

“Enclitics in Gascon”

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Gascon, an endangered language spoken in France and Spain, exhibits two possible realizations of the masculine singular accusative (MSA) pronoun: /u/ and /lu/, with the following distribution.¹ (1) The MSA pronoun /u/ (without /l/) is always unstressed, and is found in either proclisis or enclisis, and /lú/ (with /l/) is always stressed, and is found in enclisis only.

	un/stressed	proclisis	enclisis
/u/	unstressed	/ke u-kunéʃ/ ‘he knows him’	/pórta-u/ ‘carrt it!’
/lú/	stressed	n/a	/prén-lú/ ‘take it!’

(2) In clusters, the same distribution of the two forms of the MSA pronoun holds, but there is also a consistent difference in the order of the pronouns in the cluster: /u/ precedes the dative: /u me/, and /lú/ follows the dative: /me lú/.

	pronoun order	proclisis	enclisis
/u/	ACC-DAT: /u me/	/k u-me-pot dá/ ‘he can give it to me’	/bája-u-me/ ‘give it to me!’
/lú/	DAT-ACC: /me lú/	n/a	/báje-m-lú/ ‘give it to me!’

We conclude that a purely phonological approach cannot account the full array of data. For example, the segmental content of the pronouns is different when stressed (/lú/) or unstressed (/u/), the form of the pronoun is restricted by its position relative to the verb (/lú/ is not permitted preverbally), and the order of the pronouns in a cluster is correlated with the form of the pronouns (ACC-DAT only allows /u/, and DAT-ACC only allows /lú/). These facts are inconsistent with a fully phonological approach that does not take into account the shape of pronouns or the syntax of clitic placement.

Instead we will propose an alternative approach based on the idea that there is no one uniform category called “clitic”. The stressed Gascon pronouns that can only appear after a 2sg imperative verb either alone or following a dative pronoun, are more complex than true clitics. The true clitics of Gascon can appear before or after a verb, either alone or preceding a dative pronoun. The term clitic has been used to refer to two groups of pronouns that are morphologically distinct, and this has led to much of the confusion regarding the unexpected behavior of “clitics.” We argue that the data can be better understood if we divide the pronouns into two categories: true clitics and weak pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

We outline some characteristics of clitic and weak pronouns identified by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) that we believe apply to the MSA pronouns illustrated above, and conclude that the Gascon data can be interpreted as follows: /u/ is a clitic pronoun, and /lú/ is a weak pronoun.

¹ All data are from fieldwork undertaken by the authors, unless otherwise indicated. Data for Gascon are from the variety spoken in Bearn.

1. lack/presence of /l/ reflects morphological complexity, and weak pronouns are morphologically more complex than clitics (C&S 1999: 178)	→ /lú/ is a weak pronoun
2. lack/presence of stress is one of the diagnostics of weak vs clitic: weak pronouns can be stressed (C&S 1999: 172)	→ /lú/ is a weak pronoun
3. a weak pronoun never precedes a clitic pronoun. So the /u/ in /u me/ is not a weak pronoun.	→ /u/ is a clitic pronoun

The weak pronominal elements of Gascon are not heads, but maximal projections that land in specifier positions in the tree and, therefore, tend to be lower than true clitics, which they might be adjacent to. Hence, /me lú/ forms a sequence of a clitic followed by a weak pronoun, while /u me/ is a ‘split clitic’ structure in which each clitic adjoins to a different projection (Kayne 1994). The presence/absence of these two syntactic configurations correlates with the presence/absence of phonological clustering: the sequence /me lú/ can be reduced to a single syllable /mlú/, while ‘split clitic’ /u me/ cannot (*um/). Furthermore, we assume that verb-enclitic order is the product of verb movement to a high position in the C domain (Rivero, Zanuttini) above the position of the clitic pronoun. The fact that the weak pronoun is found only in enclisis in 2sg imperatives can be explained if we assume that 2sg imperative clausal structure in this language is impoverished (Rizzi 2000) and lacks the necessary host categories for heads (clitics). Therefore, a mechanism like ‘last resort’ makes weak pronouns available when no projections for clitics exist. Thus, we explain why weak pronouns only occur in enclisis.

Significantly, similar patterns involving the stressed or unstressed quality of the pronouns, their segmental makeup, the position of the pronoun relative to the verb (proclisis or enclisis), and pronoun order in clusters (DAT-ACC or ACC-DAT), are also found in other Romance varieties as disparate as Balearic Catalan, Corsican, and Ligurian.

i) different segmental content of single pronoun vs. clusters:

Viozene (Ligurian): da-ru ‘give it!’
da-u-me ‘give it to me!’

ii) different segmental content of pronoun in pre- vs. post-verbal position:

Bastia (Corsican): i-bortu ‘I bring them’
porte-li ‘bring them!’

iii) different order of pronouns in preverbal vs. postverbal position:

Corte (Corsican): porta-mi-lu ‘bring them to me!’
u-mi-vendi ‘you sell it to me’

iv) a weak pronoun (stressed) never precedes a clitic pronoun:

Mallorcan Catalan (Torres-Tamarit & Pons-Moll 2018): mostrə-lə-mé; *mostrə-lé-mə

We extend our analysis to these data and show that when pronouns are analyzed in this way, patterns involving the same pronoun with different realizations can be understood in a straightforward way.

REFERENCES: **Cardinaletti, A. and M. Starke** (1999) “The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns” in H. Riemsdijk, ed., *Clitics in the languages of Europe* (pp. 145-233). New York: Mouton de Gruyter. **Kayne, R.** (1994) *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **Rizzi, L.** (2000) *Comparative Syntax and Language Acquisition*. London: Routledge. **Torres-Tamarit, F. and C. Pons-Moll** (2018) “Enclitic-induced stress shift in Catalan” *Journal of Linguistics* 55: 1-38.