SCl enclisis in North Italian and Rhaeto-Romance varieties: merge and phases

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Abstract:

In many Romance varieties the inverted order between subject clitic and verb characterizes interrogation contexts and, in Rhaeto-Romance languages, V2 contexts. This phenomenon gives rise to paradigms whereby in interrogative and V2 contexts the verb is followed by the enclitic form of the SCl, possibly also in combination with the proclitic subject. The enclisis on the verbal form has been dealt with as the result of the movement of the verb, typically in cartographic approaches, whereby the enclitic subject has been seen as the inverted proclitic form. Nevertheless, enclitics usually show a partially different form. Other authors deal with enclitics as inflections, whereby North Italy and Rhaeto-Romance varieties have an inflectional paradigm specialized for modal contexts such as interrogative clauses. V2 varieties with inversion contribute to suggesting a clearer and more complete explanation of this phenomenon. In this article we will motivate the inflectional nature of enclitics based on their distribution and in the light of the hypothesis that it is the result of syntactic Merge. As for inversion, we will propose a hypothesis based on the phasal organization of the clause and the domains of subject-verb agreement.

Keywords: *Enclisis, Inflection, Merge, Phases, Proclisis, Romance Syntax, SCl Inversion, Verbs, V2*

1. Introduction

Inversion between subject clitic and verb characterizes modal contexts in many Gallo-Italic dialects and in Rhaeto-Romance varieties, hence recalling the inversion in French and the phenomena of inversion in Germanic languages. These dialects, generally endowed with proclitic subjects, show the insertion in post-verbal position of the SCl, which interacts with the person inflection. The enclitic forms are not necessarily corresponding to the proclitic ones, and, furthermore, there can be an asymmetric distribution between proclitic and enclitic forms. In fact, both proclitic and enclitic forms may be not

associated with all person forms of the verb and may be distributed in a different way. The enclitic verbal forms have been dealt with as the enclisis of a SCl of the verb and/ or of the clitic, assuming that proclisis and enclisis are derived via movement starting from the same syntactic node in the sentence structure.

The solution proposed by the cartographic model is, however, weakened by the important asymmetries between proclitics and enclitics. Indeed, some authors conclude that enclitics are inflections of a specialized modal paradigms. We will adopt a similar conclusion, on the basis of a number of facts in favor of the inflectional nature of enclitics. Such analysis seems to be adequate on the basis of the recent criticisms of cartographic approach and the rethinking of verb movement in Chomsky (2020, 2021). This minimalist revision is compatible with the idea that there is no morphological component, but that morphologically complex words (verbs) are built up via Merge within syntax.

As noted, the SCl-verb inversion characterizes modal contexts in most of northern Italian dialects (NIDs), and Occitan/ Franco-Provençal varieties (Piedmont); in Rhaeto-Romance inversion affects subject pronouns and includes V2 contexts. There are interesting differences in the distribution of SCls, because, while in North-Italian, Occitan, Franco-Provençal, Ladin and Friulian varieties SCls combine with the lexical subject, both whether they occur in proclisis or in enclisis, in Romansh, like in Germanic languages, SCls cannot combine with an expressed pronominal or lexical subject. The most typical conceptualization of inversion has recourse to a cartographic analysis, which sees in inversion an effect of the movement of the verb to the CP area, although in the literature the solutions are slightly different. Rizzi and Roberts (1989), Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991), Roberts (1994), Haiman and Benincà (1991) assume that the verb moves to C independently from the SCl. Generally, the movement of the verb is justified by the [+Q] feature of C or another position in its field, that works as a probe that the verb, in turn endowed with the Q feature, satisfies (Rizzi 1997). Poletto (2000) proposes that the verb moves to a position within the C field, without excluding the possibility that inverted SCls are inflections. This conclusion already formulated by Rohlfs (1968), has been maintained by Zamboni (1974), and, within different descriptive frameworks, by Sportiche (1997), Loporcaro (1996), and Fava (2017). Haiman and Benincà (1992), and Benincà (2013) treat enclitics as something like inflectional affixes, 'bound affixes' a middle way between free elements and inflections.

2. Enclitics and proclitics: some data[1]

The data we will discuss come from some North Italy varieties, i.e. the Padanian dialect of S. Benedetto Po (1), Friulian of Montereale (2), Franco-Provençal of Cantoira (3), the Trentino dialect of Livo (4), the Lombard-Alpine dialect of Soglio (Bregaglia Valley) (5), the Piedmontese dialect of Cortemilia (6), the North Tuscany dialect of Dalli di Sotto (7), Occi-

tan of Pomaretto (8).[2] The examples compare the declarative form of the indicative present of the verb 'sleep' belonging to the *-i-* conjugation, in (a), where SCls precede the verb, with the interrogative form in (b), with enclisis; where necessary, alternative solutions shall be indicated. Diverse phenomena show up:

- ✓ Not necessarily all persons of the verb are preceded by a SCl, as shown by the first singular in (3a), (8a), the first plural in (3a), (7a), the second plural in (2a), (7a). The occurrence of the SCl of first person in (2a) depends on phonological restrictions.
- ✓ Hence, there are enclitics to which no proclitic corresponds, as in (2b), (3b) and (7b) for the 1ps, (2b) and (7b) for the 2pl.
- ✓ In the dialect of Livo in (4) only the third person is associated with the SCl, while the enclitic elements are introduced in all persons (except for the second singular).
- ✓ In all the varieties except (7), the enclitic can combine with the proclitic. In (1), in interrogatives, the proclitic coincides with a non-specialized form *a*, according to a pattern widespread in Padanian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005). A point that stands out is that proclitics and enclitics are in many cases different, a topic that we will take into consideration in the following discussion[3].
- ✓ Third person SCls generally distinguish a feminine and a masculine form, although with different solutions. Thus, we have *al* masculine and *l-a* feminine in (1) and (5), *al* and *a* in (2), *u* and *i* in (3), *el* and *l-a* in (4), *u* and *a* in (6), *a* and *l-a* in (7), *a* and *i* in (8). In the 3pl, we find *i* vs *l-i* in (1) *i* vs *l-e* in (4), *i* vs *l-a* in (5), *a* vs *l-ə* in (7) and *i* vs *l-a* in (8); otherwise, a clitic is extended, as *a* in (1), *u* in (3) and *i* in (6).

In the glosses, proclitics and enclitics are indicated with the specification of person, number and gender; in third person elements, the morpheme *l-* can be associated with Definiteness, whereas the vocalic inflection *-a* corresponds to fsg, *-i* to the plural.

(1)   S. Benedetto Po (Lombardy)

a. a dɔrm-i	b. (a) dɔrm-ja?
SCl sleep	SCl sleep-1sg
'I sleep-Infl…' , etc.	'Do I sleep?', etc.
ət dɔrm-i	(a) dɔrm-at?
2sg sleep-Infl	SCl sleep-2sg?
al/l-a dɔrum	(a) dɔrm-al/-l-a?
3msg/3fsg sleep	SCL sleep-3msg/3fsg?
a durm-ø-ma	a) durm-ø-m-ja?
SCl sleep-TV-1pl	(SCL sleep-TV-1pl-1ps
a durˈm-i	(a) durˈm-i:-f?
SCl sleep-TV	SCl sleep-TV-2pl?
i/ l-i dɔrm	(a) dɔrm-i/-l-i?
3mpl/3fpl sleep	SCl sleep-3pl/3fpl

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[2] The dialects that we have chosen are not intended to form a representative sample of the micro-variation that affects clitic paradigms. Nevertheless, the examples provide a good picture of this variation. We note that the data are mostly taken from Manzini and Savoia (2005).

[3] As for the morphological composition of complex verbal forms, we use the following labels: Def = definite; m = masculine, f = feminine, sg = singular, pl = plural, ps = person, TV = Thematic Vowel, SCl / Infl = proclitic or enclitic elements covering different readings; Prt (Particle) = -te, -li, -lɔ elements inserted in enclisis respectively in the Trentino, Piedmontese and Occitan dialects.

(2)   Montereale (Friulian)
          a.   duar   b.   duarˈm-ju?
               sleep   sleep-Infl
               'I sleep', etc.   'Do I sleep ?', etc.
               te duar-s   duˈarmis-tu?
               2sg sleep-2sg   sleep-2sg?
               al/a duar   al/ a   duarm-e?
               3msg/3fsg sleep   3msg/3fsg sleep-Infl
               durˈm-i-ŋ   durˈm-i-n-u?
               sleep-TV-1pl   sleep-TV-1pl-pl?
               durˈm-i: durˈm-i-u?
               sleep-TV-2pl   sleep-TV-2pl-pl?
               i duar   i   duarm-e / duarm-in-i?
               SCl sleep-3pl   3pl sleep-Infl/ sleep-3pl-3pl

In the Franco-Provençal dialect of Cantoira in (3), the SCl of first person *dʒ(u)* is excluded from consonant initials of the verb, as in the case of 'dyərmu' *I sleep*, in (3a), whereas it occurs with vocalic initials, as in the first person of the auxiliary 'have', cf. the examples in (3a) and (3b). Moreover, it regularly combines with the OCls, as in *dʒ-iŋ lavu* 'SCl-me wash' *I wash myself*, *dʒ-it tʃamu* 'SCl you call' I call you.

(3)   Cantoira (Franco-Provençal, Piedmont)
          a.   dyərm-u   dʒ   e   dyrˈmi   b.   dyərm-u-dʒu?   dʒ e-dʒu dyrˈmi?
               sleep-1sg   1ps have.1sg slept   sleep-1psg-1ps   1ps have-1ps slept?
               'I sleep', etc.   'I have slept'   'Do I sleep ?', etc.   'Do I have slept?'
               t dyər-s   t dyər-s-tu?
               2sg sleep-2ps   2sg sleep-2sg-2sg ?

               u/i dyər-t   u/i dyər-t-e?
               3msg/3fsg sleep-3sg   3msg/3fs sleep-3sg-3ps?
               dyrˈm-e-n   dʒ   ɛŋ   slept   dyrˈm-e-n-dʒu?   dʒ eŋ-dʒu dyrˈmi?
               sleep-TV-1pl   1ps have.1pl dyrˈmi   sleep-TV-1pl-1ps?   1ps have.1pl-1ps
                                 'We have slept'   slept?
                                                                               'Have we slept?'
               u dyrˈm-e:-s   u dyrˈm-e-vu?
               SCl sleep-TV-2ps   SCl sleep-TV-2pl
               u dyərm-unt   u ˈdyərm-unt-e?
               SCl sleep-3pl   SCl sleep-3pl-3ps?

In the dialect of Livo in (4) the first person forms combine with the interrogative element *-te*. The origin of this element is traced back to the ending *-t* of the first person of the verb 'be' in some Northern Italian dialect by Loporcaro and Vigolo (2000). However, the extension of

an inflectional mark through the paradigm is attested in different systems: generally, it is the third person morpheme that is involved, as we will see in the following.

(4)   Livo (Val di Non, Trentino)
       a. dɔrm-i   b. ˈdɔrmi-te?
           sleep-1sg   sleep-Prt ?
           'I sleep', etc.   'Do I sleep ?', etc.
           dɔrm-es   dɔrm-es?
           sleep-2sg
           el/la dɔrm   dɔrm-el/-ela?
           3msg/3fsg sleep   sleep-3msg/3fsg ?
           dorˈm-i-ŋ   dorˈm-i-n-te?
           sleep-VT-1pl   sleep-TV-1pl-Prt
           dorˈm-i-o   dorˈm-i-o?
           sleep-TV-2pl
           i/l-e dɔrm   ˈdɔrm-e-i/-el-e?
           3mpl/3fpl sleep   Sleep-3mpl/3fpl?

     In Lombard-Alpine dialects the first plural is realized though the combination of the third singular person with the proclitic *am* deriving from **homo* 'man', as in (5). In other terms, the first plural person is realized as a sort of impersonal, something like in the spoken French *on dis* for 'we say'.

(5)   Soglio (Lombard-Alpine)
       a. i   dro:m   b. drom-ai?
           SCl sleep   sleep-1sg?
           'I sleep', etc.   'Do I sleep?', etc.
           ty   dro:m   drom-at?
           2sg sleep   sleep-2sg?
           al/la dro:m   drom-al/ala?
           3msg/3fsg sleep   sleep-3msg/3f?
           am   dro:m   am drom-al
           SCl.1pl sleep-   SCl sleep-3msg?
           u   druˈm-i   druˈm-i:-f?
           2pl sleep-TV   sleep-TV-2pl?
           i/l-a   drom-əŋ   ˈdrom-ən-i?   / drom-la-ŋ?
           3mpl/3fpl sleep-3pl   sleep-3pl-3mpl   sleep-3f -3pl

(6)   Cortemilia (South Piedmont)
       a. a   drø:m   b. a drøm-ni?
           1ps sleep   1ps sleep-SCl?
           'I sleep', etc.   'Do I sleep?', etc.
           i   t   drøm-i   i t drøm-ti?
           SCl 2sg sleep-2ps   SCl 2sg sleep-2sg?
           u/a drø:m   u drøm-le?/a drøm-ɾa?
           3msg/3fsg sleep   3msg sleep-3msg?/3fsg sleep-3fsg?
           a dɾiˈm-u-ma   a dɾiˈm-u-m-ni?
           1ps sleep-TV-1pl   1ps sleep-TV-1pl-SCl?

i drøm-i   i drøm-i?
SCl sleep-2sg   2ps sleep-2sg?
i ˈdrøm-u   i ˈdrøm-n-u?
SCl sleep-3pl   SCl sleep-SCl-3pl

(7)   Dalli di Sotto (North Tuscany)
        a.   i ddɔrm-a   b.   dorm-i-r-o-ˈi?
             1sg sleep-Infl   sleep-Fut-1sg-1sg?
             'I sleep', etc. b.
             tə ðɔrm-a   dormə-ˈtu?
             2sg sleep-Infl   sleep-2sg ?
             a ddɔrm-a/l-a ðɔrm-a   dorˈm-iɟɟə?/dorˈm-ila?
             3msg/ 3fsg sleep-Infl   Sleep-3msg/3fs?
             dorˈm-jaŋ   dormja-ˈno?
             sleep-1pl   sleep-1pl ?
             durˈm-i-ðə   dorm-i-ˈð-o?
             sleep-TV-2pl   sleep-TV-2pl-2pl?
             a dˈdɔrm-ənə/ lə ˈðɔrm-ənə dorˈm-iɟɟə-nə?/dorˈm-ilə-nə?
             3mpl/3fpl sleep.3pl   sleep-3mpl/3fpl-3pl

The data of Pomaretto in (8), concerning an Occitan variety spoken in Weste Piedmont, show a particular case. Indeed, the enclitic series includes a special form -lɔ[4] that can substitute the third person enclitics, as in (8b) and, possibly, follow the second person element, as exemplified in (8b). As the other third person elements -lɔ includes the definiteness morpheme -l-.

(8)   Pomaretto (Occitan, West Piedmont)
        a.   dørm-u   b.   dunt dørm-u?
             sleep-1sg   where sleep-1sg?
             'I sleep', etc.   'Where do I sleep?', etc.
             ty dørm-e   dørm-e:-ˈty?
             2ps sleep-2ps   sleep-2sg-you?
                                         ty dørm-e:-ˈlɔ?
                                         2sg sleep-2sg-Prt ?
                                         u a-ty(-ˈlɔ) laˈv-a?
                                         it have-2sg-Prt washed?
             a/i dørm   dørmə-ˈlu/ˈli?
             3msg/3fsg sleep   sleep-3sgm/3sgf?
                                         a/i dørm-ˈlɔ?
                                         3msg/3fsg sleep-Prt?
             nu dørm-əŋ   nu dørm-əŋ?
             1pl sleep-1pl
             u dyrˈm-ɛ   dyrˈm-ɛ-u?
             2pl sleep-TV   sleep-TV-2pl?

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[4] The interrogatives with enclisis of -lɔ is documented for the Occitan of *Prali* by Morosi (1890: 360), cf. *u fau-lo mi? it make-SCl I?* 'Do I meake it?'. According to Ronjat (1937: 622) this element can occur in all persons and combine with another SCl.

i/(l)a: dørm-əŋ   dørmən-ˈliː/ˈlaː?
3mpl/3fpl sleep-3pl   sleep-3mpl/3fpl
                                             i/a: dørmən-ˈlɔ?
                                             3mpl/3fpl sleep-Prt

Previous data highlight two crucial distributional aspects, i.e. the dissymmetric occurrence of proclitics and enclitics, and the possible coexistence of proclitics and enclitics. In particular, (4) shows that a specialized inflection such as that of the 2sg -*es* can be sufficient to realize the reference to the recipient, so excluding enclisis. In (5) and (7), the third plural element is inserted in mesoclisis between the root and the inflection (Manzini and Savoia 2005). Other phenomena include the morphological difference between proclitics and enclitics and the insertion of enclitics in place of the verbal inflection.

An important clue to the inflectional nature of the enclitic is the asymmetry in the distribution of proclitic and enclitic pronominal elements. The enclitic can correspond to Ø in proclisis, in (9a, b). Vice versa, in some North Lombardy varieties, in the interrogative only the inflectional element is preserved, as for instance in (10) for Trepalle and (11) for S. Fedele Intelvi.

(9)	a.	Ø dyərm-u	vs	ˈdyərm-u-dʒu?		Cantoira
		sleep-1sɢ		sleep-1sɢ-SCl?		
	b.	Ø dɔrm-i	vs	ˈdɔrm-i-te?		Livo
		sleep-2sɢ		sleep-2sɢ-SCl?		
(10)		te dɔrm-aʃ	vs	dɔrm-aʃØ?		Trepalle
		SCl sleep-2sɢ		sleep-2sɢ?		
(11)		te dɔrm-at	vs	dɔrm-atØ?		S. Fedele Intelvi
		SCl sleep-2sɢ		sleep-2sɢ?		

SCls can remain entrapped in-between the verb root and the person inflection, in (11), for Cortemilia (Piedmont), (13) for Dalli (North Tuscany), (14) for the V2 variety of Donat (Romansh).

(12)	i drøm-u	vs	i drøm-n-u?	
	SCl sleep-3PL		SCl sleep-SCl-3PL?	Cortemilia
(13)	lə maɲɲ-ənə	vs	kə mmaɲɲ-ilə-nə?	
	SClFPL eat-3PL		what eat- SClFPL-3PL	Dalli
(14)	ɛls/ ɛləs/ i dɔrm-ən	vs	dɔrm-i-n?	
	they/SCl sleep-3PL		sleep-Scl-3PL	Donat

The data in (10)-(11) provide the typical evidence in favor of the inflectional treatment of enclitics, insofar as these examples show that enclitics and proclitics are different lexical entries, which, naturally, can combine. The comparison between (10) and (11) shows that a specialized person inflection such as -*ʃ* can function like the enclitic, thus suggesting the same status. Moreover, (12)-(14) explicitly support the hypothesis that enclitics are inserted in the inflectional domain of the verb. This explains the possibility for the verbal root to change in combination with enclitics. For instance, in the case of Montereale in (2), enclitics select the enlarged root *duarm-*: if enclitics were a separated item we would not expect such alternation. If all the distributional phenomena argue for the morphological analysis, the question of the verb movement and other aspects of the traditional approach acquire a different face.

The syntax of the varieties that we have illustrated in section 2 shares some well-known properties: SCls can be combined with lexical subjects, both in pre-verbal and post-verbal position, and regardless of whether the SCL is in proclisis or enclisis, as in (15a-b).

(15)   SCl + DP subject
     a. i   fɛntʃ   i   drom-a   b. drom-la   le?   Soglio
         the boy.pl   3pl   sleep-3pl   sleep-3fsg   she?
         'The boys sleep'   'Does she sleep?'
         ke fiminis i duar sempre   i soŋ viˈŋ-u-s   i ŋo fio-i   Montereale
         those woman-pl 3pl sleep always   3pl are come-TV-pl the my sons
         'Those women always sleep'   'My sons have come'
         kli   dɔn-i   l-i   parl-a   a   dɔrm-i   lor?   S.Benedetto
         those woman-pl   3fpl speak-3ps   SCl sleep-3pl they
         'Those women speak'   'Do they sleep?'
         əl   fiøt-ə   u ryv-unt dɔpu   u   dyərm-unt   li maˈɲa   Cantoira
         the.fpl girl-fpl3pl arrive-3pl later   3pl sleep-3pl   the boys
         'The girls arrive later'   'The boys sleep'
         l-a   ptʃittə   i dørm gaire   ven-ən-li   li meiˈna?   Pomaretto
         the-fsg girl   3fsg sleep much   come-3pl-3pl   the boys
         'The girl sleeps a lot'   'The boys come'

We note that there are Italian varieties generally considered Rhaeto-Romance that show the same distribution as Northern Italian dialects. This holds not only for Friulian in (2) but also for many Ladin varieties, which lack V2 syntax, as the Fodom dialects, e.g. that of Corte (Livinallongo) in (16a-b).

(16)   Corte (Ladin Fodom)
     a. dɔrm-e   b. dɔrm-jo?
         Sleep-Infl   sleep-Infl
         'I sleep', etc.   'Do I sleep ?', etc.
         te dɔrm-e   dɔrme-to?
         2sg sleep-2sg   sleep-2sg?
         al/a dɔrm   dɔrm-elo/ ela?
         3msg/3fsg sleep   sleep-3msg/3fsg?
         dorˈm-io-ŋ   dorˈm-io-n-zo?
         sleep-TV-1pl   sleep-TV-1pl-pl?
         dorˈm-jei   dorˈm-jei-zo?
         sleep-TV-2pl   sleep-TV-2pl-pl?
         i / le dɔrm   dɔrm-eli/ ele?
         SCl sleep-3pl   sleep-3mpl/3fpl?

This dialect presents the same distribution of North Italy dialects, with the interrogative inversion and the usual combination of lexical subjects with SCls, as in (16c). The point is that a geographical criterion, sometimes used, can be, as we however know, inadequate.

3. V2 Rhaeto-Romance varieties: a more complex system

The Romance varieties spoken in Grisons and in Ladin areas of Trentino prevent the lexical subject from combining with the SCl, and display the other characteristics of the V2 distribution. As illustrated in the literature, in V2 languages the verb is in second position in main clauses: it is preceded by the subject or by an adverbial or an argument, DP or PP. In the second case, the subject occurs on the right of the verb, as in German. Rhaeto-Romance varieties of Grisons, Gardena and Marebbe show this pattern, but some of them are also endowed with SCls. The latter elements are inserted in enclisis both in interrogative and V2 contexts, and occur in proclisis, where they are in complementary distribution with lexical subjects, including personal pronouns.

As noted by Manzini and Savoia (2005, §3.13.2), these varieties, except for Surselvan, also have a system of clitic forms, partially reduced in Surmeiran and Engadinese, that can occur both in proclisis and in enclisis, here illustrated by the data of Mulegns in (17), Müstair in (18), La Pli de Mareo in (19) and Selva Val Gardena in (20).[5] The proclitic forms cannot combine with a lexical subject, either a NP or a stressed pronoun. (a) provide the examples of the proclitics, (b) of the full pronouns (incompatible with proclitics), and (c) the enclitics in interrogative. Again, the enclitic occurs independently from the existence of the correspondent proclitic, as in (15) and (16).

(17)   Mulegns (Surmeiran)

	SCls		Full pronouns		Enclitics in questions
a.		b.	ia dɔrm	c.	nua dɔrm-a?
			I sleep		where sleep-1sg?
			'I sleep', etc.		'Where do I sleep?', etc.
			te dɔrm-əs		dɔrm-əs(-t)?
			you sleep-2sg		sleep-2sg-2sg
	l ɔ durmia		ɛl/ ɛla dɔrm-a		dɔrm-al/-la?
	3sg has slept		he/ she sleep-3sg		sleep-3msg/3fsg?
			noks durˈm-i-ɲ		durˈm-i-n-dza?
			we sleep-TV-1pl		sleep-TV-1pl-1pl?
			voks dorˈm-i-ts		durˈm-i-ts?
			you sleep-TV-2pl		sleep-TV-2pl
	i dɔrm-an		ɛls/ɛlas dɔrm-an		dɔrm-iʎ ?
	SCl sleep-3pl		they sleep-3pl		sleep-3ps(cf.sleep-3plthey)?
	ʎ ɔn durˈmia				ɔn-iʎ durmia ?
	3ps have.3pl slept				have.3pl-3ps slept?

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[5] In all the Rhaeto-Romance varieties here studied, the third person system includes pairs of forms, stressed and proclitic/ enclitic forms, as shown in the examples and summarized in (i):

(i)	stressed forms	proclitic/ enclitic forms
Mulegns:	ɛl / ɛla	l/ al/ la
	ɛls/ ɛlas	iʎ
Müstair:	ɛl/ ɛla	al/ la
	ɛs/ɛlas	i
La Pli de Mareo:	el/ era	al/ ara
	ei / eres	ai/ eres
Selva	äl / äila	əl / la
	äi / äiləs	i / ləs

(18) Müstair (Müstair Valley)

SCls	Full pronouns	Enclitics
a.	b. jau dɔrm	c. ndʒua dɔrm-i?
	I sleep	where sleep-1sg?
	'I sleep', etc.	'Where do I sleep?', etc.
	ty dɔrm-aʃ	ndʒua dɔrm-aʃ(-t)?
	2sg sleep-2sg	where sleep-2sg-2sg
al/ la dɔrm-a	ɛl/ ɛla dɔrm-a	dɔrm-al/-la (al pwɔb/ la pwɔba)?
3msg/3fsg sleeps	he/ she sleeps	sleep-3msg/3fsg (il ragazzo/ la ragazza)?
	nu dorˈm-ai-ŋ	durˈm-ai-n-i?
	we sleep-TV-1pl	sleep-TV-1pl-1pl?
	vu durˈm-a-w-at	ndʒua durˈm-a-w-at?
	you sleep-TV-2pl-2pl	where sleep-TV-2pl-2pl
i dɔrm-an	ɛs/ɛlas dɔrm-an	dɔrm-n-i ʃɔn?
SCl sleep-3pl	they sleep-3pl	sleep-3pl already?
i sun riˈv-i		sun-i riˈv-i ?
3pl are.3pl arrived		are.3pl-3ps arrived?

(19) La Pli de Mareo (Ladin)

SCls	Full pronouns	Enclitics
a. i dorm-i	b. ju dorm-i	c. oˈla dorm-i pa (ju)?
1sg sleep-1sg	I sleep-1sg	where sleep-1sg Prt (I)?
'I sleep', etc.	'	Where do I sleep?', etc.
te dɔrm-es	tø dɔrm-əs	oˈla dorm-es-te pa (tø)?
2sg sleep-2sg	2sg sleep-2sg	where sleep-2sg-2sg Prt (you)?
al / ara dorm	el/ era dɔrm	dɔrm-el/-era?
3msg/3fsg sleeps	he/ she sleeps	sleep-3msg/3fsg?
i dorˈm-ju-ŋ eŋlo	nos dorˈm-ju-ɲ atlo	oˈla dorˈm-ju-n-ze pa?
SCl sleep-TV-1pl there	we sleep -TV-1pl there	where sleep-TV-1pl-1pl Prt?
i dorˈm-i-s eŋlo	os dorˈm-i-s	dorˈm-i-z-e os atlo?
SCl sleep-TV-2pl there	you sleep-TV-2pl	sleep-TV-2pl-2pl you there?
ai/ ares dorm	ei/eres dorm masa	dorm-ai/-eres pa (ei/ eres)?
3mpl/3fpl sleep-3pl	3mpl/3fpl sleep much	sleep-3mpl/3f Prt (they.f/m)?
al/ ara e ɲy / ɲɲyd-a	el / ela e ɲy / ɲyd-a	e-l ɲy to fre?
3msg/3fsg is come/-fsg	he/ she is come/-fsg	is-3msg come your brother?
		ez-era ɲyd-a tøa so?
		is-3fsg come your sister?

(20) Selva Val Gardena (Ladin)

SCls	Full pronouns	Enclitics
a.	b. jø dɔʀm	c. uˈla dɔʀm-i pa (jø)?

	I sleep.1sg	where sleep-1sg Prt (I)?
	'I sleep', etc.	'Where do I sleep?', etc.
tə dɔʀm-es	tu dɔʀm-əs	uˈla dɔʀm-əs-a pa?
2sg sleep-2sg	2sg sleep-2sg	where sleep-2sg-2sg Prt?
l / la dɔʀm	al/ aila dɔʀm	dɔʀm-əl/-əla?
3msg/ 3fsg sleeps	he/ she sleeps	sleep-3msg/3fsg?
	naus duʀˈm-jo-ŋ tlo	uˈla duʀˈm-jo-n-s-a naus?
	we sleep-TV-1pl there	where sleep-TV-1pl-1pl Prt?
	vo duʀˈm-jai-s tlo	duʀˈm-jai-z-a vo?
	you sleep-TV-2pl there	sleep-TV-2pl-2pl you ?
i/ ləs dɔʀm	ai/ailəs dɔʀm	dɔʀm-i/-ləs pa?
3mpl/3fpl sleep-3pl	3mpl/3fpl sleep	sleep-3mpl/3f Prt?
i/ ləs jə ʀu-e-i / ʀu-ed-əs		jə-z-i pa ʀu-e-i i mutoŋ-s?
3mpl/3fpl are come-mpl/-fpl		is-3mpl Prt arrived the boys-s?

Whereas proclitics behave like full pronouns and are in complementary distribution with lexical subjects, exactly like French proclitics, in (21a), (22a), (23a), enclitics can combine with lexical subject, as in (21b), (22b) and (23b) for interrogatives and (21'b), (22'b) and (23'b) for V2 contexts.

(21) Mulegns Declaratives vs Interrogatives with postverbal subjects
a. iʎ pup dɔrm-a b. dɔrm-al iʎ pup?
the boy sleep-3sg sleep-3sg the boy?
'The boy sleeps' 'Does the boy sleep?'
dɔrm-al/-la ɛl/ ɛla ?
sleep-3sg he/ she?
'Dies he/ she sleep?'

iʎ pup ɔ durmia ɔ-l durmia iʎ pup?
the boy have.3sg slept have.3sg-3sg slept the boy?
'The boy has slept' 'Did the boy sleep?'

(21') Mulegns V2 contexts
a. ɛlts / i dɔrm-ən b. lɔ dɔrm-iʎ iʎts umfants
they / SCl sleep-3pl 'here sleep-SCl.3ps the children
'They sleep' 'The boys sleep there'
iʎ pup viɲ siva viɲ-al iʎ pup
the boy come after come-3sg the boy
'The boy comes' 'The boy comes later'

(22) Müstair Declaratives vs Interrogatives with postverbal subjects
a. la pwɔba dɔrm-a b. dɔrm-la la pwoba?
the girl sleep-3sg sleep-fsg the girl?
'The girl sleeps' 'Does the girl sleep?'
as pwɔps (nu) dɔrm-aŋ dɔrm-n-i az ufaunts?

the boys   Neg   sleep-3pl   sleep-3pl-3sg the boys?
'The boys do not sleep'   'Do the boys sleep?'

(22')   Müstair   V2 contexts
    a.   mes fra:r   dɔrm-a   aˈla   b.   kwia   dɔrm-a/al   mes fra:r
          my brother sleep-3sg there   here   sleep-ʒsg/SCl   my brother
          'My brother sleeps there'   'My brother sleeps here'
          ɛls / ɛlas   veŋ-aŋ   pro mai   dumauŋ nu   veŋ-n-i (az oments)
          they.m / they.f come-3pl to me   tomorrow Neg come-3pl-SCl the men
          'They come to me'   'The men come tomorrow'
          nu dorm-ai-ŋ   kwia   kwia nu dorm-ai-n-i nus
          we sleep-TV-1pl here   here Neg sleep-TV-1pl-SCl we
          'We sleep here'   'We do nt sleep here'

(23)   La Pli de Mareo   Declaratives vs Interrogatives with postverbal subjects
    a.   mio fre   ne veŋ nia   b.   veŋ-el to fre?
          my brother Neg come Neg   come-3msg your brother?
          'My brother does not come'   'Does your brother come?'
          mio fre   n e nia ŋy   to fre   e-l   pa ŋy?
          my brother Neg is Neg come   your brother is-3msg Prt come?
          'My brother has not come'   'Did your brother come?'

(23')   La Pli de Mareo   V2 contexts
    a.   Maria/ ʒaŋ dɔrm   b.   de dɔ dorm-el /-era (ʒaŋ / maria)
          Mary/ John sleep   later sleep-3msg/3fsg (John/ Mary)
          'Mary/ John sleeps'   'Later John/ Mary sleeps'

(24)   Selva   Declaratives vs Interrogatives with postverbal subjects
    a.   i mutoŋ-s dɔrm tə mʒɔŋ   b.   uˈla dɔrm-i i mutəŋ-sˈ
          the boys sleep   in house   where sleep-3mpl the boys?
          'The boys sleep in the house'   'Where do the boys sleep?'

(24')   Selva   V2 contexts
    a.   naus duʀm-jo-ŋ   tlo   b.   al dumaŋ duʀm-jo-ŋ-s-a   naus tlo
          we   sleep-TV-1pl there   tomorrow sleep-TV-1pl-1pl we   there
          'We sleep there'   'We tomorrow sleep there'

The data from the V2 varieties contribute to completing the picture of inversion phenomena. If, as Haiman and Benincà (1992), Benincà (1994, 2013) and other authors maintain, interrogative inversion is only the residual of a more general pattern of V2 applied in Medieval varieties, their properties can provide elements for understanding aspects now opacified in Norther Italian dialects. Specifically, the notion of modal has to be refined, because we can wonder in what sense V2 contexts are modal, where inversion encompasses types of declaratives, and not only interrogatives or exclamatives. More to the point, we must take into consideration that, differently from interrogative structures, V2 inversion in embedded sentences is possible, as exemplified in (25a-b-c).
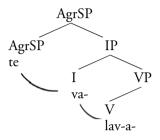
(25) Inversion in embedded clauses
Mulegns

a. ʎ am ɔn detʃ | tʃe iʎs umfants viŋ-ən dumaŋ/ | tʃe dumaŋ viŋ-iʎ iʎs umfants
SCl me have.3pl told | that the boys come-3pl tomorrow | that tomorrow come-3ps the boys
'They told me' | 'that the boys come tomorrow'

b. dei-am | nua durm-i-n-za noks
tell-me | where sleep-TV-1pl-1pl we
'Tell me | where we sleep'

c. | nua vɔn-iʎ iʎts umfants
| where go.3pl-3ps the boys
| 'Where the boys go'

Müstair

a. ɛs m aun dit | tʃa las pwɔbas dɔrm-an | tʃa in tʃɔmbra dɔrm-n-i (as pwɔps)
thet me have.3pl told | that the girls sleep-3pl | that in room sleep-3pl-SCl the boys
'They told me' | 'that the girls sleep' | 'that the boys sleep in the room'

b. | tʃa nu dorm-ai-ŋ in tʃɔmbra | tʃa in tʃɔmbra dorm-ai-n-i nu
| that we sleep-TV-1pl in room | that in room sleep-TV-1pl-SCl we
| 'That we sleep in the room' | 'That in the room we sleep'

La Pli de Mareo

a. i m a dit | ke to fre veŋ eŋdomaŋ | ke eŋdomaŋ veŋ-el to fre
SCl me have.3pl told | that your brother comes tomorrow | that tomorrow come-3msg your brother
'They told me' | 'That your brother comes tomorrow' | 'That tomorrow your brother comes'

As a first point, we will investigate the nature of enclitics: the data will suggest that they are a system of exponents specialized for a sub-set of contexts.

4. The nature of inflection

The conclusion that enclitics are inflections is not the solution of all problems. New and old interesting aspects remain to be examined, beginning from the status of morphology in the theoretical framework. In the generative framework, the best-known generalization concerning the distribution of inflectional morphemes is Baker's (1988) Mirror Principle, whereby the verb moves to combine with the closest suffix: V attaches to T, and then T-V moves to AgrS, which closes the complex word. Thus, for instance in (26), the 2nd plural of the Italian imperfect *lava-*

va-te 'you(pl) washed', is obtained by moving *lava-*, the lexical head to the inflectional head T/I, and then to the agreement position for the subject, where *–te* is taken on.

(26)

```
                            AgrSP
                          /      \
                    AgrSP          IP
                    te            /  \
                      \          I    VP
                            va-        \
                                        V
                                         \
                                         lav-a-
```

     The complete form is the result of syntactic derivation. The Mirror Principle translates into syntactic operations the idea, traditional in generative grammar, that the composition of complex words is an ordered cyclic mechanism. At once, it realizes the linkage between inflection and syntactic categories.
     However, Distributed Morphology (DM, cf. Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994) identifies morphology with an autonomous component, in which the insertion of morphemes is after syntax (Late insertion). In DM sub-word elements (affixes and clitics) are understood as 'dissociated morphemes' conveying an information 'separated from the original locus of that information in the phrase marker' (Embick and Noyer 2001: 557) and are introduced by post-syntactic rules of the linear adjacency (Local dislocation) (Embick and Noyer 2001). As we can expect, there are empty morphological elements, as in the case of Thematic Vowels of Romance languages, identified with 'ornamental pieces of morphology' by Embick (2010). Moreover, agreement and case morphemes are not represented in syntax, but are added post-syntactically 'during Morphology'.
     The approach to morphology that we will follow, is based on the idea that morphology is part of the syntactic computation and there is no specialized component for the morphological structure of words (Manzini and Savoia 2017, 2011, Manzini *et al.* 2020, Savoia *et al.* 2018; see also Collins and Kayne 2020). Lexical elements, including morphemes, are endowed with interpretive content, and contribute to externalizing the syntactic structure. Hence, morphemes obey the general requirement of *inclusiveness condition*, thus excluding Late Insertion and the other adjustments provided by DM, such as the manipulation of terminal nodes, impoverishment, and fusion of φ-features. Inflected words are analyzed as the result of the Merge operation that combines inflectional heads with a category-less lexical root R, interpreted as a predicate. In inflected verbal forms, agreement features, and mood/ tense/ voice inflections are merged with R.
     The conclusion that the mechanism Probe-Goal φ-feature matching in affixation is an ad hoc and unnecessary solution, and that syntactic Merge must be free, as argued by Chomsky (2019, 2020, 2021), leads to re-conceptualize head movement as a non-genuine syntactic rule. Chomsky (2019: 268) notes that 'head raising is problematic insofar as it does not entail semantic effects and, structurally, it is counter-cyclic', and proposes 'simply to drop the condition that Internal Merge (Movement) has to be triggered, so it's free, like External Merge'. As to the syntactic nature of morphology, Chomsky (2021: 30, 36 ff.), assumes that complex words are created by amalgamation of morphemes. Thus, in inflected verbs, the amalgamation yields complex forms such as [INFL [v, Root]], which realize the properties of the C/T Phase:

The first step in a derivation must select two items from the lexicon, presumably a root R and a categorizer CT, forming {CT, R}, which undergoes amalgamation under externalization, possibly inducing ordering effects […]. With head movement eliminated, v needs no longer be at the edge of the vP phase but can be within the domains of PIC and Transfer, which can be unified. EA is interpreted at the next phase. (Chomsky 2021: 30, 36 ff.)

In this line, we can identify the categorizers *v, n*, with the bundles of φ-features that characterize the functional content of words entering into the agreement operations (Manzini 2021, Baldi and Savoia 2022a). Hence, v is the label for the verbal categories of tense, aspect, and mood that make an eventive/stative root a verb, and the formation of complex words can be seen as a result of Merge.

In this approach, the agreement is accounted for as the morphological manifestation of the identity between referential feature sets corresponding to the arguments of the sentence, so that deviant readings and ambiguities are possible. If words are formed by combining the uncategorized lexical root with morphological elements, inflectional morphemes select for the compound including the root and its immediately attached morpheme (cf. Marantz 2001, 2007).

4.1. Morphological phenomena

Consider in this light the data we have presented, beginning with verbal morphology in declarative sentences. In the internal structure of declarative verbal forms in (1a)-(8a) and (17a), (18a), (19a), (20a), different patterns of organization show up, as illustrated in table (27), where the inflectional markers combine with the root. A pattern with the simple root in the third singular includes 9 of 12 paradigms; ∅ also characterizes the first singular in 6 cases, and the third plural in 6 paradigms. The first and the second plural include the thematic vowel TV; in the second plural TV occurs alone in (27a-h), according to a pattern widely attested in North Italian dialects (Baldi and Savoia 2022b) or followed by the personal inflection in other cases.

(27)   Declarative inflection: R+(TV)+Infl

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
a.	S. Benedetto Po	-i	-i	∅	-TV-ma	-TV	∅
b.	Montereale	∅	-s	∅	-TV-ŋ	-TV	∅
c	Corte	-e	-e	∅	-joŋ	-TV	∅
d.	Cantoira	-u	-s	-t	-VT-ŋ	-VT-s	-unt
e.	Livo	-i	-es	∅	-TV-ŋ	-TV-e	∅
f.	Soglio	∅	∅	∅	∅	-TV	-əŋ
g.	Cortemilia	∅	-i	∅	-TV-ma	-i	-u
h.	Dalli	-a	-a	-a	-TV-ŋ	-TV-ðə	-ənə
i.	Pomaretto	-u	-e	∅	-eŋ	-TV	-eŋ
l.	La Pli de Mareo	-i	-es	∅	-TV-ŋ	-TV-s	∅
m.	Selva Val Gardena	∅	-əs	∅	-TV-ŋ	-TV-s	∅
n.	Müstair	∅	-aʃ	-a	-TV-ŋ	-TV-wat	-an
o.	Mulegns	∅	-es	-a	-TV-ŋ	-TV-ts	-aŋ

In the interrogative form the enclitic combines with the stem, adjoining to it typically when it coincides with the root, as in the third singular person in (27'a) and (27'b), and in the third plural person in the dialects lacking the third plural specialized inflection, as in (27'a-c-

e-l-m). In general, in the first and second plural persons the specialized enclitic combines with the inflectional exponent. In fewer cases the enclitic replaces the inflectional exponent, as in the second person in (27'a-b-h-m). In what follows, we will speak of 'enclitics' rather than 'interrogative inflections' for the sake of clarity.

(27')   Interrogative inflections (enclitics): R+(TV)+Infl

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
a.	S. Benedetto Po	-ja	-at	-al/ la	-TV-m-ja	-TV-f	-i/li
b.	Montereale	-ju	-tu	-e	-TV-n-ju	-TV-u	-e
c.	Corte	-jo	-to	-elo/ ela	-TV-n-zo	-TV-zo	-eli/ ele
d.	Cantoira	-u-dʒu	-s-tu	-t-e	-TV-n-dʒu	-TV-vu	-unt-e
e.	Livo	-i-te	-es	-el/ ela	-TV-n-te	-TV-o	-ei/ ele
f.	Soglio	-ai	-at	-al/ ala	-al	-TV-f	-ən-i/ la-ŋ
g.	Cortemilia	-ni	-ti	-le/-ɾa	-TV-m-ni	-TV-i	-n-u
h.	Dalli	-a-i	-tu	-iɟɟə/ila	-TV-n-o	-TV-ð-o	-iɟɟə/ ilə-nə
i.	Pomaretto	-u	-e-ty	-lu/ li	-eŋ	-TV-u	-en-li/la
l.	La Pli de Mareo	-i	-es-te	-el/-era	-TV-n-ze	-TV-z-e	-ai/-eres
m.	Selva V. G.	-i	-a	-əl/ -əla	-TV-n-s-a	-TV-s-a	-i/ ləs
n.	Müstair	-i	-aʃ-t	-al/-la	-TV-n-i	-TV-wat	-n-i
o.	Mulegns	-a	-es-t	-al/ la	-TV-n-dza	-TV-ts	-iʎ

What clearly emerges from the comparison between (27) and (27') is that enclitic paradigms systematically introduce a distinct characterization of the subject in correspondence of each person. Whichever way the poverty of the usual inflection in (27) is interpreted, for example as functionally related to the presence of an SCl or a lexical subject, the disparity is evident. It suggests a different syntactic role of the two types of realization of agreement. A similar difference separates enclitics in (27') from SCls, presented in table (27"), which, in turn, appear to be much less specialized for persons, save in the third persons where distinct forms are generally occurring.

(27")   Subject clitics

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
a.	S. Benedetto Po	a	at	al/la	a	a	i/ li
b.	Montereale	∅	te	al/ la	∅	∅	i
c.	Corte	∅	te	al/ a	∅	∅	i / le
d.	Cantoira	∅	t	u/i	∅	u	u
e.	Livo	∅	∅	el/la	∅	∅	i/le
f.	Soglio	i	ty	al/la	am	u	i/ li
g.	Cortemilia	a	i t	u/ a	a	i	i
h.	Dalli	i	tə	a/ la	∅	∅	i/lə
i.	Pomaretto	∅	ty	a/ i	nu	u	i/ la:
l.	La Pli del Mareo	i	te	al/ ara	i	i	ai/ ares
m.	Selva V. G.	∅	tə	al/aila	∅	∅	ai/ ailəs
n.	Müstair	∅	∅	al/ la	∅	∅	i
o.	Mulegns	∅	∅	l	∅	∅	i/ ʎ

As noted, in some Northern Italian and Occitan dialects proclitics precede the verb followed by interrogative enclitics, as illustrated in (28). Proclitics occurring in interrogatives can coincide with the usual proclitic forms or realize a different form, typically less specialized, as in the case of *a* in (28e).

(28)   Subject proclitics doubling interrogative enclitics

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
a.	S. Benedetto Po	a	a	a	a	a	a
b.	Montereale			al/ la			i
c.	Cantoira		t	u/i		u	u
e.	Trepalle			a			
f.	Cortemilia	a	i t	u/ a	a	i	i
h.	Pomaretto			a/ i			i/ a:

In examining a sample of clitic paradigms, Renzi and Vanelli (1983) suggested some (weak) implications, whereby if there is only one SCl, this is the SCl of 2ps, and if there are two SCls, they are the 2ps and 3ps. However, a sufficiently large sample shows that mandatory constraints do not hold (Manzini and Savoia 2005). An implicit functional rationale would predict that non-distinct or ∅ SCls generally combine with specialized inflections and vice versa. In fact, we can interpret specialized SCls such as *a*, *al*/*la* and *i*/*li* of S. Benedetto Po in (25) as responding to this need, given the reduced inflection in the first and third singular and plural persons. We find distinct inflections combining with distinct SCls, as in the case of the 2nd singular person, mostly characterized by a specialized SCl including the morpheme t, and a specialized inflection. We do not expect a narrow correlation between SCls and inflections (including enclitics), insofar as they have a different status, since inflections are the standard realization of the features of T, while the SCls are agreement elements selected by the inflected verb, that regulates their insertion.

Another well represented phenomenon is syncretism at all levels of the referential morphology: Inflections, cf. *-i* in the first and second person in (27a), *-a* in the singular in (27h); enclitics, cf. the syncretism between the first singular and plural person in (27'b-d-e-g), *-li* in third singular and plural in (27'i). As an example, consider the inflectional paradigm of S. Benedetto Po in (1a), schematized in (27a). The insertion of inflections is based on a set of selection constraints ordered in *Elsewhere* that specify the possible combinations, an idiosyncratic property of morphological paradigms, as schematized in (29):

(29)   i $\longleftrightarrow$ R] __1sg/2sg
        i_{TV} $\longleftrightarrow$ R_{Class}] __
        $\varnothing_{TV}$ $\longleftrightarrow$ R] __ 1pl
        $i_{TV,2pl}$ $\longleftrightarrow$ R] __
        ma_{1pl} $\longleftrightarrow$ TV] __

                                                                    S. Benedetto Po

In (29), the Thematic Vowel is the stressed exponent inserted between the root and the person inflection occurring in a subset of verbal forms in Romance paradigms. Baldi and Savoia (2023) propose that it realizes a variable bound by the subject. In the system of Cortemilia, (6a)-(27g), only four distinct inflectional exponents are inserted, as indicated in (30), where syncretism is related to the semantic content of 2ps of the exponent *-i*. In other words, in this dialect the difference between 2sg and 2pl is not expressed by inflection.

(30) $i_{2ps} \leftrightarrow R\ ]$ ___
         $u_{3pl} \leftrightarrow R]$ ___
         $i_{TV} \leftrightarrow\ \ R_{Class}\ ]$ ___
         $\text{-}ma_{1pl} \leftrightarrow R]\ TV$ ___

                                                                                    Cortemilia

SCls can be in turn segmented into inflectional elements endowed with semantic content, as in (31a) for S. Benedetto (cf. (1)), (31b) for Montereale (cf. (2)), (31c) for Cantoira (cf. (3)), and (31d) for Cortemilia (cf. (6)):

(31)   a.   l = Definiteness
                  a = Nominal Class
                  i = 3pl
                  t = 2sg
                                                                                    S. Benedetto

         b.   l = Definiteness
                  a = Nominal Class
                  i = 3pl
                  te = 2sg
                                                                                    Montereale

         c.   u = 3ps / plural
                  i = 3fsg
                  t = 2sg
                                                                                    Cantoira

         d.   a = 1sg, 3fsg and 1pl
                  u = 3msg
                  i = 2ps, 2pl and 3pl
                  t = 2sg
                                                                                    Cortemilia

A certain degree of syncretism appears, involving the form *a* in (31a), *i* in (31b), *u* in (31c), *i* in (31d), suggesting, therefore, that the current characterizations are inadequate. Syncretism is a typical test bench in morphological analysis, insofar as it is seen as supporting a formal level independent of semantics and syntax, the 'morphomic' level of Aronoff (1994). DM deals with syncretism in terms of 'Late Insertion' of the Vocabulary items and manipulation of the features by impoverishment rule. The consequence is that morphemes/ lexical entries are inserted after modifying the underlying syntactic terminal nodes. In this light, for instance, the ending –*a* in (27h) in the three singular persons in the dialect of Dalli, can be viewed as a default empty element, inserted in (32a), in impoverished contexts yielded by (30b). A similar solution could be applied to the SCls *a* and *i* in Cortemilia, in (31d).

(32)   a.   ∅ → a
         b.   1/2/3sg → ∅ / [Pres Ind] ___

Naturally, this analysis is ad hoc and insubstantial for many reasons. Default elements are substantially unmotivated insofar as they reflect a null content, and, what is more, the reason why languages should obscure the correspondence between morpho-syntax and interpretation remains unexplained. In conclusion, pronoun syncretism seems to subject some type of rethinking about the nature of phi-features and their nature. According to a proposal by Manzini

and Savoia (2011, 2017), and following a suggestion by Chierchia (1998), plural morphology can be associated with the part-whole/sub-set content, i.e. the inclusion relation [⊆]. Thus, the plural (-)*i* of many Romance languages, for instance in the case of the SCls in the varieties we analyze, can be associated with the predicate [⊆], as in (33), giving rise to the interpretation that the argument of the root can be partitioned into subsets.

(33)   (-)*i* = [⊆]

In the case of the first three persons of Dalli in (27h), we can think that they can be associated with the content Nominal Class, sufficient to combine with the different interpretations dictated by the verbal agreement or the context. The characterization of i as the part-whole, inclusion relation [⊆], explains its ability to represent not only plurality but also to contribute to definite reference, insofar as plurality can be seen as an instantiation of the sub-set operator. Consequently, the exponent for [⊆] can subsume the reference to a specialized subset, as in the case of (31d) for Cortemilia, where it covers 2ps and 3pl. We can associate this reading also with u in (31c) for Cantoira, given its reference to 3ps and plural, so obtaining the lexicons in (34a) for Cantoira and (34b) for Cortemilia.

(34)   a.   i, u = [⊆]
                 a = Nominal Class
                 t = 2ps   Cantoira

         b.   a = Nominal Class
                 u = 3msg
                 i = [⊆]
                 t = 2sg   Cortemilia

The syncretism between the first plural and the third plural -*eŋ* in the dialect of Pomaretto in (8a)-(27i), is now attributable to the nature of plural elements as the lexicalization of part-whole operator, as in (35a). (35b) suggests the other combinatory restrictions of the paradigm.[6]

(35)   a.   -eŋ = [⊆]

         b. u_{1sg} ←→ R] __
                 e_{2sg} ←→ R] __
                 eŋ ←→ R] __
                 TV ←→ R] $_{2pl}$——
                                                                                    Pomaretto

Interrogative inflections display similar properties. For example, the occurrence of the same exponent for the first singular and the first plural, such as -*ja* in S. Benedetto, (27'a), -*dʒu* in Cantoira, (27'd), -*te* in Livo, (27'e). Regardless of their origin, the association of these elements with the content 1ps appears clear. Moreover, in several system a pattern appears in which the enclitic is added to the original inflection, giving rise to a systematic doubling of inflections, as in (36) for Cantoira, (27'd).

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[6] A similar distribution characterizes other Occitan and Franco-Provençal dialects of Piedmont, as in the case of Coazze, for which Baldi and Savoia (2022) analyze the same phenomenon associating the exponent -*nt* of 1/3pl with [⊆].

(36) $\text{d}\text{ʒu}_{1ps}$ ←→   R] 1sg] __
            tu_{2sg} ←→ R] 2sg] __
            e_{3ps} ←→ R] 3sg] __
            $\text{d}\text{ʒu}_{1ps}$ ←→ R] 1pl] __
            vu_{2pl} ←→ R] TV] __
            e_{3ps} ←→ R] 1ps] 3pl] __

                                                              Cantoira

What appears is that enclitics need not have completely identical features with the inflection and the SCls in (34), but compatibility of features is sufficient for agreement. More precisely, what matters is that the reference to the same argument is made possible (on the basis of non-distinctness) given the interpretive properties of the inflectional and clitic elements involved.

The data of Cortemilia in (27'g) display a special distribution of the enclitic *-ni* in the third singular and plural and in the first plural. Similar patterns show up in several Southern Piedmontese varieties, as illustrated in (37) for Viguzzolo South-East Piedmont).

(37)   Viguzzolo

a.	a drɔ:m	b.	a drɔm-ən?
	SCl sleep, etc.		SCl sleep-SCl?, etc.
	ta drɔm-i		a drɔm-ət?
	u/a drɔm-æ		u drɔm-al? / a drɔm-la?
	a druˈm-ʊ-m		a druˈm-ʊ-m-ən?
	a druˈm-i		a druˈm-i:-v?
	a drɔm-ən		a drɔm-ən?

We assign the specification of [⊆] to these inflectional elements. Thus, Viguzzolo in (37) has the selection restrictions in (38a) for inflections, in (38b) for enclitics and in (36c) for SCls. The insertion of -ən, as the exponent of the third plural in (38a) and the enclitic of first singular and plural, is based on the property [⊆]. The same seems to hold for the element *-ni* for Cortemilia in (25'g).

(38)   Viguzzolo

	a.	inflections	b.	enclitics	c.	SCls (also with enclitics)
		u_{1sg} ←→ R] __		-ət_{2sg} ←→ R] __		ta = 2sg
		i_{2ps} ←→ R]__		-ʊ-m_{1pl} ←→ R] __		u/ a = 3msg/3fs
		æ_{3sg} ←→ R] __		$\text{-al}_{MSG}/\text{-la}_{FSG}$ ←→ R] __		a = Nominal Class
		ʊ-m_{1pl} ←→ R]__		-v_{2pl} ←→ TV]__		
		$\text{ən}_{[⊆]}$ ←→ R] __		$\text{-ən}_{[⊆]}$ ←→ R/1pl] __		

Selection restrictions correspond to what the speaker learned about the occurrence of the morphological pieces. Their distribution is driven by their content as in the case of the person properties or of part-whole operator, but, as we may expect, is affected by the usual perceptual (third factor) and external mechanisms associated with acquisition. Inflectional elements are

in turn combined by the Merge operation during the formation of the sentence. As discussed, enclisis and mesoclisis imply that the enclitic is inserted as part of the inflection.

Let us consider the sequences *a dɾiˈm-u-m-ni?* 'Do we sleep?', and *i ˈdɾøm-n-u?* 'Do they sleep?' of Cortemilia in (6a) and (27'g). As we discussed in section 4, we follow a model in which Merge combines exponents realizing the verbal and agreement categories associated with the phase-head. In (37a) the inflection of 1pl is merged with the root extended by the specialized TV -u-. The enclitic element -ni is cyclically adjoined to this combination in (39b), yielding a complex word containing the agreement features able to realize the features in T, where it combines with a compatible SCl as in (39c). Thus, we have the realization in (39d).

(39) a. $< \text{drim}_R\text{-u}, \text{m}_{1PL}>$ → $[_\varphi \text{drim-u-m}]$
      b. $<[_\varphi \text{drim-u-m}], \text{ni}_{[\subseteq]}>$ → $[_\varphi[\text{drim-u-m}]\text{-ni}]$
      c. $< \text{a}_{Class}, [_\varphi[\text{drim-u-m}]\text{-ni}]>$ → $\text{a}[_\varphi[\text{drim-u-m}]\text{-ni}]$

      d. C   T   [v   [V_R
          a_φ   drim-u-m-ni_φ   'Do we sleep?'
                                                   Cortemilia

The derivation of *i ˈdɾøm-n-u?* follows similar steps, with an interesting difference, because the result is the mesoclisis of the enclitic between the root and the specialized ending of 3pl, as in (40a-b-c-d).

(40) a. $< \text{drøm}_R, \text{n(i)}_{[\subseteq]}>$ → $[_\varphi \text{drøm-n(i)}]$
      b. $<[_\varphi \text{drøm-n(i)}], \text{u}_{3pl}>$ → $[_\varphi[\text{drøm-n}]\text{-u}]$
      c. $< \text{i}_{[\subseteq]}, [_\varphi[\text{drøm-n}]\text{-u}]>$ → $\text{i}[_\varphi[\text{drøm-n}]\text{-u}]$

      d. C   T   [v   [V_R
          i_φ   drøm-n-u_φ   'Do they sleep?'
                                                   Cortemilia

In (40) the enclitic requires to be adjacent to the root, so that -u is in final position. The origin of mesoclisis seems to imply an external process that extended -u in all third plural contexts.

It is interesting to note that enclisis and mesoclisis also characterize OCls in some Piedmontese dialects, for which Savoia and Baldi (2023) propose an inflectional status. In other words, enclisis of OCls contributes to justifying the analysis we propose here, in particular, as regards the link between enclisis and mesoclisis as the result of the amalgamation of complex verbs. In the dialect of Trecate (Novara), mesoclisis of OCls affects the 3rd plural of the present and the three plural persons of the imperfect and conditional, all ending in -u. In these forms, the clitic is inserted between the root and the inflectional exponent –u, that we analyze as $[\subseteq]$, as illustrated in (41). (41a-b-c) exemplify mesoclisis in the present, and in the imperfect, where EV = Epenthetic Vowel.

(41) Trecate

      a. I   tʃam-   (a-)   m-   / t-   / r-   u
          SCl   call-   (EV)   1sg-/ 2sg- / 3ps- PL/[⊆]
          'They call me/ you/him/her'

b.	nyati	i	tʃam-e- v- (a)-	v/r-		u
	we	SCl	call-TV-Imp-(EV)-	2pl/3ps-		PL/[⊆]

'We called you/him/her'

In (42a), the enclitic –m(a)- is merged to the root. In (42b) the inflection of 3rd plural –u is amalgamated to this sequence yielding the complex inflected form, incorporating both features agreeing with the internal argument realized by -m-, and those with the subject, realized by the 3rd plural inflection –u-. This amalgam realizes the properties of T in (42c).

(42)   a.   <tʃam$_R$, m(a)$_{1SG}$>   →   [$_\varphi$tʃam-m(a)]
         b.   < tʃam-m(a), -u3PL>   →   [$_{v/T}$ tʃam-m-u]

         c.   C   T$_{\varphi i}$ [v$_{\varphi y}$ [V$_R$
                        i$_{\varphi i}$ tʃam-m$_{\varphi y}$-u$_{\varphi i}$ 'They call me'
                                                                                        Trecate

In Trecate's dialect, as in other dialects of this area, the inflectional paradigm is reduced (cf. Baldi and Savoia 2023). The 1st and 2nd plural have specialized forms only in the present indicative, while in the imperfect and conditional -u is extended to the whole plural paradigm, as in the examples in (41), where the inclusion operator [⊆] subsumes all plural references; the distribution of SCls is different, and the SCl *i* is syncretic with the 1st singular. The plural inflection –u seems to be necessarily expressed for interpretive requirements, in its position at the right of the sequence of inflectional elements, fixing the scope of the event. As a consequence, plural specifications of the verb must be recognizable.

The unification of enclisis of SCls and OCls raises the question about the link between enclisis of SCls and modality, insofar as inversion is associated with the high position of the verb, in the C field (Poletto 200, Manzini and Savoia 2005, Benincà 2013). In fact, within this conceptual approach we should admit that the verb raises to C also in the case of OCls. In fact, according to Benincà (2013), the so-called Tobler-Mussafia Law for the old Romance texts implies that object clitics always occur in enclisis on the verb in first position. For now, we conclude that enclisis (and mesoclisis) of the subject can favor a reading of the subject as the new information, as in simple cases such as *u dyrˈm-e-vu?* 'Do you(pl) sleep?' of Cantoira in (3b). (43a-b) illustrate the formation of the inverted form of 2pl, (43c) the Merge with the proclitics, finally (43d) suggests the relation between the inflection of T and the realization of the eventive point, the argument of 2pl.

(43)   a.   < dyrm$_R$, -e$_{TV}$->   →   [$_\varphi$ dyrm-e]
         b.   <[$_\varphi$ dyrm-e], vu$_{2pl}$>   →   [$_\varphi$[dyrm-e]-vu]
         c.   < u$_{[⊆]}$, [$_\varphi$[drøm-e]-vu] >   →   [$_T$ u [$_\varphi$[dyrm-e]-vu]]

         d.   C   T$_\varphi$ [v   [V$_R$
                        u$_\varphi$ dyrm-e-vu$_\varphi$ 'Do you(pl) sleep?'
                                                                                        Cantoira

The richer morphology of the enclitic exponent, as in (43d), where the specialized *-vu* alternates with *-s* of the 2ps in declarative form, seems due to the need to externalize the agreement properties on T. In this analysis, the occurrence of proclitic pronoun such as *u* in (43c-d), does not entail particular difficulties, in the sense that it is inserted in the space between C and

T where it doubles the inflectional properties of the verb, essentially like in the occurrence in (40d). We must only say that some dialects require doubling and that children must learn this restriction. We can trace to this approach also the particular type of enclisis that we observed in the Occitan dialects, for instance in that of Pomaretto in (8b), where the specialized element -*b* for interrogative inversion appears, that Ronjat (1937) relates to a definite locative.

5. V2 in Rhaeto-Romance

Harking back to Brandi and Cordin (1981), Rizzi (1986) and other authors differentiate northern Italian SCls from French subject clitics according to the position. The idea is that SCls that combine with lexical subjects are in INFL, essentially an autonomous realization of agreement properties of the sentence, while the pronominal subjects of French are in Spec of INFL, like full pronouns in Germanic languages, whereby the alternation with lexical subjects is derived. Therefore, in Romansh and Ladin V2 varieties illustrated in section 3, the subject (including SCls) is assigned to the D/NP position of INFL, like in French (Haiman and Benincà 1992). Manzini and Savoia (2005) and others support the idea that in languages like Italian and Italian dialects the subject is inserted in a Topic position, in cartographic terms a position within the C field, higher than the domain of INFL/T. In Germanic and Rhaeto-Romance languages the lexical subject externalizes the φ-features of INFL, excluding other realizations of the subject by clitic inflectional positions, possibly by virtue of a general third factor prohibition against the repetition of lexical elements.

In the case of inversion, Benincà (2013: 69-70) proposes that V2 corresponds to the requirement whereby the verb is associated with a low position in the field C, so determining enclisis in the case where an adverbial or a DP different from the subject occupies the topic position in C.

[…] l'etichetta V2 indica una lingua in cui nelle frasi principali assertive il V si muove nella periferia della frase, l'area detta CP, in una testa C oltre la posizione del soggetto nominativo, attivando almeno una posizione per un costituente che si muove a sinistra di V, nello Specificatore. […] Il processo è libero nelle principali, dovrebbe essere impedito nelle dipendenti, che occupano la testa C con altro materiale.

The cartographic representation is stated in the structure in (44), where the verb of the V2 context is in the lower position C^0 and the subject or other lexical elements are in its Spec position:

(44) [**CP** **C^0 sub./rel.** [Tema sospeso/Disloc.Sin. *Topic*] [Operatore: *Focus*/ *wh*] **V/C^0 wh** [**IP** [**(Sogg.)**] (Benincà 2013: 73)

The previous structure includes the current cartographic assumption that the C field includes several positions for the verb, interpolated by Topic and Focus categories. As to V2 in embedded sentences, Benincà concludes that the complementizer is inserted in the higher position C and the occurrence of nominal or adverbial elements in Topic/ Focus positions is possible, thus giving rise to the V2 order.

In the proposal of Lohnstein (2020: 196-197) V2 is a mechanism of 'definiteness fronting'. The idea is that in V2 languages the speech tense, 't_s' and situation 's_s' variables are transferred into the C-system anchoring the event to the discourse situation. A similar result is produced by the fronting of an element, for example the subject, which 'confirms the existence of the event', provided as true by the speaker.

Although the previous approaches to inversion and V2 assume that the verb moves to a higher position, in the C field, associated with a topicalized element, indeed, in North Italy varieties, the lexical subject is available to different interpretations such as topic, contrastive topic, new informa-

tion. In V2 languages new information is typically expressed on the right of the verb, in the form of a postverbal subject, and, in varieties with enclitics, by the specialized inflection of V2, as in the case of interrogatives. What precedes the verb is often read as a topic, while the right space of the clause tends to be interpreted as new information, that is at least an informational focus, as in (45).

(45)   a.   kaˈia dorm-era mia so
                 there sleep-SCl my sister
                 'My sister sleeps there'

     b. C_{φ} T   [v V_R
                 kaˈia dorm-era   mia so   'My sister sleeps there'
                                                       La Pli de Mareo

However, as discussed in literature, Romance languages admit the left dislocation of a focus, but a topical element is however distinguished by the resumptive OCl. Rizzi (1997) excludes the possibility of the co-occurrence of recursive focalized elements in the left periphery of the sentence, this also explaining the incompatibility of two adjacent Focus elements, including a wh-element, identified as a focal position. In the structural model of the left periphery, …C_o (Top*) (Foc) (Top*)…, a Topic has no problem to embed another Topic or a Focus, while this does not hold for Focus, because the recursion of a FocP would imply the presuppositional interpretation of the lower focal head (Rizzi 1997: 297)[7].

In Rhaeto-Romance main clauses, inversion is usually associated topical elements on the left of the verb. The examples in (46) from La Pli de Mareo and (47) from Müstair illustrate this pattern. In these varieties, the resumptive OCl in contexts with the left dislocation of the object, typical of Italian and Northern Italian dialects, is not provided, as in (46a) and (47a). We note that Engadine varieties, here Müstair's dialect, present the prepositional accusative with animate objects, as in (47a) (cf. Manzini ad Savoia 2005, § 4.9).

(46)   La Pli de Mareo

     a.   [to fre / el $_{Topic}$]   veg-ai   ei
            Your brother / him   see-3mpl   they
            'They see your brother/ him'

     b.   [magari $_{event\ modifier/}$] ez-ai   ɲy-s   [ty mitun-s $_{new\ inf/\ aboutness\ Focus}$]
            maybe   be-SCl.mpl   come-pl   your boy-pl
            'Maybe your boys have come'

     c.   magari $_{event\ modifier/\ focalizer}$ [en doman $_{Topic?}$]   ne veɲ-eres   nia
            maybe   tomorrow   Neg come-SCl.fpl   Neg
            'Maybe they come tomorrow'

---

[7] In the literature the possibility of combining two focused elements is attested. This is related to an interpretation in which the value of the variable associated with the focus is not necessarily provided by the interlocutor. This is the case of indirect questions, as in (i) (Bocci et al. 2018: 38)

(i)   Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa dovresti dare (non a Piero)
          'I wonder TO GIANNI what should you give (not to Piero)'

The authors conclude that in such contexts there would be no expectations for assigning a value to the variable.

(47) Müstair

    a.   [ad ɛl / a-l tʃauŋ _{Topic}]   klɔm-n-i   (ply tard)
        To him / to the dog   do-3pl-3pl   (later)
        'They call him/ the dog later'

    b.   [dumauŋ _{Topic/Aboutness Focus}]   nu veŋ-n-i   as omen-s
        tomorrow   Neg come-3pl-3pl the men
        'The men will not come tomorrow'

A preverbal subject excludes the inversion. Nevertheless, this holds not only for topical subjects but also for focal DPs. (48a.b) for La Pli de Mareo, (49) for Selva and (50a-b) for Müstair illustrate topical subjects.

(48) La Pli de Mareo

    a.   [to møt _{Topic}]   veŋ   endomaŋ
        your boy   come.3ps   tomorrow
        'My son will come tomorrow'

    b.   [mia so _{Topic}]   n e nia ɲy-d-a
        ma sister   Meg is Neg come-PP-fsg
        'My sister did not come'

(49) Selva Val Gardena

        äl dumaŋ   dɔʀm   tlo
        he tomorrow   sleeps   there

(50) Müstair

    a.   [dumauŋ _{Topic}] [kwel om _{Topic}]   nu veŋ
        tomorrow   that man   Neg come.3ps
        'That man will not come tomorrow'

    b.   [kwiʃta dona _{Topic}] [dumauŋ _{Topic/ new information?}]   nu veŋ
        This woman tomorrow   Neg come.3ps
        'This woman does not come tomorrow'

This pattern also characterizes focalized subjects. It applies to pre-posed subjects with new information properties, as in the case of corrective or contrastive subjects in (51a,b, c, c'), to wh- elements in (51d-d') and (52a) in questions on the subject (cf. Rizzi 1997), and indefinite elements in (51e-e') and (52b), where inversion is excluded.

(51) La Pli de Mareo

    a.   [to møt _{Focus}]   veŋ   endomaŋ   (no le mio) !
        your boy   come.3ps   tomorrow   not Art mine
        'My son will come tomorrow, not mine!"

b.   [el _Focus_]   veŋ   endomaŋ   (no ɛra) !
     he   come.3ps   tomorrow   not she
     'He will come tomorrow, not she!'

c.   [iu _Focus_]   suŋ
     I   am
     'It is me!'

c.' [i _Focus_]   suŋ   bɛŋ iu
     I   am   just I
     'It is me!'

d.   [ke _Focus_]   mo   kɛrd-a?
     who   me   calls
     'Who calls me?'

d'. [tʃi era _Focus_]   veŋ   pa ?
     which woman   comes   Prt
     'Who/ which woman is coming?'

e.   [degyɲ / valgyɲ _Focus_]   te   kɛrd-a
     nobody / someone   me   calls
     'Nobody/ someone calls you'

e'. [tsaˈkai _Focus_]   veŋ
     someone   comes
     'Someone is coming'

(52)   Müstair

a.   [tʃi _Focus_]   veŋ?
     Who   comes
     'Who us coming?'

b.   [nindʒyŋ _Focus_]   nu   maindʒa
     nobdy   Neg eat-3ps
     'Nobody eats'

    The data in (51) and (52) show that, also in the case of a focalized subject, including corrective or contrastive Focus, the inversion is excluded.

    The presence of another preverbal element between the subject and the verb, though generally avoided, in (49) and (50b), seems not to necessarily block the agreement subject-verb in declarative sentences.

5.1. Informational focus structures in North Italy and Rhaeto-Romance varieties

    Before proceeding with the analysis of V2, we note that in most of the varieties examined, V2 varieties included, the focalization of a third person lexical subject has a dedicated syntax in which the subject is post-verbal, the verbal inflection is in the third person singular and the participle is masculine singular, as in (53) (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2007, Ch. 2). In these constructs the SCl generally coincides with the 3sg masculine form, as in (53c-c') for La Pli de Mareo and (53b) for Corte, or with a non-specialized form, such as *a* in (53a) for S. Benedetto

Po (Manzini and Savoia 2005, pf. 2.9). In Romansh varieties, expletive inversion is introduced by the SCl specialized for indefinite and impersonal structures, that is *i(d)* in the dialect of Müstair in (53d) and *(i)ʎ* in the dialect of Mulegns, in (53e).

(53)

a. S. Benedetto Po

   a   dɔrʊm   i   pytiŋ   vs   i pytiŋ   i   dɔrʊm
   SCl sleep.3sg the.pl children   the.pl children SCl.mpl sleep
   'The children sleep'   'The children sleep'

b. Corte

   l   e   veɲ-u   i   tozatʃ   vs   i tozatʃ i   e   veɲu-s
   SCl.msg   is   come-PP the.mpl boys   the.mpl boys SCl.3mpl are come-PP-pl
   'The boys have come'   'The boys have come'

c. La Pli de Mareo

   al   e   ɲ-y   ty-es mitaŋ-s_focus vs ki mituŋs   e ɲ-y-s
   SCl3msg   is   come-PP your girls   these boys are come-PP-pl
   'Your daughters have come'   'These boys have come'

c.' al   køʃ   l   ega
    SCl.3msg boils   the water
    'The water is boiling'

d. Müstair

   i   veŋ   kindalts   vs   as   kindalts veɲ-aŋ   dɔ:
                                                  the.pl boys   come-3pl later
   SCl3ps come.3sg boys   'The boys come later'
   'Boys have come'

e. Mulegns

   ʎ   e   riˈv-o   (iʎts) umfants   vs   ɛlts ɛn riˈv-o-s
   SCl.3ps is   come-PP   the.pl boys   they.mpl are come-PP-pl
   'The boys have come'   'They have come'

Manzini and Savoia (2007: 64) explain these constructs assuming the analysis of focusing proposed by Chomsky (1977: 203-204; 1981: 96), in the terms of an operator variable structure, where the relevant variable is closed existentially at some level. Thus, a sentence like (53a) has the logical form approximately of the type in (54).

(54) there is an x such that x sleeps and x_the boys

According to Manzini and Savoia (2007: 64), in the logical form in (54), 'the relevant subject clitic and/or verb inflection simply introduce the D sentential argument as a variable […] identified by the postverbal subject through what we can construe as a predication relation.' Independently from the varieties such as those in (53), in any case, in Italian varieties the postverbal subject operates as a predicate providing full referential properties to the verb and eventually to the SCl.

The link between the post-verbal subject and its focused reading seems to suggest a connection with V2, in the sense that it is no coincidence that in the latter the postverbal position

of the subject is possibly associated with new information. In other words, we can assign a sentence like (55a) the interpretation in (55b),

(55)   a.   kaˈia dorm-era mia so
                      here sleep-3fsg my sister
                      'My sister sleeps here'
             b.   ∃x such that x sleeps, 'sleep' is there, and x is my sister

La Pli de Mareo

Thus, in V2 the existential operator takes in its scope an argumental variable, the content of which is fixed by the postverbal subject. Complementarily, if in a V2 context preverbal position is a topical element the focus reading is generally triggered.

5.2. A Phasal analysis

We can rethink the phenomenon in accordance with the idea of Chomsky (2008, 2020) that T inherits φ-features and Tense from C. The Phase organization can suggest a structural treatment of inversion, so that the possible link with pragmatic interpretation can be seen as a relevant but not defining property. Let us start by considering proclitic SCls in North Italy varieties. As we saw in section 2, they correspond to pronouns specialized for the realization of φ-features of the subject. We conclude that such lexical elements are selected by verbal forms. Thus, φ-features in T are saturated both by the inflection, as in Italian, and by specialized pronouns selected by the verb, as in (56a), where the SCl of 3pl *u* of Cantoira in (15), *əl fiøt-əs u ryv-unt* 'The girls arrive', is selected by the verb. The subject does not lexicalize $T_φ$ and, however we represent the position of the subject, it is inserted freely, as in (56b). It can be a topic or a focus element.

(56) a. $u_{[ç]}$ ⟵⟶ __ [V_{pl}

      b. $(C_φ)$ T   [v V_R
                   əl fiøt-əs   [$u_φ$ [ryv-unt$_φ$ 'The girls arrive'
                                                                                       Cantoira

In languages where the combination of SCls and lexical subjects is not permitted, SCls are not selected. They agree with the verb that realizes the features of T, as well as the other pronominal or lexical subjects. Thus, in Rhaeto-Romance with SCls, while externalizing Tφ, they are not obligatorily selected by the verb, but are lexically restricted to verbal contexts, SCl ⟵⟶ ∅ __ $T_φ$, as suggested in (57) for the clause *mio fre/ el/ al dɔrm* 'My brother/ he sleeps' of La Pli de Mareo. Again, duplication of the subject is excluded, as usually in sentences of this language.

(57) $C_φ$ T   [v V_R
                   mio fre/ el/ al$_φ$ [dɔrm$_φ$ 'My brother/ he sleeps'
                                                                                    La Pli de Mareo

As a first consequence of this analysis, the reason why enclitics are compatible with lexical subjects whereas proclitics are not, is directly derived. In fact, enclitics, as inflections, do not interfere with the realization of the lexical subject, with which it can co-occur, as in (54).

If we focus on the V2 languages discussed here, we can schematize the data concerning the occurrence of the subject in the terms of the generalizations in (58):

(58) Generalizations concerning the subject
      a. A lexical DP/a pronoun/ a SCl in preverbal position licenses the φ-features of T
      b. In the absence of the preverbal subject, the specialized enclitic paradigm is realized

The question on the subject, in (51) and (52) appears in accordance with this pattern, whereby its preverbal position is sufficient to realize verbal agreement, as required in these languages.

What we find is a reduced / weak inflection, in (27), on the verb when a DP occurs as the subject in the C-T Phase. In contexts of inversion a rich/ string paradigm, in (27'), emerges, when the DP subject is in the vP phase or is not realized. Hence, two different ways of externalizing the subject are shaped according to the phasal organization, as in (59a-b).

(59)a. CP $T_{\varphi i}$ || vP   V
        $[DP_{\varphi i}]$ $R_{weak\varphi i}$ …

   b.   CP $T_{\varphi i}$ || vP   V
        … $R_{strong\varphi i}$ $([DP_{\varphi i}])$

If the subject is External-Merged in the C-T Phase, where it saturates the referential features of the inflected verb, the weak paradigm is inserted, as in (59a). If the subject is not realized, is in the Phase vP, or is dislocated by IM, the strong inflection is inserted, as in (59b). We obtain the choice in the externalization in (60a-b):

(60) The externalization parameter
      a.   Weak agreement on the verb if the subject is within the phase C-T
      b   Elsewhere, strong agreement

Substantially, the weak inflection selects a DP (lexical item, pronoun or SCL) that contribute to lexicalizing the referential features of the subject within C-T Phase, while the strong inflection occurs if the subject is not realized in the C Phase and the operation of Transfer applies to the features realized by the verb. Naturally, according to PIC, v and its edge are accessible to T. However, we observe that inversion is not necessarily associated with an expressed post-verbal subject. We can conclude that the insertion of a verb endowed with the strong inflection does not select a DP in the C-T Phase; when the subject occurs in vP phase nothing prevents it from agreeing with the verb in T. Interestingly, we can think that the structure in (53), with post-verbal subject and 3sg agreement, implies a similar analysis, as a particular case of (59b), with the difference that the subject is required. However, the verb inflection differs from that occurs when (59a) is externalized.

In questions on the complement or the event, inversion occurs although the lexical subject is dislocated in pre-verbal position, as in (61a-b-c) and (62a-b-b'). Its occurrence on the right of the inverted verb seems to correspond to its original insertion in vP.

(61)   La Pli de Mareo

    a.   [tya so / la pitʃera]   dorm-era?
           your sister/ the baby   sleep-3fsg
           'Your sister, does she sleep?

    b.   le feʒ-el   [el _{Focus}?]
           it does-3msg   he
           'Does he do it?'

    c.   [tʃi _{Focus}?]   a-l   pa oˈdy   ʒaŋ?
           Who   have-3msg Prt seen.msg John
           'Who did John see?'

(62)   Müstair

    a.   [la pwɔb-a]   dɔrm-la?
           to her/ to-the boy   sleep-3fsg
           'Does the girl sleep?'

    b.   [tʃai]   faun-i (kwelas donas)?
           what   do-3pl those women
           'What do those women do?'

    b'.   [a tʃi _{Focus}]   klɔm-al ?
           to who   call-3msg
           'Who does he call?'

We must conclude that in these contexts the pre-verbal subject does not licenses the φ-features as provided in (60a). We think that it is out of the C-T Phase of the verb, as in (63).

(63) C_φ T_φ [v V_R
       (tya so$_\varphi$)   dorm-era$_\varphi$

                                           La Pli de Mareo

This also holds for the question on the object, in (58c) and (59b-b'), where the subject occurs in post-verbal position.

We can trace back to this analysis the sentences with indefinite and interrogative subjects with inversion in Rhaeto-Romance varieties. In these structures, the verb and its SCl are in the 3sg, as in (64a) for 'who', (64b) for 'which ones?', and (64a'-b) for 'nobody'; a similar structure characterizes many North Italian dialects, as in (64c) for the variety of Corte.

(64) a.   ke   / taŋ de mituŋ-s / tʃi era   veɲ-el   pa?   La Pli de Mareo

        Who / how many boys / which woman come-SCl3msg Prt

        'Who is coming? / How many boys are coming? / Which woman is coming?'

a'. al   ne baj-a   degyɲ
    SCl.3sg Neg talk-3sg nobody
    'Nobody talks'

b. tʃunes   je-l   pa?   Selva Val Gardena

    which.fpl   is-3msg Prt
    'Which are they?'

c. i   nu   maindʒa nindʒyŋ   Müstair

    SCl3ps Neg   eats   nobody

    'Nobody eats'

d. ki   veɲ-elo?   Corte

    who   come-3msg

    'Who is coming?'

Thus, the focused wh- is treated as other focused subjects, with the 3sg agreement, as in (65), for (64a).

(65)

    b. *for which woman*   ∃x   C T_x [v

        tʃi era   veɲ-el$_x$ pa
                                           La Pli

Again, the pre-verbal position is irrelevant to the verb agreement.

5.3. Hypothetical constructions

A further context of inversion is the consequent clause of hypothetical constructions, as illustrated in (66a,b) for La Pli de Mareo and (66a-b) for Müstair. The data in (66a'-b') and (67a') show that the insertion of the lexical subject, here the full pronoun ei 'they', in the consequent clause combines with the usual weak inflection on the verb.

(66) Hypothetical construction
    La Pli de Mareo

a. [ʃ   al   veŋ]   (ʃe) te kɛrd-ai

    if   SCl.3msg comes   (if) you call-3pl
    'If he comes, they call you'

a'.   (ʃe) ei te kɛrd-a
                                (if) they you call-3pl

b. [ʃ al   baˈjas   (pa)] (ʃe) leʃkurtass-ai pro

| | f SCl.3msg | spoke.subj. | Prt | | heard.subj-3pl Prt |

'if he spoke, they would hear him'

  b'.   (ʃe) ei   le   ʃkurtass   pro
                  (if) they   him   heard.subj.3pl   Prt

            .

(67)   Müstair

  a.   [ʃa   el   riv-a]   (ʃi) ta klɔm-al
     if   he   arrive-3sg   (if) you calk-3sg
     'If he arrive, he call you/ my brother calls you'

  a'.   (ʃi) me fra/ el ta klɔm-a
                (if) my brother / he you call.3sg

  b.   [ʃa ty veɲ-aʃ]   (ʃi) t aʃpɛt-al
     if   you come-2sg   (if) he you wait-3msg
     'If you come, he wat for you'

In both varieties, the hypothetical introducer, ʃe/ ʃa 'if', can be doubled by an alternant in front of the consequent clause. The distribution illustrated in (66)-(67) satisfies the parameter in (60), because inversion emerges in the case that in the consequent clause the lexical subject is missing. Another thing is to understand the reason, obviously discourse-linked: the if-clause of a hypothetical introduces an epistemic topical clause, i.e. a Speaker presupposition, with the effect that the subject is interpreted in the discourse. The result is that is inversion is realized, independently of the structural relation between the two clauses.

5.4. *Ladin pa*

In Ladin varieties, in interrogative, exclamative, negative and other modal contexts, including those with inversion, the Particle pa can occur, typically associated with irreal interpretation (cf. Poletto 2000, pf. 3.3; Manzini and Savoia 2005, pf. 3.8.2), as illustrated in (68) and already exemplified in (18c) and (19c). In interrogative contexts usually it is inserted after the inverted verb, as in (68a-c), even if other positions are not excluded, as in (68a'). Its occurrence in exclamative and negative contexts like (68c) and (68d) could suggest that there is no special structural requirement constraining its insertion.

(68)   La Pli de Mareo

  a.   oˈla   va-s-te   pa   a'.   oˈla   pa   vas-te?
     where   go-2sg-2sg   Prt   where   Prt   go-2sg-2sg
     'Where do you go?'

  b.   ˈlae-te   pa!
     wash yourself   Prt
     'Wash yourself!

c.	al	baj-a	pa	ntre:s!
	SCl.3msg	talk-s	Prt	always
	'He always talks'			
d.	al	ne	baj-a pa	nia
	SCl.3msg	Neg	talk-s Prt	Neg
	'He does not talk'			

Interestingly, pa can be also inserted in V2 context, where, as suggested by an informant, it strengthens the sentence, as in (69).

(69)   La Pli de Mareo
        eŋ domaŋ   veŋ-ai   pa   dytʃ
        tomorrow   come-SClrpl   Prt   all
        'Tomorrow, they will all come'

On the basis of data with inversion, Poletto (2000: 48) argues that pa occurs in the Spec position of the lowest C position of the field C, where it follows the verb-SCl cluster. Manzini and Savoia (2005) suggest that pa is an aspectual adverbial occurring in a position preceding T. Although both proposals refers to a cartographic approach, the analysis that separates pa from the inversion phenomenon seems to be more adequate, both because pa can occur also in contexts without inversion as (68c,d), and because it can precede the inverted form, as in (68a').

If we consider the wide range of possible contexts in which pa occurs, its semantic contribution cannot be necessarily connected to the movement to C domain. Our idea is that it is a discourse-linked item, that, like other items of this type, has the effect of blocking 'movement to C' (cf. Rizzi 1996: 87), or, in other terms, is not associated with inversion. As noted by Manzini and Savoia (2005: 516), the notion of D-linked can be subsumed by that of specificity. Indeed, this conclusion seems to adequately match the occurrence of pa also in inversion contexts. Thus (68a) can be read as suggested in (70), where pa means something like 'why just there and now?' and has scope over the entire sentence.

(70)   what is the place x such that   C T_y v   V
                                                Ola$_x$ vas-te$_y$]   pa$_{D-linked}$?

6. Some conclusions

In this article two connected topic are investigated: the nature of enclitic pronouns in North Italy and Rhaeto-Romance varieties and the relation of enclisis with the V2 syntax. In pursuing this study, we have followed the Phase model and the recent reformulation of Strong Minimalist Thesis proposed by Chomsky (2020, 2021). In particular, we have assumed that inflectional morphology is part of the syntactic computation based on the Merge operation and that lexical elements, including inflectional morphemes, are endowed with interpretable content: There is no probe-goal mechanism triggered by uninterpretable features. While generative literature generally treats inversion as the result of the verb movement to the C field in order to satisfy the uninterpretable features that trigger head-raising, we have followed a different idea. First, based on their distributional properties, we conclude that enclitics are a type of specialized

inflection, possibly somehow connected with interpretive properties. This solution ended up questioning the verb raising to C. V2 varieties showed a larger set of properties associated with inversion, requiring a more precise characterization of inverted forms. The gist of our analysis is that the inversion phenomena involve two types of agreement subject-verb depending on Phase domains, whereby agreement within T-C Phase is associated with a mire reduced inflection than when the subject is in the vP Phase or is missing. The hypothesis that enclitics are inflections can explain the fact that in V2 varieties enclitics can combine with lexical subjects. Needless to say, the different types of clause organization can be available to interpretive se in terms of topic-focus organization. Hence, the distribution of SCls, full pronouns and lexical subjects can be accounted for by the conceptualization that we have adopted, in which there is no necessity to assume verb movement to C, also considering that T inherits from C all relevant features.

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