

Subject-Related Proclitics and Enclitics in all Persons

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1 Intro

Focus on Bolognese (Bologna, Emilia) Subject Clitics (SCLs), on what they show about the nature of SCLs and clausal functional structure.

Subject Clitics in Italo-Romance

- A) have been divided into φ -related and discourse-related sets (Benincà 1983, Poletto 2000);
- B) show variation in
 - i. details of form between proclitic and enclitic forms;

Donceto (Emilia), from
Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008,
the verb ‘to drink’, PRS

φ	DCLRTV	INTRGTV	SCL	pre-V	post-V
1S	(ə)- 'be:v	'be:v-jə?	i	<i>pro</i>	i
2S	ət- 'be:v	'be:v-ət?	t	t	t
3MS	əl- 'be:və	'be:və-l?	l	l	l
1P	(ə)- bu'vum	bu'vum-jə?	i	<i>pro</i>	i
2P	(ə)- bu'vi:	bu'vi:v?	v	<i>pro</i>	v
3P	i- 'be:vən	'be:vən-jə?	i	i	i

- ii. how many SCLs each variety displays before or after a verb form (Renzi & Vanelli 1983), e.g. varieties display as many or more enclitics than proclitics;
- C) provide evidence for claims about functional structure:
 - i. Poletto 2000 - two left-peripheral positions for *vocalic clitics*, three lower φ -related ones (Number⁰ and Hearer⁰, with Speaker⁰ below them);
 - ii. Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008 (citing Poletto 1998, Manzini & Savoia 2002): 3P ≫ 3S ≫ 2S ≫ T, “there is a correlation between the scope of verb movement and the occurrence of clitic pronouns.” (pg. 544) Functional structure is used to explain Renzi & Vanelli’s 1983 generalizations;
 - iii. φ -features are central, but not always expressed (Italian, French, English, Chinese);
- D) Case Theory (and Theta Theory, Binding Theory, and Null Subjects)
 - i. Checking/Valuation of *u*(ninterpretable) φ by *i*(ninterpretable) φ , (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007);
 - ii. Arguments always present (*i* φ , LF), but forms vary (*u* φ , PF);
 - iii. Licensing of Null Subjects, *pro*, recoverability of features (Roberts 2010)

Main Goals:

- A) Investigate the properties of Bolognese SCLs:

	First Conjugation		Second Conjugation		Third Conjugation		Fourth Conjugation	
	‘to eat’, PRS		‘to know’, PRS		‘to drink’, PRS		‘to sleep’, PRS	
φ	SCL=	=SCL	SCL=	=SCL	SCL=	=SCL	SCL=	=SCL
1S	a 'ma:ɲ	'ma:ɲ.ja?	a 'sə:	'sə:.ja?	a 'bav	'bav.ja?	a 'do:rum	'do:r.mja?
2S	t 'ma:ɲ	'ma:ɲ.et?	t 'sɛ:	'sɛ:t?	t 'bav	'bav.et?	t 'do:rum	'do:r.met?
3MS	al 'ma:ɲa	'ma:ɲ.el?	al 'sa	'sɛ:l?	al 'bav	'bav.el?	al 'do:rum	'do:r.mel?
3FS	la 'ma:ɲa	'ma:ɲ.la?	la 'sa	'sɛ:la?	la 'bav	'bav.la?	la 'do:rum	'do:r.mla?
1P	a ma'ɲæn ^γ	ma'ɲaɲa?	a sa'væn ^γ	sa'vaɲa?	a 'bvæn ^γ	'b.vaɲa?	a dur'mæn ^γ	dur'maɲa?
2P	a ma'ɲɛ:	ma'ɲɛ:v?	a sa'vi:	sa'vi:v?	a 'bvi:	'b.vi:v?	a dur'mi:	dur'mi:v?
3P	i 'ma:ɲ.en ^γ	'ma:ɲ.ni?	i 'san ^γ	'sɛ:.ni?	i 'bav.en ^γ	'bav.ni?	i 'do:r.men ^γ	'do:r.mni?

- B) Show that they are all φ -related, not discourse-related (below C, not in the left-periphery); →
- C) Show that variations in form can safely be left to morphophonology, after Spell-Out (Rubin & Kaplan 2021a,b);
- D) Show that narrow syntax simply manipulates the features relevant up to that point, without attention to form;
- E) Show that a grammar with proclitic φ -SCLs of all φ -combinations exists (cf. accounts where some are impossible);
- F) Include these φ -SCLs in an analysis of sentence structure requiring only two independently required ones (Rizzi 2015a,b);
- G) Use the analysis to capture cross-grammar variation and generalizations (Renzi & Vanelli 1983).

/SCL/ $u\varphi$	allomorphs	
1S	a =	= ja
2S	t =	↑ = t
3MS	(a)l =	= l
3FS	l(a) =	= la
1P	a =	= ja
2P	a =	↓ = (v)
3P	i =	= i

Outline:

- Section 2: Bolognese SCLs are never discourse-related;
- Section 3: The forms of 1S, 1P, and 2P SCLs: homophony and variation;
- Section 4: Functional structure and syntax of SCLs.

2 Bolognese [a]/[i] SCLs aren't Discourse-Related SCLs

At least six sets of data demonstrate the difference between Bolognese SCLs and discourse-related forms in other varieties, especially 1S, 1P, and 2P.

- A) Discourse-related vocalic SCLs can be absent or optional. Bolognese SCLs are all obligatory. E.g. Donceto 1S, 1P, and 2P ([ə]) vs. the corresponding Bolognese obligatory [a].
Take-away: No distinction among Bolognese SCLs; all behave as the lowest in other varieties.

- B) Poletto 2000:§2.2.1: Invariable and deictic (vocalic) clitics occur before strong negation.

- (1) a. A no vegno. Loreo (2) a. a= η = 'ven^γ 'bri:za. Bolognese
 SCL not come
 'I do not come.'
 SCL.1S NEG come not
 'I do not come.'
- b. No la vien. b. la= η = 'ven^γ 'bri:za.
 not SCL come
 SCL.1S NEG come not
 'She does not come.'

Take-away: No distinction among Bolognese SCL, they all behave as in (2), always pre-NEG.

(Note: Benincà 1983:footnote 4 contrasts similar data from Padovano with older data in which all clitics, including 1S, 1P, and 2P [a], followed strong negation. The diachronic change may have been a reanalysis of the nature of some previously φ -related as discourse-related SCLs.)

- C) Poletto 2000:§2.2.2: Vocalic clitics can cooccur with other subject clitics.

- (3) a. A la vien. Padua (Veneto) (4) a. (*a=) la= vej. Bolognese
 SCL SCL come
 SCL.3FS come.3S.
 'She is coming.'
- b. A i vien. b. (*a=) i= vejnen^γ.
 SCL SCL come.
 SCL.3MP= come.3P.
 'They are coming.'

Take-away: No vowel-initial Bolognese SCL cooccurs with any other SCL.

D) Poletto 2000:§2.2.3: Vocalic SCLs obligatorily cluster with C (for others, clustering is optional):

- (5) a. Ara ch'a vegno. Loreo (Veneto) c. No so sa vegno
 look that+SCL come not know if+SCL come
 'Look, I am coming'. 'I do not know if+SCL come'
 b. *Ara che a vegno. d. *No so se a vegno
- (6) a. la 'mi: anvu'derɲa G., kla= nʷ= 'sta 'fairma 'paŋk st= la= 'li:g ...
 the my granddaughter.DIM G., that.SCL.3FS= NEG= stays still not even if.SCL.2S= ACL= tie
 '... my little granddaughter G., who does not stay still even if you tie her up, ...'
 b. al= 'fo ak'se ke la 'bɛrca l= an'de 'vi:
 SCL.3MS be.PST.3S so that the.FS boat SCL.3FS go.PST.3S away
 'It was thus that the boat went away.'

Take-away: All Bolognese SCLs obligatorily cluster with C, including Poletto's lowest ones.

E) Benincà 1983, Poletto 2000:§2.3.1.1:23 "Invariable SCLs are the only clitics that express a theme/rheme distinction", "the whole sentence is new information":

Out of the blue sentences:

- (7) a. A piove! Padua (8) a. (*a)l= a pju'vɔ:!
 SCL rains! SCL.3MS have.3S rained Bolognese
 'Look, it's raining!'
 b. E vvu venite! Florence b. (*a)t= veŋ!
 SCL SCL come! SCL.2S come.2S
 'You are coming!' 'You are coming!'

Interaction with left-peripheral elements:

- (9) **Padovano** (10) **Bolognese**
 a. A ve-to via? a. (*a)'vɛ:t vi:? / (*a)'va:gja vi:?
 SCL go-you away? go.2S.SCL.2S away / go.1S.SCL.1S away
 'Are you going away?'
 b. *EL GATO a go visto. b. al 'ga:t aj= ɔ: 'vest, 'bri:za al kaŋ.
 the cat SCL (I) have seen. the cat SCL.1S= have.1S seen, not the dog.
 'I have seen the cat.' 'I have seen the cat, not the dog.'
 c. *Co ti, a no voio ndare c. 'koŋ 'te, a= nʷ= 'voj 'bri:za aŋ'dɛ:r.
 with you SCL not want to go with you, SCL.1S= NEG want.1S not to go
 'I do not want to go with you.' 'I do not want to go with you.'

Take-away: No Bolognese SCLs show discourse properties like these.

F) Poletto 2000:§2.3.1.2: Invariables may be dropped from the second verb in type 1 coordination.

- (11) **Loreo:** (12) **Bolognese:**
 A canto co ti e balo co lu. A 'kaŋt 'ti:g es *(a) 'ba:l 'si:g.
 SCL sing with you and dance with him SCL.1S= sing.1S 2S.with and SCL.1S= dance.1S 3.with
 'I sing with you and dance with him.' 'I dance with you and I sing with her/him/them'

Take-away: No Bolognese SCL may ever be absent in coordination.

In summary, there is no evidence in Bolognese for any split among SCLs. They all behave identically.

3 Differences between Pro- and Enclitics

3.1 The 1S and the 1P Subject Clitics

- A) Despite differing φ -features, these two clitics have the same allomorphs.
 (a) The Latin source for both is EGO (Rohlf's 1968).
 (b) Latin [g] → Bolognese [j], [o:] → [a]. Cf. Latin NON → [t_{an}^Y 'di:z 'bri:za] 'you don't say.'
- B) Differences in the phonological context determines variation:

		First Conjugation		Second Conjugation		Third Conjugation		Fourth Conjugation	
TAM	φ	'to jump' ['sɛ:lt], [sal't]		'to know' [s], [sav]		'to laugh' ['red], [rid]		'to sleep' ['do:rm], [durm]	
		DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV
PRS	1S	a 'sɛ:lt	'sɛ:ltja?	a 'sɔ:	'sɔ:ja?	a 'red	'redja?	a 'do:rum	'do:rmja?
	1P	a sal'tæn ^Y	sal'ta ^Y ja?	a sa'væn ^Y	sa'va ^Y ja?	a ri'dæn ^Y	ri'da ^Y ja?	a dur'mæn ^Y	dur.ma ^Y ja?
PST	1S	a sal'te	sal'teja?	a sa've	sa'veja?	a ri'de	ri'deja?	a dur'me	dur'meja?
	1P	a sal'ten ^Y	sal'te ^Y ja?	a sa'ven ^Y	sa've ^Y ja?	a ri'den ^Y	ri'de ^Y ja?	a dur'men ^Y	dur.me ^Y ja?
FUT	1S	a salta'rɔ:	salta'rɔ:ja?	a sa'rɔ:	sa'rɔ:ja?	a rid'rɔ:	rid'rɔ:ja?	a durmi'rɔ:	durmi'rɔ:ja?
	1P	a salta'ræn ^Y	salta'ra ^Y ja?	a sa'ræn ^Y	sa'ra ^Y ja?	a rid'ræn ^Y	rid'a ^Y ja?	a durmi'ræn ^Y	durmi'ra ^Y ja?

- C) The form is [(j)a], with [j] absent when adjacent to a prosodic phrase boundary.
 D) This is observable across paradigms.
 E) [a=] occurs in all the relevant declarative data. (There are few [j]-initial words in Bolognese.)
 F) With inversion in the interrogative data, [=ja] occurs clearly in all 1S forms.
 G) The final /n/ of 1P Agr combines with /j/ of /(j)/ to form [ɲ], a general change:
 [a=n^Y] = 'vad 'mar] 'I never see', [a=j=ɔ: 'vest] 'I saw them', [a=ɲ=ɔ: 'mar 'vest] 'I never saw them'

3.2 The 2P Subject Clitic

- A) pro- and en- clitic position differ. But, allomorphy, even suppletion, occurs;
 i. In roots: t= vɛ: 'you.S go' vs. andæn^Y 'we go';
 ii. In affixes, e.g. agreement by tense (Romance), case (Korean NOM, [ka] post-V and [i] post-C).
- B) Latin VOS.
 i. Same vowel change produces [a], observed in proclitic.
 ii. Latin [w] → ?
- C) Evidence that the Bolognese Voiced Labiodental is an approximant/sonorant:
 i. Epenthesis with [u], like with [m]. It behaves like a sonorant (Rubin & Kaplan 2021a). E.g.
 [a 'do:rum] 'I sleep', [a 'dur'mæn^Y] 'we sleep'; ['anma / 'anum] 'soul' / 'souls';
 [li'vɛ:r=um] 'to lift me up';
 [a=ku:ruv] 'I bend', [a=ku'r'væn^Y] 'we bend'; ['sɛ:rva / 'se:ruv] 'servant' / 'servants';
 [li'vɛ:r=uv] 'to lift you.P up'.
 ii. Canepari & Vitali 1995: Bolognese /v/ often disappears or appears as [v] or [w], as in
 [fara'vaɲna] / [fara'vaɲna] 'guinea fowl', [ʔɲo] 'come-PP', [as'vad/as'wad] 'one sees'.
 iii. Padgett 2002: Similar occurs in Russian, and others.
- D) Like [j] in 1S/1P, [v] deletes if following a prosodic phrase boundary, resulting in the [a=] allomorph;
 E) When preceded by a stressed vowel, it appears. Otherwise, it is null;
 F) The form is essentially /(v)(a)/:

TAM	φ	First Conjugation		Second Conjugation		Third Conjugation		Fourth Conjugation	
		'to jump'		'to know'		'to laugh'		'to sleep'	
		DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV	DCLRTV	INTRGTV
PRS	2P	a sal'tɛ:	sal'tɛ:v?	a sa'vi:	sa'vi:v?	a ri'di:	ri'di:v?	a dur'mi:	dur'mi:v?
PST	2P	a sal'tesi	sal'tesi?	a sa'vesi	sa'vesi?	a ri'desi	ri'desi?	a dur'mesi	dur'mesi?
FUT	2P	a salta'ri:	salta'ri:v?	a sa'ri:	sa'ri:v?	a rid'ri:	rid'ri:v?	a durmi'ri:	durmi'ri:v?
IMP	2P	a sal'tɛ:vi	sal'tɛ:vi?	a sa've:vi	sa've:vi?	a ri'de:vi	ri'de:vi?	a dur'me:vi	dur'me:vi?
CND	2P	a salta'resi	salta'resi?	a sa'resi	sa'resi?	a rid'resi	rid'resi?	a durmi'resi	durmi'resi?

G) Morphophonology explains the three allomorphs of SCL.2P. We need no complication of syntax.

Section Take-aways:

1. Morphophonology explains the allomorphs of SCLs of any φ -feature combination in Bolognese;
2. Bolognese has proclitic and enclitic SCLs with all combination of φ -features;
3. Bolognese SCLs (1S, 1P, and 2P) are φ -related. Though vowels, and cognate with discourse-related morphemes in other varieties, they are not vocalic, in Poletto's 2000 sense.

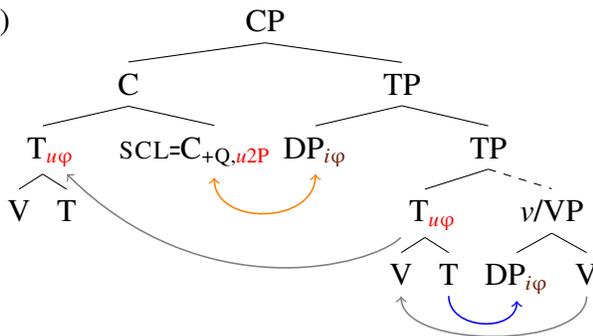
4 Functional Structure

Framework: Chomsky 2013, 2015 (movement is freely applied and ordered, driven by avoidance of labeling-failure), and Rizzi 2015a,b (Criteria, functional structure).

- A) Verbs with φ -SCLs have subjects with $i\varphi$ -features (e.g. those of *shelhe*) that are relevant at LF.
- B) Verbal Agr-suffixes are $u\varphi$ PF correspondents of those subjects. (Mirror Principle, left-adjunction)
- C) Narrow syntax delivers deleted $u\varphi$ -feature bundles to morphophonology via Spell-out.
- i. Are visible SCLs the arguments of the V ($i\varphi$)?
(Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008:542: “we take the obligatory subject clitics to be the true subjects of the clause, which, like their object counterparts, are moved from the thematic position”.)
 - ii. Or are they $u\varphi$ PF-correspondents of the $i\varphi$ of the subject, like the Agr-suffixes?
(Suñer 1992, Roberts 2010:106 “agreement doubling”, my consultants: “subject expansion”.)
 - iii. Given the nature of the system, we can't and don't have arguments in PF.
 - iv. Even if SCLs are “true subjects”, there must also be $u\varphi$ in PF related to the $i\varphi$ of the subject.
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- D) Renzi & Vanelli 1983: As many or more enclitics (inversion) than proclitics;
- E) Structural explanation: head-movement correlates with appearance of clitics;
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- F) Cliticization and the heads involved in SCLs;
- i. Cardinaletti & Starke 1999: [_{XP} X [_{YP} DP_{argument} Y [... DP_{argument} ...]]];
 - ii. Essentially, DP can cliticize to X but not Y, by head-movement.
 - iii. Everyone: In INTRGTV, V → C (as X) allows cliticization, so extend this to DCLRTV;
 - iv. In DCLRTV, when V is in Y, DP_{argument} in SpecY cannot cliticize to it (e.g. *pro* in C&R);
 - v. When V moves to X, DP_{argument} can cliticize to it;
 - vi. Poletto 2000:39 cites Giorgi & Pianesi 1997: “Languages differ ... they press more features inside the same syntactic node or scatter them within a set of FPs”;
 - vii. How many FPs below C, for proclitics?
-
- G)
 - i. Poletto 2000, et seq. uses three heads (including the lowest tensed V), scattered upward in order. “Scattering has to start from the lowest FPs.”
 - ii. Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008 uses four heads (including the lowest tensed V), in the same order;
 - iii. Here: X, Y are Subj, Phi of Rizzi 2015b:26 “a system of subject clitics distinct from agreement morphology may overtly instantiate the Subj head,” which is *i*ABOUT; the “aboutness property” of subjects, and Phi “may or may not be identified with T”; (see also Roberts 2010: T, *v**);
 - iv. Subj and Phi replace the heads from other proposals. Increased parsimony;

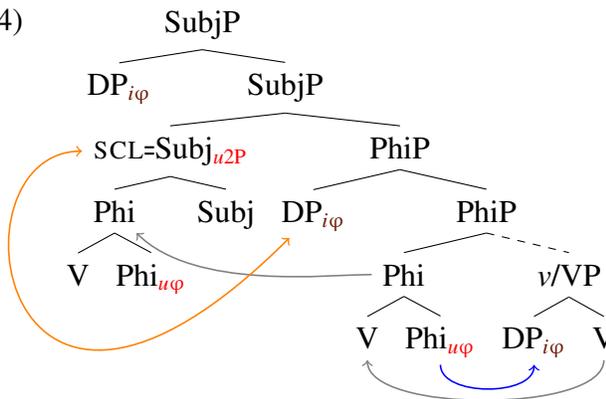
- H) $u\varphi$ -inheritance from C: not considered in Poletto 2000, Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008, Rizzi 2015a,b;
- I) Proposal: SCLs are morphemes with uninterpretable formal features and no interpretable ones, just like standard $u\varphi$ on T; and both are checked by the subject's $i\varphi$.
- However, unlike $u\varphi$ on T, SCLs are uninterpretable but valued φ -bundles, following Pesetsky & Torrego 2007 (e.g. $u2S$, $u1S$);
 - “Scattering/agreement doubling” is inheritance, which places them in separate heads. (RM assures $u\varphi$ and its SCL double must match.)
 - Renzi & Vanelli’s 1983 generalizations reveal a hierarchy that constrains:
 - which valued $u\varphi$ morphemes exist in a variety: $u2S$ (Torinese), $u2S$ & $u3S$ (Milanese), etc. through all of them (Bolognese, Donceto);
 - which of their morphemes may be scattered downward: only $u2S$ (Torinese, of 1), $u2S$ & $u3S$ (Milanese, of 2), $u2S$, $u3S$ & $u3P$ (Cremonese, of 3, Donceto of more than 3), or all that they have (Bolognese; Torinese).
- J) Analyses: As usual, $u\varphi$ (verbal agr) is inherited by Phi (T):
- In INTRGTV, An available relevant double occurs on C_{+Q} . e.g. (13);
 - In DCLRTV, the valued $u\varphi$ is inherited by Subj, and V raises to it, e.g. (14);
 - (Both $u\varphi$ s appear in the final complex head with V in it, of course.)

(13)



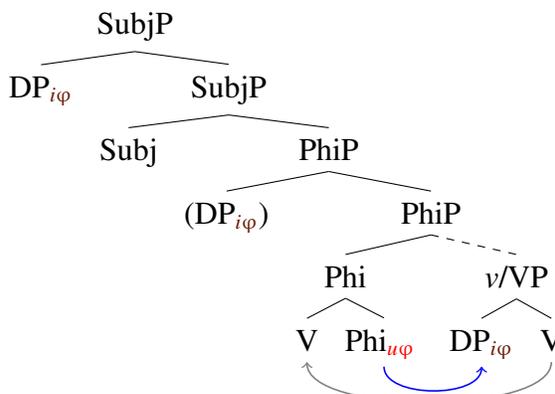
- When C_{+Q} merges, T inherits $u\varphi$;
- A valued $u\varphi$ occurs on C_{+Q} ;
- $u\varphi$ Agrees with the subject and is checked;
- $V \rightarrow C$ and A-movement;
- Appropriate configuration for cliticization, double is checked;
- C can be transferred to morphophonology.
 $\langle\langle \text{Root}, T.u\varphi \rangle, \langle \text{SCL}u2P, +Q \rangle\rangle$

(14)



- Phi (again) inherits $u\varphi$ from C;
- Subj inherits an available valued $u\varphi$, e.g. Bolognese: any, Donceto: only $u2S$, $u3S$, $u3P$;
- $u\varphi$ Agrees with the subject and is checked;
- $V \rightarrow \text{Subj}$ and A-movement, through SpecPhi;
- Appropriate configuration for cliticization, double is checked;
- $DP_{i\varphi} \rightarrow \text{SpecSubj}$ (Subj Criterion);
- Subj can be transferred to morphophonology.
 $\langle \text{SCL}u2P, \langle\langle \text{Root}, T.u\varphi \rangle, \text{Subj} \rangle\rangle$

(15)



- Rizzi’s 2015b: grammars without SCLs;
- Also, e.g., Donceto $u1S$, $u1P$, $u2P$.
- What causes head-movement? (Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008:550: “Further crosslinguistic investigation is of course needed to establish exactly what triggers verb movement to the X head(s) in the different NIDs”)
- Here: the Agr-doubles/ φ -SCLs themselves, so when present, (14) arises, when not, (15);
- Related to clitics’ need for a host.

5 Conclusions

This paper has made empirical contributions:

1. Bolognese obligatorily expresses SCL forms with (c)overt subjects of all φ -combinations;
2. None of these forms express discourse-related properties;
3. No data distinguishes among them;
4. All behave identically, like low φ -related SCLs in other varieties;

These have led to theoretical contributions (especially overall parsimony):

1. The Bolognese system does exist, so it can exist (cf. predictions of other analyses).
2. Narrow syntax involves $i\varphi$ on DP_{argument} and $u\varphi$, inherited by Phi/T, no extra heads needed: $i\varphi$ continues to LF; Checked $u\varphi$ is transferred to PF (as verbal agr affixes);
3. SCL allomorphs follow regular morphophonological patterns in the grammar. Syntax isn't involved. Implications for conclusions about syntax drawn from phonology.
4. φ -related SCLs (like case, agr) lack i -features but have formal valued φ -features. They are
 - a. introduced by inheritance, but separated from unvalued- $u\varphi$. Like checked unvalued- $u\varphi$, however, checked valued- $u\varphi$ is transferred to PF;
 - b. and constrained by a generally assumed hierarchy;
5. The hierarchy constrains
 - a. which such morphemes appear in a grammar, and
 - b. which ones may scatter to a lower head (Subj);
 - c. Bolognese has the maximum number of φ -related SCLs and allows them all to scatter (it is perhaps the most conservative, given their origin as strong pronouns);
 - d. Other grammars have fewer, or permit only a proper subset of them to scatter.

Final note: We should avoid dichotomies between *pro* and φ -related SCLs. Before Spell-out, of course, DP_{argument} 's case-feature is checked. At LF, DP_{argument} 's first-merge occurrence is relevant to Theta Theory, as are its $i\varphi$ -features to Binding Theory, possibly in some other of its occurrences. This is true both whether or not it has a φ -SCL related to it (e.g. Bolognese vs. Donceto 1S, 1P, 2P) and whether or not DP has other associated PF-material (φ -SCLs doubling a strong pronoun or full nominal subject, or "null subject" cases). φ -related SCLs are formal morphemes with reflexes at PF, dependent on $DP_{i\varphi}$ for checking, but without impact on its need for Case or its continuation to LF.

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