the left of *piö*:

- (49) i porti denti piö la torta.  
*SCL bring(1sg) inside anymore the cake*  
 I'm not bringing the cake inside anymore.

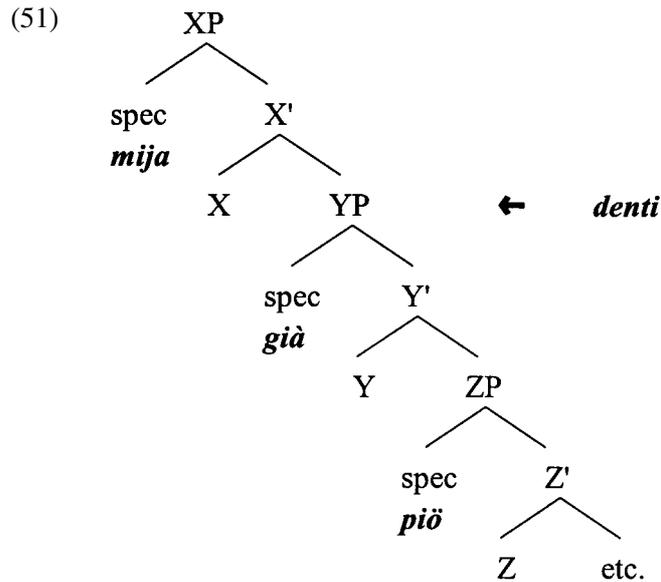
Note that *denti* cannot appear to the right of *piö*:

- (50) \*i porti piö denti la torta.  
*SCL bring(1sg) anymore inside the cake*

Since *denti* appears to the right of *mija*, but to the left of *piö*, we can conclude that it occupies a position somewhere in between the two; this is illustrated in (51):

<sup>26</sup> Note that the finite verb *porti* is separated from *denti* by *mija* in (47); this fact might eliminate a preposition incorporation hypothesis (see also example (52) with *già*).

Of course, if one analyzes the negative marker *mija* as being incorporated into the verb, then one can imagine *denti* incorporating into the [verb+NEG] complex; see footnote 20 above for a discussion of an adverb incorporation analysis.



However, if we consider (51), we see that *già* occupies the specifier position between *mija* and *piö*. There are two possibilities here: either *denti* occupies the same position as *già*, or it occupies a position to the left or right of *già*. The following datum indicates that the preposition occupies a position that follows *già* (compare (52) with (43b)):<sup>27</sup>

- (52)a. *i porti già cà-llu.*  
*SCL bring(1sg) already home-it*  
 I'm already bringing it home.
- b. \**i porti cà già-llu.*  
*SCL bring(1sg) home already-it*

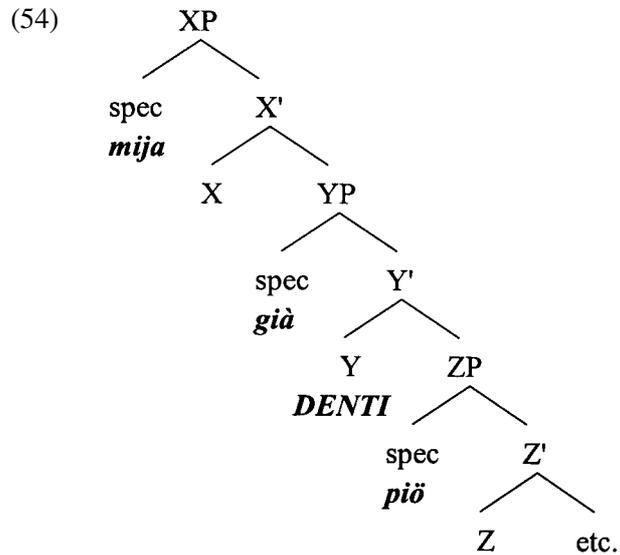
Given the set of facts observed in (43–44) and (47–50), we can conclude that the following is the preposition's position with respect to the other elements in the clause:

(53) *mija > già > PREP > piö > CLITIC*

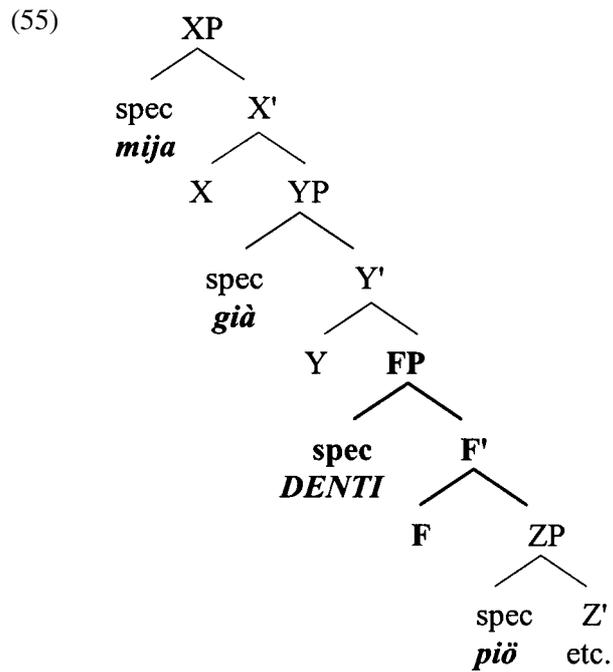
<sup>27</sup> The following are also ungrammatical, as is to be expected, given the *rightmost host requirement*:

- (i) \**i porti già-llu cà.*  
 (ii) \**i porti cà-llu già.*

Now, consider the structure in (51): one possibility for the placement of the preposition is in Y; this is illustrated in (54).



Another possibility is to assume that the preposition occupies its own functional projection, labeled FP in (55):



As far as the structural representations in (54) and (55) are concerned, I offer no arguments in favor of one over the other.<sup>28</sup> Instead, I spend the remainder of the paper discussing the nature of the position between *già* and *piö*, and why the preposition moves there.

#### 4.2.2. *Argument Prepositions and the ‘Aspectual Phrase’*

Now that I have established that the preposition appears between *già* and *piö*, I would like to discuss why it moves to that position from within the VP.

First, let us recall the contrast between (43a) and (45a) (repeated here as (56) and (57)):

(56)a. \*i porta-**la** denti.

*SCL bring(1sg)-it inside*

I'm bringing it inside.

b. i porti denta-**la**.

*SCL bring(1sg) inside-it*

I'm bringing it inside.

(57)a. i moengia-**la** denti.

*SCL eat(1sg)-it inside*

I'm eating it inside.

b. \*i moengi denta-**la**.

*SCL eat(1sg) inside-it*

I'm eating it inside.

If we compare (56b) with (57a), we see that the preposition *denti* appears to the left of the clitic with the verb *bring*, whereas it appears to the right of the clitic with the verb *eat*. I interpret this contrast as an indication of the lack of movement of the preposition to the left of the clitic in (57a).

I suggest here that this contrast between (56) and (57) has more to do with the verb than it does with the preposition (which is identical in both cases). In particular, as discussed in section 4.1, the preposition in (56) is an (internal) argument of the verb *bring* (in the sense of Larson 1988b), expressing the ‘goal’ of the event (i.e., the ‘endpoint’ of the action denoted

<sup>28</sup> I have no evidence that indicates whether *denti* and the other prepositions are heads or XPs.

by the verb; thus, the preposition *denti* indicates the location in which the object finds itself as the result of ‘the bringing’). In this way, *denti* in (56) is an expression of a sub-part of the event structure of the verb; specifically, it is an expression of the telos.

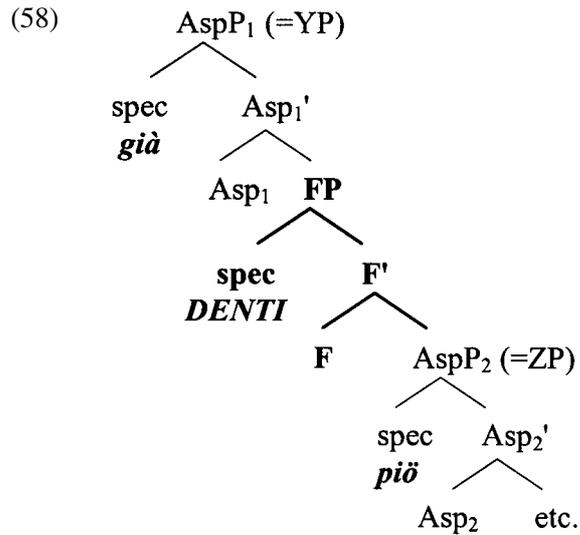
In contrast, there is no such interpretation of *denti* in (57), where it is just a location adverbial, referring only to the location at which the activity of eating takes place; as such, we cannot take *denti* to be part of the event structure in (57).

Why should telic *denti* move to a high position in the clause, whereas location-adverbial (i.e., non-telic) *denti* does not?<sup>29</sup> To understand this, let us consider more carefully the position to which telic *denti* moves. As we have seen in (54/55), telic *denti* moves to a position between *già* ‘already’ and *piö* ‘anymore’. Now let us consider the semantic contribution adverbs like *già* and *piö* make to events: similar to the semantics expressed by telic *denti*, *già* and *piö* contribute a ‘terminative’ or ‘perfective’ aspectual interpretation of the event.<sup>30</sup> Cinque (1999) argues on independent grounds that terminative and perfective aspect are instantiated in the functional structure of the clause (close to one another). Reconsidering (55), then, let us thus take YP and ZP (i.e., the projections in which *già* and *piö* reside) to have telic aspectual content (not unlike Cinque’s 1999  $Asp_{perfect}$  and  $Asp_{terminative}$ ):

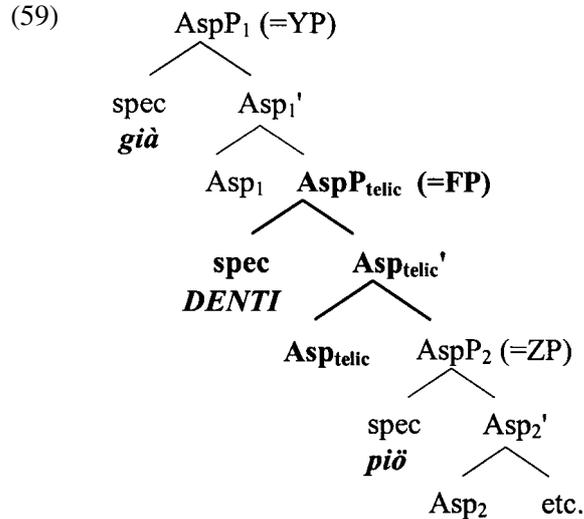
<sup>29</sup> If we consider the preposition incorporating languages discussed in Baker (1988, pp. 233–239), we see a striking similarity between these languages and Borgomanerese.

Baker notes that languages which exhibit preposition incorporation (such as Chamorro, Bahasa Indonesian, Tuscarora) only incorporate prepositions that head PPs that are subcategorized by the verb. Similarly, in Borgomanerese, only prepositions that are subcategorized by the verb move to a high position in the clause (= closer to the verb). If it turns out I am correct in guessing that the Borgomanerese cases do not involve incorporation, the similarity to preposition incorporating languages would still be worth investigating (see Koster 1994 for arguments in favor of the claim that subcategorized PPs undergo leftward movement in Dutch).

<sup>30</sup> I am not claiming here that perfectivity and telicity are conceptually or empirically identical; I am simply appealing to the intuition that they are aspectually more similar to one another than, say, imperfectivity and telicity are (see Comrie 1976 and Frawley 1992).



Now, if we take the notions of ‘termination’ or ‘perfectivity’ and telicity to be similar to one another, we can assume that the appearance of *già/piö* and telic *denti* in the same zone of the functional structure is not coincidental. In particular, it appears that *denti* is moving to a zone of the functional structure that has specifically to do with aspectual interpretations that are terminative. I propose, then, that FP in (57) is also a terminative (telic) functional projection:<sup>31</sup>



<sup>31</sup> Or, it could be that *denti* is a head that resides in *già*'s functional projection, as in (54).

The tree in (59) is intended to convey that the appearance of *denti* specifically between *già* and *piö* is not coincidental; it moves to that position because this is the zone in the functional structure that expresses telic aspect. In fact, one could argue that the event gets the telic interpretation that it does because there is an  $\text{AspP}_{\text{telic}}$  in the clause. In contrast, the reason why (57a) (*i moengia-la denti* ‘I am eating it inside’) does not get a telic interpretation is because there is no  $\text{AspP}_{\text{telic}}$  in the clause. In other words, it is the argument structure of the verb that requires there be an  $\text{AspP}_{\text{telic}}$ .

Of course, the question as to why the telic preposition must move to this position remains open. Perhaps there is a feature that *denti* (as the verb’s subcategorized second internal argument) must check in  $\text{AspP}_{\text{telic}}$  (as part of satisfying the requirements of the compositional semantics). In contrast, the location-adverbial *denti* in (57a) (*i mongia-la denti* ‘I eat it inside’) does not need to check such a feature, as the verb does not subcategorize for *denti*, or for  $\text{AspP}_{\text{telic}}$ .

## 5. CONCLUSION

I hope to have shown in this paper that the complex facts of direct object clitic placement in Borgomanerese can be untangled if we adopt the view that the clitic adjoins to a functional head in the clausal structure. This idea requires that we locate a functional head somewhere relatively low, namely, among the lower, pre-VP, adverbs. Cinque’s (1999) idea that adverbs are specifiers of functional heads does a nice job of providing us with the functional head required for the clitic.

I hope also to have successfully used the facts of clitic placement and adverb placement in Borgomanerese to support the idea that a portion of the functional structure of the clause instantiates the semantics of telic aspect, or boundedness of events. In particular, by showing that argument prepositions which express telic aspect find themselves in this particular part of the clause, while the morphologically identical non-argument prepositions do not occupy this syntactic position, I have suggested that this pre-VP position is reserved for elements which express a specific sub-part of event structure.

Furthermore, the idea that there are multiple aspectual phrases indicates that the clause contains conceptually coherent ‘fields’ of functional structure. Thus, it is becoming more apparent that the clause contains not one  $\text{AspP}$ , but rather an ‘aspectual field’; work by, e.g., Poletto (2000), offers evidence not for a single  $\text{AgrP}$ , but rather for an ‘agreement field’ which contains multiple projections instantiating different components of agreement. In addition, work by Benincà (e.g., 1996), Poletto (2000), Shlonsky

(1994) (among others) offers evidence that there is not a single CP, but rather multiple CPs which express different components of pragmatic information. The Borgomanerese data help support this emerging view of the clause, in particular with respect to the 'aspectual field'.

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