



1. PROBLEM. Gascon exhibits two possible realizations of the masculine singular accusative pronoun: /u/ and /lú/, with the following distribution: /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. Is there a way to account for these patterns beyond just listing their form and distribution?

	proclisis	enclisis
/u/ unstressed	/ke u-kunéʃ/ 'he knows him'	/pórtə-u/ 'carry it!'
/lú/ stressed	n/a	/prén-lú/ 'take it!'

In clusters, we find the same distribution of the two forms of the pronoun, 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/.

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

2. PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS. We are unaware of a phonological account of clitics and clitic clusters in Gascon. Ordoñez and Repetti (2013) claim that a phonological explanation is not sufficient to account for this displacement of stress with enclitics in other Romance varieties:

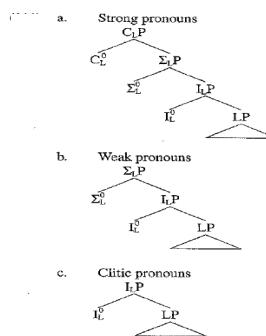
- The segmental content of the pronouns is different when stressed or not (/u/ vs /lú/).
- The form of the pronoun is restricted by its position relative to the verb (/lú/ is never permitted preverbally).
- The form of the verb may determine whether the stressed form is available. Romanello and Repetti (2014) observe that in other Romance varieties the stressed forms are found in 2SG imperatives, but not for 1PL imperatives. The same holds in Gascon:
/ba'jɛm-lí/ 'give.1PL them'
/ba'jɛ-lí/ 'give.2SG them'
- 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/).
- Pronouns that attract stress are more complex than pronouns that do not, as in Standard French *moi / me: m-o-i* is bimorphemic and *m-e* monomorphemic (with an epenthetic schwa). Cf. Gascon unstressed /u/ vs stressed /lú/.

Enclitics in Gascon

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LSRL 50, UT Austin, July 2020

3. MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS. We are unaware of a morphological account of clitics and clitic clusters in Gascon, but one can posit an analysis whereby the difference in stress, segmental content, and distribution between /lú/ and /u/ is allomorphic (lexical and listed); however, this just restates the fact without providing any insights or connections to other parts of the grammar.

4. SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose that the distinction between clitics and strong pronouns is insufficient. There is an intermediate category they called "Weak Pronouns".



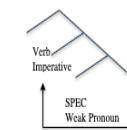
Consequences of the system:

- The pronouns with one layer are heads (clitics). The pronouns with two layers (weak pronouns) or three layers (strong pronouns) are XP (maximal projections).
- The layers can be diagnosed by the following phonological, morphological, and syntactic facts:

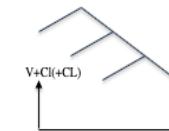
- Weak pronouns bear stress.*
- Weak pronouns move to a specifier position.*
- Clitics behave like deficient heads and do not affect stress.*

Trees for imperatives:

| Verb + Weak pronoun (stress shifting)
Verb and weak pronouns are in different inflectional projections.



Verb + Clitic(s) (no stress shifting)



Stressed enclitics are weak pronouns in Gascon:

1. lack/presence of /l/ reflects morphological complexity, and weak pronouns are morphologically more complex than clitics (C&S 1999: 178). Therefore...	... /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). Therefore...	... /lú/ is a weak pronoun.
3. order in clusters: a weak pronoun never precedes a clitic, as in /u me/. Therefore...	... /u/ is not a weak pronoun.

5. EXTENSIONS TO OTHER LANGUAGES. 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, Neapolitan, Corsican, Lucanian, and Ligurian.

- different segmental content of single pronoun vs. clusters: Viozene (Ligurian): /da-ru/ 'give it!' /da-u-me/ 'give it to me!'
- different segmental content of pronoun in pre- vs. post-verbal position: Bastia (Corsican): /i-bortu/ 'I bring them' /porte-li/ 'bring them!'
- 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'
- weak pronoun (stressed) never precedes clitic pronoun: Mallorcan Catalan: /mostre-lé-mé/ 'show it to me!' /*mostre-lé-me/
- only certain verbs can host weak pronouns (stressed): Albano di Lucania: /cam-illé/ 'call.2SG her!' /camáte-łe/ 'call.2PL her!' /cammámmę-łe/ 'call.1PL her!'

6. CONCLUSIONS. Our approach can account for the difference in phonological structure, morphological complexity, distribution, and clustering between /u/ (true clitic) and /lú/ (weak pronoun). In fact, we suggest that there might be additional levels of complexity possible in pronominal systems: Neapolitan data suggest a three-way distinction:

- simple clitic: /o/ /m o vínnə/ 'you.2SG sell it to me'
- complex clitic: /lə/ /vínnə lə/ 'sell.2SG it!'
- weak pronoun: /illə/ /vənnə m illə/ 'sell.2SG it to me!'