

Clitics in imperative: proclisis, enclisis and mesocclisis in Albanian and in Italo-Romance varieties of Lausberg area

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Abstract

The relation between morpho-syntactic structure and its externalization into interpretive levels is the topic of this article. In many languages, typically in Romance and Albanian varieties, modal contexts, specifically imperative and infinitive, and negation, give rise to phenomena of clitic reordering and an interesting micro-variation. Imperative differs from declarative sentences in selecting enclisis except in negative contexts. Moreover, in Albanian mesocclisis appears in the 2nd plural person of imperative, between the verbal base and the person inflection. A similar distribution characterizes Calabro-Lucanian varieties spoken in Lausberg area, in contact with Arbëresh (Italo-Albanian) dialects. This article proposes to analyze the influence of modal contexts on the lexicalization of object clitics (OCls) and their different behavior in connection to their referential properties. Our descriptive and theoretical starting point is the representational morpho-syntactic approach adopted in Manzini and Savoia (2011 and subsequent works; see Section 5).

Keywords: imperative mood, mesocclisis, negative contexts, Albanian varieties, Romance varieties

1. Introduction

In this article, we will investigate some Albanian and Italo-Romance varieties that share mesocclisis in imperatives, i.e. the insertion of object clitics between the root and the inflection. The Albanian varieties include the Gheg spoken in Shkodër, the Tosk of Gjirokastër and the Arbëresh (Italo-Albanian) varieties of Firmo (Calabria), San Costantino Albanese (Basilicata), Greci (Campania) and San Marzano di San Giuseppe (Apulia). As to the Italo-Romance dialects, we have dealt with the imperative forms of Terranova Pollino and Senise (Basilicata), and Morano (Calabria), all belonging to the so-called Lausberg area, i.e. the conservative Romance area on the border between Basilicata and Calabria and surrounding the Pollino Massif, also including a number of Arbëresh villages in contact conditions. Finally, in order to substantiate our analysis, the doubling of object clitics in the North Apulian dialect of San Severo, and the imperative inflection in the South Calabrian dialect of Cardeto will be

examined. As is known from the literature, all of these varieties possess a system of object clitics that occur in proclisis in declarative sentences and in enclisis in imperatives, and, in some Romance languages, also in infinitive contexts. Here, we will analyze the distribution of OCl in imperative, as being a clue to understand its syntactic properties.

2. Imperative mood: A non-veridical form

Imperatives are strictly linked to a specific illocutionary force, an act of command (Aikhenvald 2010), addressed to the recipient. The reference to the latter provides the content for the interpretation of the subject. In other words, the subject of the imperatives is the recipient of the locutory production in the context of the speech act. So, the imperative generally excludes tense distinctions, insofar as it is deictically anchored to the discourse universe. Naturally, formal properties of the verb vary across languages, depending on their inflectional organization, so that in many languages imperative can coincide with the lexical base/root of the verb, whereas in others imperative is in turn endowed with person-specialized morphology (Aikhenvald 2010, Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014).

From a typological perspective, imperatives show the reversal of the more generally assumed markedness scale between 1st and 2nd person, in the sense that “third person is marked, while second person is often unmarked, particularly in the singular” (Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014: 41). Aikhenvald (2010: 76) schematizes the continuum from non-canonical (left) to canonical (right) ‘person distinction’ in imperative in the scale in (1):

- (1) 1sg and/or 1p > 3 sg or pl > 1p inclusive > 2p (sg, pl, or nonsingular)
 exclusive non-singular

Thus, imperative overturns the markedness hierarchy underlying assertion/declarative sentences, in which 1st person subjects introduce the less marked type of references. This is evidenced by languages with subject clitics where it is the 1st person clitic pronoun that most frequently can be missing in the paradigm (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005, forthcoming).

Both syntax and semantics of imperatives raised some debated issues. Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 192), assuming a cartographic approach, conclude that imperatives imply a sentence structure lacking the anchoring to the tense, mood and finiteness projections, usually characterizing declaratives and interrogatives, whereby “[t]he absence of FinP prevents the imperative clause both from referring to the event expressed and from containing a proper subject”. The gist is that the order establishes a connection between the ‘prominent argument of the sentence’, the addressee to whom the order is given, and the event referred to by the proposition. Nevertheless, the non-finite nature of imperatives does not exempt them from presenting agreement properties independently of the modal and temporal specifications. All things considered, the crucial imperative property is the fact that the eventive content of the verbal lexical element is not associated to temporal or other referential morphosyntactic devices.

From a semantic point of view, imperatives introduce a clause that escapes the truth conditions generally applicable to declaratives (Giannakidou 1998). According to Portner

(2004) imperatives lexicalize a property rather than an event. In a nutshell, a very usual analysis is that the imperative form assigns a property to a prominent argument, identified with the addressee (Platzak and Rosengren 1998, Mauck and Zanuttini 2005). This identification is governed by the association via Merge (Mauck and Zanuttini 2005) of the prepositional argument with the Addressee selected by the Speech Act. This mechanism is explained in Zanuttini (2008: 196) by postulating that the imperative is the head of a JussiveP projection, which “has an operator in its specifier that... takes as input a proposition, consisting of the predicate saturated by the subject, and yields as output a property. This property has a presupposition that its argument, corresponding to the subject, refers to the addressee(s).” In other words, in the imperative a modal operator connects the situation denoted by the sentence in its scope to the hearer denotation.

Leaving out the structural solutions adopted in the literature, we agree with the proposal that the imperative denotes a property “which can only be true of the addressee” (Portner 2004: 239), rather than an event, and as such submitted to veridicality requirements. Schematizing, the idea of Mauck and Zanuttini (2005) is that imperative is a predicate with an unsaturated variable x bound by the λ operator introduced by the modal element as in (2), where f_{ix} is the 2nd person imperative form coinciding with the verbal root exemplified in (3a).

$$(2) \quad \begin{array}{l} f_{ix} \\ \lambda x, \text{ see } (x, y) \end{array}$$

Naturally, the expressed (or covert) agreement of imperatives coincides with the features identifying the addressee – in many languages this is externalized by specialized inflectional exponents (Aikhenvald 2010, Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014), as in the case of the inflection of 2nd plural *-te* in Standard Italian and many Romance dialects, *-ni* in Albanian varieties. This raises an interesting issue, since the 2nd person inflection and object clitics lexicalize referential properties, possibly undergoing truth conditions, contrasting with the counterfactual nature of the imperative. This discrepancy can be seen as the reason for clitics in imperative clauses to be lexicalized by specialized forms in comparison with declarative ones (Manzini and Savoia 2017).

3. Clitic distribution in imperatives: Albanian

The micro-variation among Tosk (Ghirokastër), Gheg (Shkodër) and Arbëresh varieties primarily involves the position of object clitics separating varieties allowing for total mesocclisis, as Albanian Tosk in (3), partial mesocclisis, as generally Arbëresh dialects of Italy in (4–5–6), or selectively preventing mesocclisis, as Shkodër Gheg in (7). Positive imperatives are exemplified in (a)–(a') for 2nd singular and (b)–(b') 2nd plural forms. (a)–(b) illustrate the insertion of a 3rd person clitic, (a')–(b') illustrate the insertion of the 1st person clitic, (c)–(c') exemplify the 1st person+3rd person accusative clusters and (d)–(d') the 3rd person dative +3rd person accusative clusters. As to the inflection of the imperative, it is of note that the 2nd singular person coincides with the root of the verb, whereas the 2nd plural person has the morpheme of 2nd plural *-ni*, as in *fìxni!* ‘see (2nd plural)!’, *silni!* ‘bring (2nd plural)!’ (Gjirokastër) (for a comparison, see the negative forms in (8)). The 1st plural clitic is generally avoided or, eventually, it occurs before

the verb, although mesoclisism or enclisis seem to be accepted by some speakers, as exemplified in (e). The data in (f) illustrate the structures where the dative clitic *i* is inserted alone; in this variety it occurs in mesoclisism like the other 3rd person clitics. Finally, for the sake of completeness, we present OCl's in pre-verbal position in declaratives, precisely accusatives in (g), dative in (g') and reflexive/unaccusative in (g'') (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2007). It is of note that generally the 3rd singular person OCl is realized by the alternant ε in isolation and by the alternant *-a* in clusters *oblique-accusative*, as shown by the comparison between (3-7a,b) and (3-7c,d).

- (3) a. $\text{ʃix- } \varepsilon \quad / i$
 see- him/her / them
 'see(sg) her/him/them'
- a'. $\text{ʃix- } m\text{ə}$
 see me
 'see(sg) me'
- b. $\text{ʃix- } \varepsilon\text{-} \quad ni$
 see- him/her 2PL
 'see(pl) him/her'
- b'. $\text{ʃix- } m\text{ə-} \quad ni$
 see- me 2PL
 'see/dress(pl) me'
- c. $j\text{ɛp- } i\text{-} \quad a$
 give him/her it
 'give(sg) it to him/her'
- c'. $n\text{ə-}/j\text{ɛp- } m\text{-} \quad a$
 give me it
 'give(sg) it to me'
- d. $j\text{ɛp- } i\text{-} \quad a\text{-} \quad ni$
 give- him/her it 2PL
 'give(pl) it to him/her/them'
- d'. $n\text{ə-}/j\text{ɛp-} \quad / \text{sil} \quad m\text{-} \quad a \quad / i\text{-} \quad ni$
 give / bring me it / them 2PL
 'give/bring(pl) it to me'
- e. $\text{prit- } na\text{-} \quad ni$
 wait for us- 2PL
 'wait for(pl) us'
- f. $j\text{ɛp- } i\text{-} \quad ni \quad k\text{ət}\text{ə}$
 give- him/her 2PL this
 'give(pl) him/her/them this'
- g. $m\text{ə} \quad / t\text{ə} \quad / \varepsilon \quad / i \quad / na \quad / ju \quad \theta\text{ə}r\text{asin}$
 me / you / her/him / them / us / you(pl) they.call
 'they call me/you/her/him/them/us/you'
- g'. $i \quad a \quad \text{ðatʃ}$
 to him/her it I.gave
 'I gave it to him/her'
- g''. $ai \quad u \quad v\text{ɛ}ʃ$
 he refl he.dressed
 'he dressed up'

Differently from Tosk varieties, in Arbëresh dialects, in the case of the clitic string *dative+accusative* deictic clitics (1st person) are incorporated inside the word, while the 3rd person clitics are inserted on the right of the inflection. The following data come from the varieties of Firmo (Calabria) in (4) and San Costantino Albanese (Lucania) in (5). The simple occurrence of dative in (f), is obscured by the coalescence of the dative *-i* and the final vowel of the ending *-ni*, suggesting that its position is the same as the other 3rd person elements.

- (4) a. vɛʃ- ε / sərrit- i
dress him/her / call them
'dress(sg) her/him' / 'call them'
- a'. sərrit- im
call me
'call(sg) me'
- b. vɛʃ- ni- ε / zɔ- ni- ε
dress 2PL him/her / wake up 2PL him/her
'dress(pl) him/her' / 'wake up(pl) her/him'
- b'. sərrit- m- (n)i / zɔ- m- ni
call me 2PL / wake up me 2PL
'call(pl) me' / 'wake up(pl) me'
- c. jip- i- a
give 3DAT it
'give (sg) it to her/him'
- c'. ɔ- m- ε
give me it
'give (sg) it to me'
- d. jip- ni- i- a
give 2PL him/her it
'give (pl) it to her/him'
- d'. ɔ- m- ni- ε
give me 2PL it
'give(pl) it to me'
- e. zɔ- n(i)- na
wake up 2PL us
'wake(pl) us up'
- f. jip- ni(i) kit ʃurbɛs
give 2PL this thing
'give this thing to him/her'
- g. mə / tə / ε / i / na / ju ʃɔkin
me / you / her/him / them / us / you(pl) they.see
'they see me/you/her/him/them/us/you'
- g'. i a japjin
to him/her it they.give
'they give it to him/her'
- g''. ai u uʎ
he refl he.sat
'he sat up'

Firmo

- (5) a. siɛl- ε / i
bring him/her / them
'bring(sg) her/him/them (towards the speaker)'

- a'. ciɛl- əm
bring me
'bring(sg) me (away from the speaker)'
- b. sil- ni- ε
bring 2PL him/her
'bring(pl) her/him up'
- b'. cɛl- m- i
bring me 2PL
'bring(pl) me!'
- c. siɛl- m- ε
bring me it
'bring(sg) it to me'
- c'. sil- m- ni- ε
bring me 2PL it
'bring(pl) it to me'
- d. jip- i- a
give him/her it
'give(2sg) it to him/her'
- d'. cɛl- n- i- a
bring 2PL her/him it
'bring(2pl) it to him/her'
- f. jip- n (i/ -i) ktə
give- 2PL him/her this
'give this to him/her'

San Costantino

It is worth noting that in (5) the 2nd plural person of imperative presents two alternants *-i* and *-ni*, the first of which is the usual inflection of the 2nd plural person of indicative. In the imperative *-ni* becomes obligatory in mesoclitis contexts, where it is preceded by the deictic 1st person clitic.

Some differences emerge in Arbëresh dialects. In *Greci*, the accusative clitic follows the imperative, as in (6a), whereas the 1st person clitic precedes it, as in (6b). When they combine, the 1st person clitic is in mesoclitis, while the accusative is inserted in enclisis.

- (6) a. zɔ- nni a
wake.up 2PL him
'wake(pl) him up'
- b. mə / na zɔ- nni
me / us wake.up 2PL
'wake me/us up'
- c. ne- m- ni a
give to.me 2PL it
'give it to me'

Greci

In the Gheg variety spoken in Shkodër, the 1st person clitics and clitic clusters *1st person+3rd person* occur in pre-verbal position, in this differentiating from the preceding varieties, which insert 1st person clitics in enclisis or in mesoclitis. 3rd person clitics and 3rd person clusters (accusative and dative) occur in post-verbal position, or, variably, in mesoclitis. We note that in 2nd plural forms with the 3rd person cluster *j-a* '3dat+3acc' the duplication of the 2nd plural

inflection is attested, as in (7d). Moreover, in Shkodër variety the cluster *i-a* doubles a lexical object so that we do not find the lexicalization of the simple dative *i* (cf. (3d)).

- (7) a. $\text{ʃif- } \varepsilon$
look at- him/her
'look at(sg) her/him'
- a'. $\text{m } \text{ʃif}$
me look at
'look at(sg) me'
- b. $\text{θir- ni- } \varepsilon$
call 2PL him/her
'call(pl) her/him'
- $\text{ʃif-θir- } \varepsilon\text{- ni}$
look at/call her/him 2PL
'look at / call (pl) her/him'
- b'. $\text{m } \text{ʃif-ni} / \text{θir-ni}$
me look-PL / call-pl
'look at / call (pl) me'
- c. nɛp- i- a
give.2SG 3DAT it
'give(sg) it to him/her'
- c'. $\text{m- a} / \text{na } \varepsilon \text{ nɛp}$
me it / us it give
'give(sg) it to me/us'
- d. $\text{nɛp- ni- i- a- (ni)} / \text{nɛp- i- a- ni}$
give 2PL him/her it 2PL / give- him/her it 2PL
'give(pl) it to him/her'
- $\text{tʃɔ- ni- i- a- (ni) (ktə)}$
bring 2PL him/her it 2PL
'bring(pl) it to him/her'
- d'. $\text{m a nɛp-} / \text{jɛp- ni}$
1SG it give- 2PL
'give(pl) it to me'
- g. $\text{m} / \text{t} / \varepsilon / \text{i} / \text{na} / \text{ju} \text{ ʃɛf}$
me / you / her/him / them / us / you(pl) (s)he.sees
'(s)he sees me/you/her/him/them/us/you'
- g'. i a nɛp
to him/her it (s)he.gives
'(s)he gives it to him/her'
- g''. u lava
refl I.wash
'I wash up'

Shkodër

What is to note is that the order between deictic and 3rd person clitics is substantially preserved as in other varieties, in the sense that deictic clitics occupy a position in a domain more to the left than the 3rd person clitics. This distribution is realized by placing deictic clitics before the verb and 3rd person clitics inside or to the right of the verbal form.

Negative imperatives involve a specialized negation *məs/mas* occurring in other modal contexts, and entail clitics to be inserted pre-verbally, in proclitic position, before all persons. The negation precedes the clitic string and the following verb, as illustrated in (8).

- (8) *məs* i- a jɛp
 neg him/her it give
 ‘do not give(sg) it to him’
məs m- a sil- ni
 neg me- it bring- 2PL
 ‘do not bring(pl) it to me’

Gjirokaštër

məs i- a / m- ε jip-ni
 neg him/her it / me it give-2PL
 ‘do not give(pl) it to him/me’
məs na zjo- ni
 neg us wake up 2PL
 ‘do not wake(pl) us up’

Firmo

məs m ε siɛl
 neg me it bring-2SG
 ‘do not bring (sg) it to me’
məs m ε sil-ni/sil-i / jip-i
 neg me it bring-2PL / give-2PL
 ‘do not bring/give(pl) it to me’

San Costantino

mas ε / m ʃif / ʃif-ni
 neg him/her / me look-2SG / look-2PL
 ‘do not look at (sg/pl) her/him/me’
mas m / i a nɛp / nɛp-ni
 neg me / him/her it give-2SG / PL
 ‘do not give(sg/pl) it to me / to her/him’

Shkodër

In the Arbëresh of San Marzano (Apulia) (cf. Manzini and Savoia 1999, 2007), otherwise showing the split between 1st person and 3rd person clitics on a par with the other Arbëresh varieties, cf. (8a), in negative contexts the object clitic is doubled in pre-verbal and enclitic position, as in (9b).

- (9) a. *hua-* nni- i- a
 tell 2PL him it
 ‘tell(2pl) it to him/her’
hua- mmə- ni- ε
 tell me 2PL it
 ‘tell(2pl) it to me’
 b. *məsə* m ε *hua-* nni- ε
 not me it tell-2PL it
 ‘do not tell it to me’
məs i a *hua-* nni- i- a
 not him it tell-2PL him it
 ‘do not tell(2pl) it to him’

San Marzano

Note that we have focused on the canonical 2nd person addressee forms of imperative (Kuryłowicz 1964), while we have left out the inclusive (you and I) 1st plural person. In Tosk and Gheg varieties, the 1st plural forms are realized by subjunctive forms, as in (10), introduced by the modal particle *tə* (MPrt), and the negation, in turn, implies the modal form *məs/mas*. In Arbëresh varieties we find the indicative form or the deontic periphrasis *have+inflected verb*, as illustrated in (10'); in the negative contexts the declarative contexts negation *nəŋg* 'not' occurs.

(10) (məs) t a vesh- im
neg MPrt him/her dress 1PL
'do not dress him/her'

(məs) t i- a jap- im
neg MPrt him/her it give 1PL
'do not give it to him/her'

Gjirokaštër

(mas) t i- a jap- im
neg MPrt him/her it give 1PL
'do not give it to him/her'

(mas) t la- hε- na
neg MPrt wash NA *Infl* 1PL
'do not wash'

Shkodër

(10') (nəŋg) (kε- mi) i- a jam- mi
neg (have 1PL) him/her it give 1PL
'we (do not) have to give it to him/her'

Firmo

(məs) i- a jap-mi
neg him/her it give-1PL
'do not give it to him/her'

San Costantino

In Albanian, 1st person inclusive is realized by subjunctive, as in (10), whereas in Southern Italian dialects illustrated here, the speaker inclusive form is not differentiated, as in Standard Italian. We recall that in the varieties we investigate in this article, only 2nd person may select a specialized form, not necessarily coinciding with the root; in the other cases we find forms coinciding with the corresponding ones of present indicative or, in the case of 1st inclusive in Albanian, with subjunctive.

Resorting to subjunctive in non-canonical persons, specifically 1st plural, is a widespread strategy for imperative. The general difficulty or impossibility for languages to have imperatives addressed to 1st and 3rd persons is overcome by using counterfactual forms such as exhortative and subjunctive (Aikhenvald 2010, Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014). As we saw in Section 2, imperative introduces a speech act interpretation whereby the only admitted subject is the recipient of the interaction, typically the 2nd person addressee. This restriction is reflected not only interpretively, excluding self-ascription (1st person addressee), but also structurally, entailing asymmetry between speaker and recipient (Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014: 106).

3.1. Non-Active imperative forms

In non-active forms of imperative the middle-reflexive or passive interpretation is generally lexicalized by the non-active (NA) clitic *u* (*oneself*; Manzini and Savoia 2007), characterizing passive, middle and reflexive forms of the verb also in the perfect and, according to the different varieties, in other tenses. In the imperative, the position of *u* is similar to that of the 3rd person clitics. In fact, *u* is in enclisis in the 2nd singular imperative, as illustrated in (11a)–(11'a). In the 2nd plural person in (11b)–(11'b), it occurs in mesocclisis in Gjirokastër and in enclisis in Shkodër variety. The negative form in (11a',b')–(11'a',b') involves the reordering with the result that the modal negation *məs* precedes the sequence *clitic u + verb*. The data of Gjirokastër highlights the fact that differently from consonant roots, vocalic roots such as *la-* 'wash' select the middle-reflexive infix *-h-*.

- (11) a. vij- u
 dress NA
 'dress(sg) yourself'
 la- h- u
 wash- NA *inflection* NA
 'wash(sg) yourself'
- a'. məs u vij / la
 neg NA dress / wash
 'do not dress/wash (sg) yourself'
- b. vij- u- ni
 dress NA 2PL
 'dress(pl) yourself'
 la- h- u- ni
 wash NA *infl* NA 2PL
 'wash(pl) yourself'
- b'. məs u vij- ni / la- ni
 neg NA dress- 2PL / wash 2PL
 'do not dress/wash (pl) yourself'

Gjirokastër

- (11') a. laj- u
 wash- NA
 'wash(sg) yourself'
- a'. mas u laj
 neg NA wash
 'do not wash(sg) yourself'
- b. la- ni- u
 wash- 2PL- NA
 'wash(pl) yourself'
- b'. mas u la- ni
 neg NA wash 2PL
 'do not wash(pl) yourself'

Shkodër

In Albanian varieties, the middle-reflexive morpheme *-h-ε* is inserted between the vocalic root and the inflection, while consonantal roots exclude *-h-* and generally select a specialized root

internal vocalic alternant. Summarizing, in 2nd plural middle-reflexive, imperatives in (11b) introduce the active inflection, while the middle-reflexive reading is lexicalized by the NA clitic, so excluding the middle-reflexive specialized infixes.

Differently from the Albanian varieties spoken in Balkan area, in Arbëresh dialects the internal structure of 2nd person plural of the middle-reflexive imperative illustrated in (12b) coincides with the 2nd person plural of the middle-reflexive indicative. More precisely, the vocalic root is followed by the middle-reflexive infix, *-h-* in San Costantino dialect, *-k-ε-* in the one of Firmo, followed in turn by the person ending.

- (12) a. zɔj- u
wake up NA
'wake up(sg)'
a'. mɔs u zɔj
neg NA wake up
'do not wake up(sg)'
b. zɔj- k-ε- ni
wake up NA *Infl* 2PL
'wake up(pl)'
b'. mɔs zɔj- k-ε- ni
neg wake up NA *Infl* 2PL
'do not wake up(pl)'

Firmo

- a. λaj- u
wash NA
'wash(sg) up'
a'. mɔs u λaj
neg NA wash
'do not wash(sg) up'
b. λa- h- i
wash NA *Infl* 2PL
'wash(pl) up'
b'. mɔs λa- h- i
neg wash NA *Infl* 2PL
'do not wash(pl) up'

San Costantino

In negative imperative the clitic *u* is reordered before the verb and preceded by the modal negation, as in (12a',b'), in the singular, while in negative 2nd plural the middle-reflexive indicative form is preserved, so that non-active interpretation is entirely devolved to the NA inflection *-h-*, *-k-*.

3.2. An intermediate summary

The phenomena we have described encompass the following points:

- Mesoclisism is attested in 2nd person plural form of imperative in Arbëresh and in Gheg (Shkodër) and Tosk (Gjirokastër) varieties of Albania.
- In Arbëresh varieties, mesoclisism affects only the 1st person singular form; 3rd person and NA clitics follow the imperative.

- In Gjirokaštër variety, mesoclisism involves both 1st singular and 3rd person clitics.
- In Shkodër variety, 1st person clitics precede the imperative and mesoclisism involves only 3rd person and NA clitics.

Before addressing the interaction between the distribution of person elements, the different behavior of clitics and imperative form, some distributional phenomena concerning Southern Italian dialects will be considered. This comparison will shed light on the principles regulating the differential distribution of clitics and inflections in imperatives.

4. Mesoclisism and reordering in Lausberg area dialects

Calabro-Lucanian Lausberg area dialects are characterized by a distribution of clitics in imperative very similar to the one of contact Arbëresh varieties. In (13–14), data are provided from a Lucanian variety (Terranova Pollino) and a North Calabrian variety (Morano). In these dialects, unlike Albanian varieties, mesoclisism involves dative and locative clitics in addition to the 1st/2nd person forms and is restricted to the contexts where the 3rd person clitic occurs in enclisis. In other words, it affects only *deictic/dative/locative clitics + 3rd person clitics* clusters.¹ In (13a)–(14a) 2nd singular forms are provided, in (13b, b')–(14b) 1st plural forms and in (13c)–(14c) 2nd plural ones. At least in some of these dialects enclitic forms of clusters in 1st/2nd plural are variably realized, as exemplified in (13c'). (13d) and (14d) illustrate the postverbal position of the simple object clitics. Finally, in these dialects, as in general in Italian dialects, 1st plural imperative is normally attested and admits mesoclisism. The examples in (13e)–(14e) illustrate the object clitics occurring in proclisis to the verb in declarative sentences. These are realized by the simple inflectional elements *a, u, i* 'her, him, them', unlike the more complex structure of enclitic forms. We recall that in these dialects the clitic *nə* lexicalizes both partitive and dative, as in *n u 'ðɔnaðə* '(s)he gives it to him/her' (Terranova), *n u rɔŋgu* 'I give it to her/him' (Morano).²

- (13) a. ðɔn-a- m'm / n'n - illə/a:
 give-TV me / him/her it
 'give it to me/him/her'
- b. mænd-a- 'tʃ- iə-m- a:
 put-TV LOC TV-1PL it
 'let us put it here'

¹ In these dialects the dative is realized by the clitic *nɛ*, syncretic with the partitive clitic (Manzini and Savoia 2005).

² For a better understanding of the examples from Lausberg area dialects in (13–14), we note the following: these dialects generally present two alternants for the verb 'give', a monosyllabic base from *da-(re)*, and another one from *don-a-(re)*; in several South Lucanian varieties, the II, III and IV verbal classes share the Thematic Vowel (TV) *-e-*, diphthongizing to *-iɛ-* in some dialects, like in Terranova Pollino, cf. *ɣra piətəsə* 'you open'; monosyllabic verbs optionally insert analogical forms based on *avere* 'have', such as 1st plural forms *damə/daviəmə* 'we give', and 2nd plural imperatives *datə/daviətə* 'give'. In examples such as *ðɔn-a-n'n-iə-m-a:* in (13b'), we find the base *ðɔn-* followed by TV *a*, followed by the dative clitic of 3rd person *nn-*, in turn followed by a thematic element *-iə-* introducing the 1st plural inflection *m*, finally followed by the OCl of 3rd person with phonetic form *a:* due to the velarization of the original *l*.

- b'. ðɔn-a- n'n- iə-m- a:
give-TV him/her TV-1PL it
'let us give it to him/her'
- c. ðɔn-a- 'm- iə-t- a:
give-TV me TV-2PL it
'give it to me'
- c'. ða- tə- 'm- illə
give- 2PL me it
'give it to me'
- d. ða- tə- nə kwistə
give- 2PL him/her this
'give this to him/her'
- e. u / a / i viyə
him/it / her / them I.see
'I see him/it/her/them'

Terranova Pollino

- (14) a. rɔn-a- 'mi / n'ni lu
give-TV me / him/her it
'give it to me/him/her'
- b. rɔn-a- n'ni- mu- lu
give-TV him/her 1PL it
'let us give it to him/her'
- c. rɔn-a- m'mi- tu- lu
give-TV me 2PL it
'give it to me'
- d. ca'm-a- mu- lu
call-TV 1PL- him/her
'let us call him/her'
- e. u / a / i vir- unu
him/it / her / them see- 3PL
'they see him/it/her/them'

Morano Calabro

As noted, the morphology of 3rd person OClis in enclisis includes the *l-* root characterizing D elements in Romance languages (Manzini and Savoia 2017). Terranova dialect in (13) shows also the morpho-phonological alternant *-a:* deriving from the velarization of original *l-*. In proclisis 3rd person clitics coincide with the bare gender/number inflection, as in (13e)–(14e).

The enclitic elements attract the main stress of the word, as shown in the examples in (13–14). The prosodic reorganization triggered by the positioning of the main stress in the enclitic forms gives rise to a trochaic foot such as *ðɔna-m' m-illə* 'give mi it' (Terranova Pollino), or an antepenultimate stressed string, such as *rɔna-m'mi-tu-lu* 'give (pl) it to me' (Morano). In both contexts, it is the first clitic of the cluster that is lexically designated to attract the stress. The result is that a left-headed foot is created which is followed by a final reduced foot in 1st/2nd plural forms of imperatives, as in (15).

- (15) F F
 | h |
 m mi tu lu

Re-assignment of the main stress can be connected to the specialized nature of 3rd person clitics in post-verbal position in imperatives, where, following Manzini and Savoia (2017), the richer morphology is connected with the necessity to externalize a stronger referential import.

In the same way as in Albanian varieties, negative contexts imply the proclitic occurrence of pronominal forms, as exemplified in (16a-c) and (17a-c). Specifically, we find the 3rd person *l-* forms, in (16a) and (17a), i.e. the forms occurring in the position adjacent to the negative marker also in negative declaratives. As to the imperative form, in negative contexts the 2nd singular is lexicalized by the infinitive, exactly like Standard Italian, as in (16a) and (17a). In the other persons the usual person inflection occurs, as in (16b,c) and (17b,c), where *tv* stands for Thematic Vowel.

- (16) a. ɔ- ll-u spət't-a-ðə
 neg 3-MSG wait-TV-INF
 'do not wait for him'
 'ɔ- mm-u / nn- u ðəv-ðə
 neg me-3.MSG / him/her- 3.MSG give-INF
 'do not give it to me/him/her'
- b. ɔ- nn- u dav-iə-mə
 neg him/her- 3.MSG give-TV-1PL
 'do not give it to him/her'
- c. ɔ- mm- u dav- iə-tə
 neg me 3.MSG give- TV-2PL
 'do not give it to me'

Terranova Pollino

- (17) a. nu ll-u: ca'm-ε
 neg 3-MSG call-TV/INF
 'do not call him'
 nu nn u ru'n-ε
 neg him/her 3.MSG give-TV/INF
 'do not give it to him/her'
- b. nu- nn- u ru'n-ε-mu
 neg him/her 3.MSG give-TV-1PL
 'do not give it to him/her'
- c. nu- mm-u: pur't-ε-ti
 neg me-3.MSG bring-TV-2PL
 'do not bring it to me'

Morano

Summarizing, we see that:

- Mesoclysis is triggered only when *dative/locative/1st person + 3rd person clitics* clusters are inserted in 1st and 2nd plural forms of imperative, unlike Albanian varieties, where mesoclysis is not limited to the clitic clusters.
- Dative/locative and 1st person clitics occur between root and inflection while accusatives occur on the right of inflection.
- Negative imperatives are characterized by the same type of reordering as the one observed in Albanian varieties, whereby clitics and clitic clusters are inserted between the negation and the verb, in proclisis.

- In this dialects the enclitic form of accusatives is different from the proclitic elements, specifically including the definiteness lexical base *l-*, missing in proclitic elements.
- The enclitic forms attract the main stress of word as exemplified in (15).
- *l-* clitics occur also when preceded by the negation.

4.1. Other cases of interaction between root, inflection and clitics in imperative

Before concluding this section, we will extend the comparison to two other phenomena in which imperative imposes a special lexicalization of referential formatives, clitics or inflection. This requirement is clearly manifested by the occurrence of 1st person clitic or clitic clusters in Albanian varieties in (3–7) between the root and the inflection. What is more, some varieties provide evidence for duplication of the argumental positions, inflectional or clitics, externalized in two copies. This is the case of the reduplicative structures of Shkodër in (7d), e.g. *nɛp-ni-j-a-(ni)* ‘give-2pl-him/her-it(-2pl), *give it to him/her*’, where is the inflectional morpheme that occurs in a position adjacent to the root and in a position on the right. Similar duplicative structures are documented in Lucanian and Calabrian dialects with mesoclisism in (13–14) (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011). More precisely, we find both duplication of the inflection, as in the Shkodër examples, in (18a), and the duplication of the clitic, as in (18b).

(18) a. *duplicated inflection*

pərtə-ma- n' n- iəm-a:
bring-1PL- him/her- 1PL- it
'bring it to him/her'

Terranova Pollino

b. *duplicated clitic*

ra- 'm-itə- mə- lə
give- me-2PL- me- it
'give it to me'

Senise (Lucania)

A partially different condition is the one documented by San Costantino in (5), where the 2nd person plural of imperative introduces *-ni* in contexts with clitics, so that the simplex form *sil-i* ‘bring (2pl)’ alternants with *sil-m-ni-ε* ‘bring-me-2pl-it, *bring it to me*’.

Reduplication of clitics is independently attested in Apulian and Lucanian varieties. For instance, in the North-Apulian dialect of San Severo in monosyllabic 2nd singular person imperatives two copies of the first clitic of a cluster occur, as in (19a,a') (Manzini and Savoia 2005). (19b) illustrates the negative imperative with proclisis and (19c,c') the multisyllabic forms, excluding reduplication.

(19) a. da-ttʃa- 'tʃ-illə
give-us- us- it
'give it to us'

a'. di- mma-'m-illə a mɛ
tell- me- me-it (to me)
'tell it to me'

- b. nə mm u dɛ-nnə
neg me it give-GERUND
'do not give it to me'
- c. purta- 'tʃ-illə
bring- us- it
'bring it to us'
- c'. di-ta- 'm-illə
tell-2PL- me- it
'tell it to me'

San Severo (Apulia)

As we see, a morpho-phonological restriction limits reduplication to the combination *monosyllabic root+clitic cluster*. However, the point is that the duplication of the clitic object is made possible by the imperative, suggesting that imperative introduces a domain on its right able to host object clitics.

As the last case study, we consider the extension of the infinitival inflection *-ri* to the 1st and 2nd plural inflected forms in negative imperatives in some South Calabrian dialects. As we saw in Section 4, negative imperatives realize the 2nd person singular by means of the verbal infinitive. In the dialect of Cardeto (and other neighbouring villages in South Calabria, cf. Ledgeway *et al.* 2016) *-ri* occurs in the 2nd singular, in (20b), and is extended also to the other forms, as in (20b') for 1st plural person and (20b'') for 2nd plural person. (20a,a',a'') illustrate positive imperativ forms of 2nd singular, 1st plural and 2nd plural.

- (20) a. 'cama- lu / la / mi
call- him / her / me
'call him/her/me'
- a'. da- mu- ntʃi-llu
give- 1PL- him-it
'let us give it to him/her'
- a''. cama-ti-lu / mi
call-2PL-him / me
'call him/me'
- b. nə mmi cama-ri
neg me call-INF
'do not call me'
- b'. nən tʃ-u da-mu-ri
neg him/her-it give-1PL-INF
'do not give it to him/her'
- b''. nən cama-ti-ri a nnuɖu
neg call-2PL-INF PREP no one
'do not call anyone'

Cardeto

Again, the imperative domain seems to be able to include a richer inflectional structure than the other verbal forms, admitting a duplicated insertion of inflectional material. The specialized occurrence of *-ri* in Cardeto and adjacent dialects has been addressed in Loporcaro (1995), Ledgeway *et al.* (2016), de Angelis (online). While keeping to different theoretical approaches, the authors assume that the insertion of *-ri* in the negative imperatives is due to an analogical leveling whereby the negative forms have re-established the parallel between the 2nd singular

person and the other ones. According to Ledgeway *et al.* (2016) this could derive from the contact with Greco imperative paradigm, where also the plural has dedicated forms. Loporcaro (1995) connects the leveling with the pattern of the positive form, that includes only two distinct morphologies (see the discussion in de Angelis online). What we can conclude is that the extension of *-ri* maybe depends on an analogical process, although its cause does not seem clear.

5. The structure of lexical elements and the theoretical framework

The asymmetries highlighted by the different distribution of clitics in positive and negative imperatives put into play some of the crucial morpho-syntactic properties of the sentence: the Phase structure of the imperative, the referential properties of the pronominal elements and the interpretive nature of the negation:

- DOM effects emerge, whereby deictic clitics (1st person) have a different distribution from 3rd person clitics at least in Shkodër and Arbëresh varieties.
- The 1st person clitics precede the 3rd person clitics in all contexts (mesoclisis/post-verbal/pre-verbal).
- Negation requires clitics to occur in pre-verbal position (Manzini and Savoia 2007, 2011, 2017; Baldi and Savoia 2018)

Let us begin by considering the differential distribution of clitics. The table (19) schematizes the distribution of object clitics in the 2nd person plural in (3–7) and in (13–14). In (21), ‘msc’ indicates the insertion in *mesoclisis*; the *preverbal position* is marked by ‘prv’ and the *postverbal position* by ‘psv’. We remind that Albanian non-active clitic *u* and the dative *i* have the same distribution as the object clitics. As to mesoclisis in the Romance dialects we have considered, the phenomenon implies the co-occurrence of the accusative in enclisis, suggesting a partially different mechanism. Moreover, in these dialects mesoclisis involves also the locative form *t/ə* ‘here’ syncretic for the 1st plural person ‘us’, and the 3rd person dative *nə* ‘to.him/her’.

(21) Clitics in 2nd plural person of imperative

	1 st sg	3 rd acc/dat/NA	1 st sg+3 rd acc	3 rd dat+3 rd acc
Gjirokastër	msc	msc	msc	msc
Arbëresh	msc	psv	msc	psv
Shkodër	prv	msc/psv	prv	msc/psv
Terranova P.	psv	psv	msc (1 st)	msc (dat/Loc)
Morano	psv	psv	msc (1 st)	msc (dat/Loc)

The most immediate generalization evidenced by (22) concerns the reciprocal distribution of the clitics in imperatives, whereby we have the following ordering, in (22):

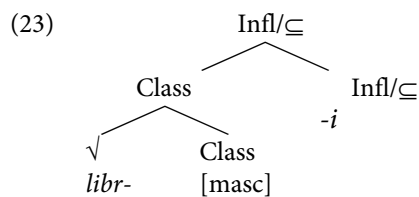
(22) Deictic clitics/dative/locative – 3rd Person and NA

The distributional variation in (3–7) and in (13–14), contrasting 1st person objects with deictic content, and 3rd person clitics, can be traced back to DOM Differential object marking phenomenon (Comrie 1979, Croft 1988, Bossong 1991). In the typological literature, the essence of DOM is that certain types of objects, of which participants in the discourse are the

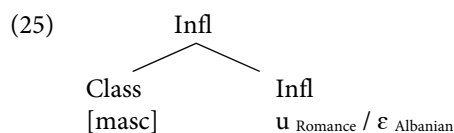
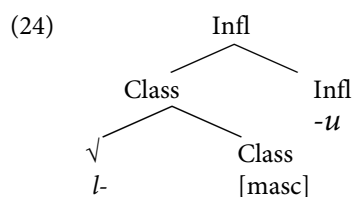
fundamental subset, are overtly marked (Aissen 2003, Bárány and Kalin in press). This phenomenon is treated in terms of referential properties, essentially animacy, definiteness and specificity, topicality expressed by means of a hierarchy regulating the distribution of grammatical functions in case systems (Dixon 1994, Kiparsky 2008, Aissen 2003, Bárány and Kalin in press), whereby the prominent elements in the scale are favoured in assuming the overt morphological mark. Depending on such basic factors, the prominence of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is easily derived. Specifically, the split between 1st and 3rd clitics seems to reflect their different interpretive status in relation to the syntactic representation of the pragmatic content (Speech Act in Speas and Tenny 2003). More precisely, deictic pronouns are interpreted independently of the event they are participants to, as anchoring to the discourse universe. 3rd person elements (on a par with nouns) are anchored to the event introduced by the verb (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011), in other words, they are interpreted in relation with the argumental structure of the scene/action lexicalized by the verb.

In Albanian as well as in South Italian varieties ones, this difference is expressed by the fact that 1st and 2nd person OCl's do not distinguish the accusative from the dative/oblique, but show the oblique form also in transitive contexts. Contrary, in Romance varieties, 3rd person clitics separate accusative from oblique forms, while non-clitic 3rd person forms lack any case morphology, see the pronouns *jidqdu/ida* 'he/her' in Morano dialect. More precisely, 1st person clitics are inserted in the string independently of their argumental role in the event (v, VP), and have an oblique form that, following Manzini *et al.* (in press), is required in order to be interpreted in the sentence. The idea is that the oblique is not selected by the verb but it is inherent to the DOM element, a sort of 'possessor' of the event. In any case, the oblique complies with the autonomous interpretation of DOM elements and their occurrence in the modal domain of the verbal element. It is interesting to note that in Romance dialects in section 4, mesoclitisis brings together 1st person clitics and locative *tʃə* and dative *nə*. The deictic nature of *tʃə* can account for its connection with the other referential clitics; as to the dative *nə*, we must conclude that it is treated like 1st person clitics, inherently oblique.

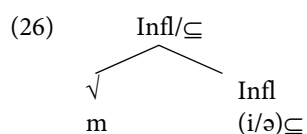
As a first step, we will consider the morphological structure of pronouns. In keeping with the model proposed in Manzini and Savoia (2018), Savoia *et al.* (2017, 2018), specifically concerning nouns, inflectional structures are built in the syntax. Thus, inflected nouns are analysed as the result of a syntactic Merge operation that combines a lexical root with gender (feminine/masculine), other classificatory properties and number. Labels are mostly self-explanatory, such as '√' for the category-less root (Marantz 1997) with predicative content (Higginbotham 1985), and 'N Class' to host gender and eventually number specifications. 'Infl' is the label for the vocalic morpheme which in Romance varieties externalizes gender and/or number in terms of inflectional class. So, for instance, *libr-* 'book' in Italian combines with nominal class specifications including gender (e.g. masculine, feminine), which restricts the argument of the predicative base. A vocalic morpheme encodes properties that include both nominal class and declension class, for instance *-o* in *libr-o* 'book'. As for the plural, we assume that it corresponds to the part-whole/inclusion property, [\subseteq], whereby the denotation of the root can be partitioned into subsets of individuals, as in (23). In other words, plurality denotes a subset (Chierchia 1998).



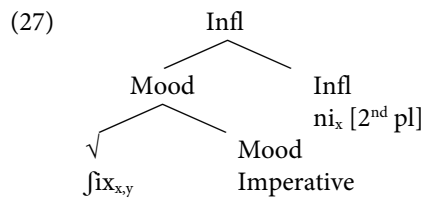
The case of clitics is interesting in the sense that their structure can be analyzed in the same way as a full noun, with the lexical base, *l-* in the enclitic forms of Romance dialects, combined with Class and inflection, as in (24). In Albanian and generally in proclitic forms of Southern Italian varieties (see (13e) and (14e)), clitics have a simpler structure lacking the root, i.e. coinciding with the class and inflection elements, as in (25). Therefore, Romance dialects alternate two different lexical entries for clitics, according to the sentence structure, i.e. between enclitic vs. proclitic occurrence, and in the imperative between positive vs. negative form.



As noted, the 1st/2nd person clitics occur both in transitive and intransitive contexts without distinguishing accusative and oblique. We conclude that they realize the oblique element, i.e. DOM lexicalization of deictic IA. It is no accident that in the clitic clusters and with respect to the verb, including imperative form, they have the same distribution of dative and locative elements. We obtain the representation in (26)



In (26) the part-whole relation characterizes oblique as well, by assuming that the inclusion relation between two arguments is the basic relation underlying prepositions and oblique case (Manzini and Savoia 2011, Franco and Manzini 2017, Savoia *et al.* 2019). Also in the case of verbs, they can be understood as the result of the syntactic Merge operation that combines a lexical root with voice, modal-aspectual and agreement inflections. Labels are mostly self-explanatory, such as '√' for the category-less root and 'Infl' for the morphemes that externalize nominal (person and number) features of the verb. We represent the internal structure of the 2nd plural of imperative, for instance *fixni* 'see.pl' (Gjirokastër) in (27), where 'Mood' corresponds the imperative content.



(27) combines the verbal root *fi* ‘see’, selecting two arguments, EA *x* and IA *y*, the counterfactual property of order (Imperative) and the person Inflection *ni*, on its own saturating the EA, as in (27). The proposal to introduce a word-internal slot for the modal content is substantiated by the fact that there are languages where imperative brings along specialized types of inflection. An example at hand is provided by the variety of Shkodër, where the 2nd person imperative of verbal roots ending in a consonant, has a short vocalic stressed nucleus differently from the otherwise coincident form of the reduced participle (Manzini and Savoia 2007), as in the comparison illustrated in (28a) for imperative vs (28b) for reduced participle.

- (28) a. m vɛf
 me dress
 ‘dress me!’
 b. jam ve:f
 I.am dressed / I dressed myself
 ‘I am dressed’

Shkodër

Morpho-phonological differences of this kind support the idea that mood or other aspectual/modal verbal category can be registered by formal means. In this case, the vowel duration (and its aperture degree) is involved.

A point discussed on several occasions and articles (recently in Baldi and Savoia 2019) concerns the framework we keep to, in which all lexical material, including inflectional material, is associated to interpretable contents; this proposal is not substantially different from the conception of Agree in Chomsky (2001) insofar as it expresses the identity between features under locality (Minimal Search). As a consequence, there is no Agree rule triggered by the need for a probe to interpret/value its features and, more basically, our model excludes uninterpretable features and probe-goal induced movement, i.e. the fundamental mechanisms of cartographic explanations (see Chomsky *et al.* 2019). Agreement works by lexicalizing phi-feature bundles identifying the same argument, i.e., ultimately, denoting a single referent (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2018).

6. Imperative, clitics and negation

The distribution of the OCl in imperatives highlights the relation between inherent interpretive properties of personal pronouns and the Phases, i.e. the licensing domains of the clause. Chomsky (2001) identifies phases with lexical subarrays, i.e. structures, computed at the SM and C-I interfaces as the result of the operation of Transfer. The procedure is constrained by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) in (29). The idea is that in a structure [_{zP} Z...]_{HP}

α [H YP]], where Z and H are heads, the complement YP of H is not accessible to operations at ZP (Richards 2011).

(29) PIC

The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its *edge* are accessible to such operations
Chomsky (2001: 14)

Chomsky (2007, 2013, 2020) assumes the existence of two phases, CP and vP. The CP phase implies inheritance of features from the phase head C to the lower head T. Furthermore “the inheritance mechanism is simplified if it is generalized to phase heads generally, not restricted to C but extended to v* as well [...] Therefore V (or R) must receive φ -features from v*. It follows that just as a nominal phrase can raise to SPEC-T within CP, so it should be able to raise to SPEC-V within v*P” (Chomsky 2007: 20–21). The distribution of Albanian clitics with respect to the Phases CP and vP may be depicted in the schema in (30), where the lexical verb and the 1st person clitic (PCI) belong to the same phase, while the 3rd person clitic (OCl) is associated to the v domain.

(30) a. Mood/CP phase:	C	PCI	/	PCI	C	T
	verb root	mə	/	mə	verb root	Inflection
b. vP phase:	OCl	v				
	$\varepsilon / i / u / m-a$					

We are suggesting that imperatives in C externalize the modal operator (imperative force) by taking scope over all the lexical material. Assuming a suggestion in Roberts (2010) as regards the object clitics in Romance languages³, we may surmise that OCl is the true head of agreement for v phase. If we extend this intuition to Albanian inasmuch it is endowed with OCl, the OCl in mesoclysis is to be viewed as the agreement head for vP phase. Furthermore, in imperatives it preserves a position overtly associated to the vP domain. As to the hypothesis that the inflectional morpheme *-ni* may lexicalize v, we note that v is accessible to the operations at CP and it substantially provides the morphological instantiation of phi-features licensed by T.

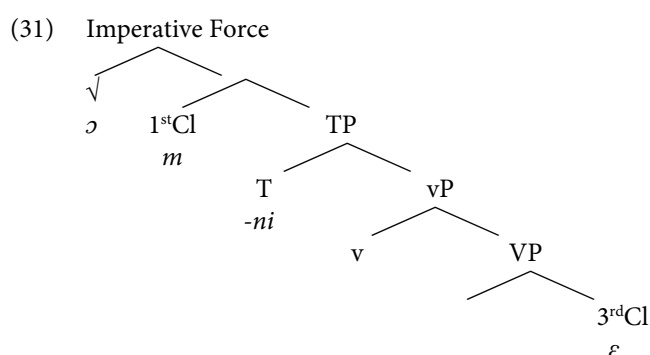
Note that in Albanian varieties the clusters *1st/2nd/dative+accusative* select the *a* form of the accusative, as in *jep-m-a-ni* ‘give (2pl) it to me’ for Gjirokastër in (3d’). In isolation the accusative form for the 3rd singular is generally ε , whereas *a* can be identified as a sandhi form of the 3rd singular person accusative clitic. This suggests that in imperatives the sequences *m+a* ‘me-it’ and *i-a* ‘him/her+it’ are real clusters, confirming that no Phase boundary is involved between *m/i* and *a*. In other words, we are induced to assume that clusters are however licensed in the C-T domain.

³ Roberts (2010: 57, with adaptations) deals with OCl as bundles of phi-features on the edge of the v phase, as for instance in (i), cf. also Mavrogiorgos (2006).

(i) a. ...*le voit*
‘he sees him/it’
b. [_{v*} *le*_[iφ] [_{v*} *voit* _v [_{v*} V, uV, uφ]]]]

6.1. DOM and cliticization in Albanian

Let us consider the example in (4d') for Firmo, *ɔ-m-ni-ε* 'give it to me' instantiating both the DOM effect and mesoclis. The possibility that lexical material could be inserted between root and inflection has been treated in the DM framework by Halle and Marantz (1994), Harris and Halle (2005), Arregi and Nevins (2018), in terms of rules manipulating the morpho-syntactic features associated to the terminal nodes of syntactic structure before inserting the lexical items. Our analysis diverges from this model on essential points, by assuming that lexical items (including inflections) are endowed with interpretable content on the basis of which they are inserted in the syntactic structure; in other words, as suggested, inflectional structures are built in syntax. This approach allows us to treat the phenomenon of mesoclis between root and inflection, as in (31), in a natural way. Indeed, we can expect that clitics and inflectional morphemes can interact in order to lexicalize relevant interpretive properties.



Firmo

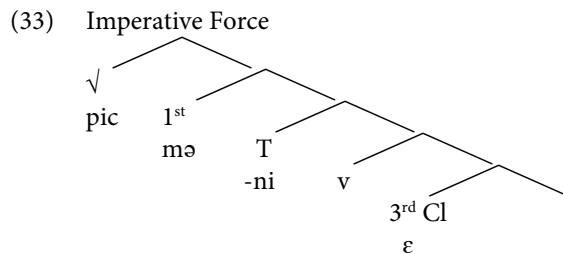
In (31), all elements except the verbal root are able to be referred to the real world. What we see is that deictic clitics, as *m* 'me', may occur freely in the immediate context of the verbal root, deploying its capability to be interpreted independently of the verb/event. In the varieties in (3) and (4–5), it occurs in a position immediately to the right of the root, while in the Shkodër variety it occurs before the root. In any case, it seems to be associated to the phase of the root, conventionally identifiable with the domain of C. In (31) we label this domain *Imperative force*. We have tied this distribution with DOM, as far as 1st person clitics are inserted in the string independently of their argumental role in the event (v, VP).

The data from San Costantino in (5c') show that the mesoclis of *m* entails the lexicalization of the specialized inflection of 2nd plural person *-ni*. In this dialect the 2nd plural person of imperative in isolation has typically the inflection *-i*, coinciding with the inflection of the indicative present, as in (32a,b) vs (32b'), where *-ni* is inserted.

- (32) a. ju pic-i mij-t *indicative*
 you cook-2PL meat-the
 'you cook the meat'
- b. pic-i mij-t *imperative*
 cook-2PL meat-the
 'cook(2pl) the meat'
- b'. pic- mə- n-i- ε
 cook- me 2PL it
 'cook(2pl) it for me'

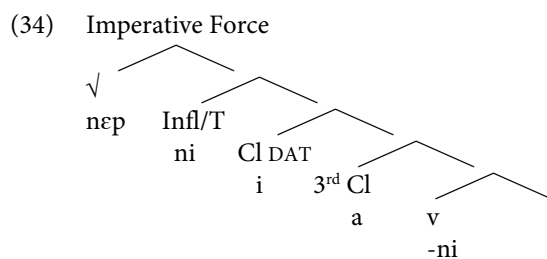
San Costantino

As to *-i*, it is a syncretic form occurring in different person contexts, for example in the 1st plural of the present indicative, e.g. *mbuɔ-m-i* ‘we cover’, in the 3rd person of the past, *mbuɔ-i* ‘(s)he covered’. On the contrary, *-ni* is specialized for the 2nd plural person reference. We could conclude that in imperatives its insertion is favored in order to externalize the Phase boundary between CP and vP, as in (33) (see section 6.2).



San Costantino

The 3rd person element has the accusative morphology in the domain of the event (v/V), as shown by Arbëresh varieties where the object clitic follows *-ni*. Differently, in Shkodër variety, it precedes *-ni* in the internal context and in Gjirokastër variety it is in turn placed in mesocclisis. It is reasonable to relate the distribution of the 3rd person clitic with the fact that it needs to be licensed by v, as a participant to the event, as usually. More precisely, in the presence of a non-veridical operator such as imperative mood, definiteness is lexicalized by licensing the pronoun out of the immediate scope of the operator. This interpretive effect is reflected in positioning the 3rd person clitic in the licensing domain of v, in enclisis or in mesocclisis. If that is the case, we conclude that the inflectional element *-ni* is available also to externalize v. This seems confirmed by the reduplicative structures of Shkodër in (7d), e.g. *nep-ni-j-a-(ni)* ‘give (2pl) it to him/her’, suggesting that *-ni* can occur both as the inflectional part of the verb (T) and the lexicalization of v, as in (34).

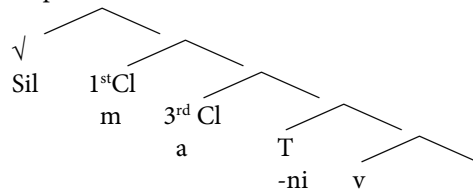


Gjirokastër

We suggest that in (34) the inflection of the verb, inherently referential (2nd person), supplies the deficient T in identifying the person and number properties of the external argument.

In the dialect of Gjirokastër, the cluster *1st person + 3rd person*, as in *sil-m-a-ni* ‘send (2pl) it to me’ in (3d’), is placed between the root and the inflection. We conclude that the deictic content of the 1st person clitic and the 2nd plural person *-ni* inflection are able to provide the interpretability conditions for the 3rd person clitic, as in (35).

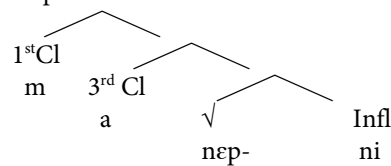
(35) Imperative Force



Gjirokastër

Substantially the same treatment can be extended to the data of Shkodër in (7a',b',d'), where the cluster *1st person + 3rd person* is legitimized in the pre-verbal position, as in *m a nep-ni* 'give (2pl) it to me' in (7d'), as in the structure in (36). Again, the 1st person clitic has referential properties sufficient to make the 3rd person clitic interpretable in the modal domain.

(36) Imperative Force



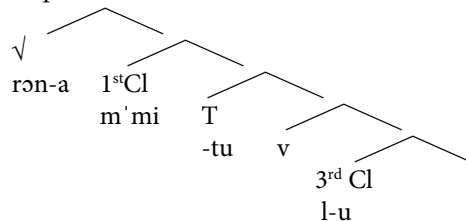
Shkodër

Synthesizing, the surface clitic order externalized in imperative contexts depends on whether the clitic is licensed by the universe of discourse (1st person) or by the event (v-3rd person object).

6.2. Romance varieties

Let us consider now the Romance systems presented in sections 4 and 4.1, where mesocclisis of 1st person and dative/locative clitics is selected only on condition that one 3rd person clitic is present in the final position, as in (37) for Morano (from (14c)).

(37) Imperative Force

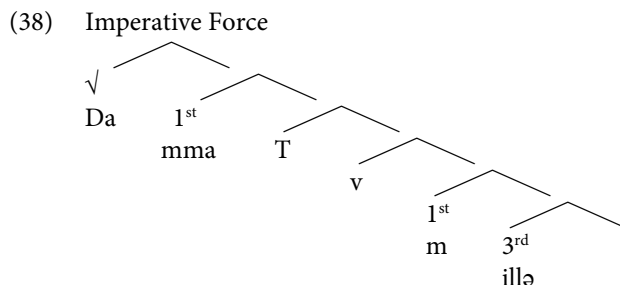


Morano

This distribution leads to the conclusion that deictic clitics, i.e. 1st person, locative and dative, admit both mesocclisis and enclisis by virtue of their referential content, which makes it possible to interpret them in different domains. On the contrary 3rd person clitics occur in the immediate domain of v. We can explain this restriction by assuming that in these dialects the agreement head of v is satisfied by elements endowed with referential content, i.e. deictic clitics, the 1st person element *mi*, or 3rd person clitics *l-u* / *l-a* / *l-i* endowed with the definiteness base *l-* (Manzini and Savoia 2017). Also in this case, a complete referential property of OCl's is required in imperative contexts so that mesocclisis is admitted only if this requirement is fulfilled. This

seems to hold true also for other types of doubling, for instance the ones in (9) for San Marzano and in (19) for San Severo, illustrated in (38).

In the sentences in (19), reduplication of the object clitics, as *di-mma- 'm-illə* ‘tell (2sg) it to me’ in (19a’) is confined to contexts of 2nd singular person, where the lexicalization of the argumental properties (inflection in T) is missing, as in (38).

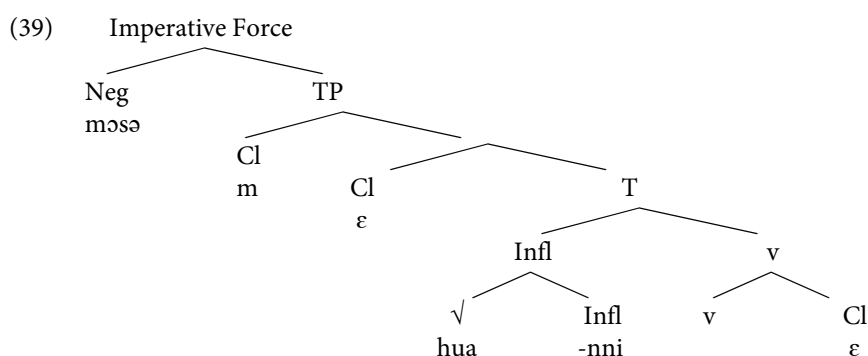


San Severo

The sentence is into the scope of the modal form (the verbal root). We find the first occurrence of the 1st person clitic in the immediate domain of the imperative operator and the sequence ‘*millə* ‘me-it’ as the specialized externalization of the participants to the event in the v Phase.

6.3. Negative contexts

In negative contexts, OClS are pre-verbal both in Albanian and Romance varieties. Negation can be treated as an operator “introducing a quantification over the internal argument” of the elementary event VP (Manzini and Savoia 2017: 92). This conclusion is supported by numerous phenomena in which negation and internal argument syntactically interact. Hence, the different position of clitics can mean that in the presence of negation the verb does not lexicalize the imperative force, externalized by other means, whereby the pre-verbal order valid in non-pragmatic domains is applied as suggested in (39). In San Marzano dialect, object clitics are doubled in proclisis and in enclisis in negative contexts, as shown by the example *məsə m ε hua-nni-ε* ‘do not tell it to me’ in (9b).



San Marzano

Negation and modal contexts (imperatives, interrogatives) are core instances of what Giannakidou (1998, 2011) calls non-veridical contexts “veridicality is a property of sentence embedding functions: such a function *F* is veridical if *Fp* entails or presupposes the truth of *p*. If inference to the truth of *p* under *F* is not possible, *F* is nonveridical” (Giannakidou 2011:

1674). We have seen in Section 3 that in many languages commands addressed to the speaker or to 3rd person are lexicalized by hortatives/subjunctives by exploiting the event variable introduced by these forms, excluding a veridical reading. In other words, both subjunctive and imperative express a relation $P(x,y)$ where the eventive properties of P are indefinite, not relying on truth conditions. As to negation of imperatives, typological studies document different results. Many languages allow imperative to be negated like other types of clauses (Aikhenvald 2010). This holds true for different linguistic groups, and, among Romance varieties, for example in French, in a sub-set of Italian dialects and in some Romansh varieties, as in (40).

- (40) klōma εl
 call him
 'call him'

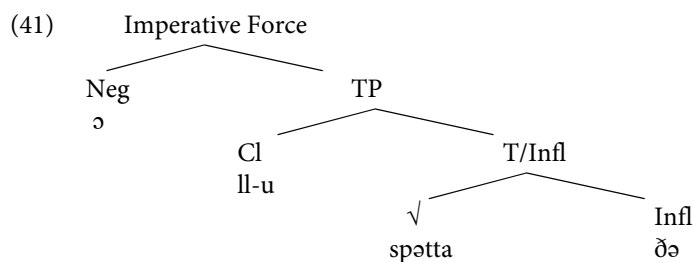
 bɪʃa klōma εl
 neg call him
 'do not call him'

Donat (Grisons)

As Han (1999) stresses, negation is never about order but about the propositional content, whereby the interpretation \neg *Imperative Force* (p) is excluded. This explains why negation is incompatible with imperative forms in many languages (Alcázar and Saltarelli 2014), although in others, such as Albanian, the combination is admitted (Aikhenvald 2010). Hence, in many languages the direct negation of the imperative form is avoided and substituted by the insertion of verbal forms devoid of referential properties, available for non-veridical interpretation, such as infinitive. In Standard Italian and generally in Central and Southern Italian dialects the 2nd singular person of negative imperative is realized by a form devoid of tense and phi-features. i.e. infinitive in (17a) for Terranova, or gerund, in (20b') for San Severo (see the survey in Manzini and Savoia 2005). In cartographic descriptions, the insertion of a form devoid of agreement features is explained as a sort of suppletion to the positive imperative of 2nd person. Zanuttini (1997) explains this phenomenon as due to the nature of the basic form of the 2nd singular person of imperative, understood as unable to check the mood category in presence of the negation. Also Rivero (1994) and Giannakidou (1998) explain the incompatibility of negations and imperatives assuming that the presence of the negative head blocks the movement of the verb to the Mood higher position preventing it from licensing mood.

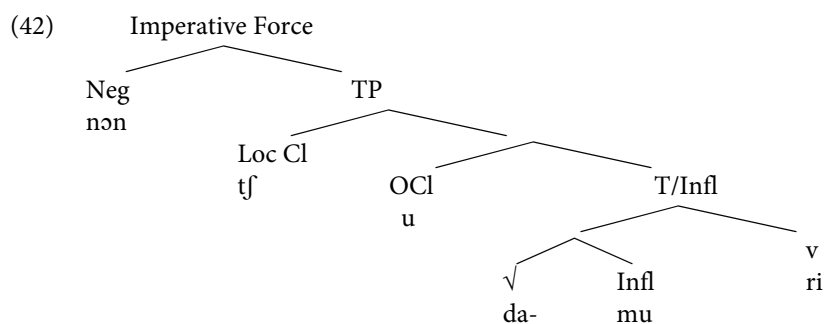
What the data suggest is that in Romance varieties negative operator requires an indefinite lexicalization of the event, excluding phi-features specifying the EPP argument and the referential coordinates of the event. However, what we see is that in Romance dialects negative imperatives are expressed by the infinitive (or gerund), that is an indefinite non-veridical form, excluding referential phi-features and eventive coordinates; 2nd and 1st plural persons coincide with the indicative ones. In Albanian, the negative marker specialized for modal contexts is inserted. Finally, in all the varieties we examine here, the pre-verbal position of clitics is attested, which we have connected to the fact that in negative contexts the verb does not lexicalize the pragmatic force and the pre-verbal order is restored. In (16)-(17) we have seen that in Calabro-Lucanian dialects the *l-* forms of clitics are inserted in negative contexts, as in (41); *l-* accusative clitics are generally selected in negative domains, including declarative sentences (cf. Baldi and

Savoia 2019). The definiteness root *l-* provides a complete referential content in contexts where the pronoun is out of the scope of negative operator, as in the imperative contexts (see Manzini and Savoia 2017).



Terranova

In the case of Cardeto in (21) the infinitival inflection *-ri* is extended to all persons of imperative being added to the 1st plural or 2nd plural inflection, as in (42) for *nən tʃ-u da-mu-ri* ‘do not give (1pl) it to her/him’ (Cardeto).



Cardeto

A possible suggestion comes from the discussion concerning (37), whereby the infinitival inflection has sufficient referential properties to satisfy the requirements of *v* in contexts of the imperative quantification.

7. A brief recapitulation

Keeping the preceding discussion in mind, the distribution of OCl's and the plural inflection can be connected to the externalization of the modal properties of imperative. We have assigned the initial position of the verb to the scope position corresponding to the pragmatic force and the speech act restrictions characterizing the imperative form. The non-veridical nature of the imperative sentences is highlighted by the form of the verb, that coincides with the root in the singular and, at least in a subset of contexts, also in the plural, where the root is separated from the inflection. In other words, the imperative form lexicalizes the only predicative content of the verb.

In mesoclitis structures, a type of person split emerges, whereby person clitics (1st person ones) occur close to the verbal root, suggesting that they share the same domain as the root. We connect this with the fact that they are interpretable on their own, on the basis of their deictic properties. On the contrary, 3rd person object clitics are positioned on the right of the verb and, specifically, of the 2nd plural morphology, so reflecting the necessity for 3rd person elements to

be licensed in the domain of the event (v). The properties inherent in the two series of clitics account for the distributional phenomena observed in imperatives, including the fact that in some varieties mesoclitisis is triggered with the 1st person clitic and possibly with clusters. The Phase model permits to represent the distribution of verbal root, object clitics and verbal inflection in terms of principle, uncovering the different licensing domains of the two kinds of clitics and of the two parts of verbal forms, i.e. root and inflection.

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