Changes in Friulano Subject Clitics

Conflation and Interactions with the Left Periphery

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1   Introduction

This diachronic corpus study examines how the varieties that comprise the Friulano dialect cluster of Northern Italy progressed in their use of subject clitic doubling, from none at all in early texts to quite liberal doubling in the present day. In the literature on Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs), Friulano is known for being "advanced" in its ability to double various types of subjects with a subject clitic (SCL). In her broad survey of NIDs, Poletto (2000) outlines a typological hierarchy of SCL doubling according to features of the subject nominal; present-day Friulano does occupy one of the highest positions on the hierarchy since it can double Wh-phrase subjects, and therefore all types of subjects. Examination of a diachronic corpus reveals how Friulano reached this stage, demonstrating that changes in SCL use proceeded in a stepwise fashion, allowing one additional type of subject doubling at each stage of its historical development. Furthermore, I show that each stage on the doubling hierarchy corresponds to a position in the Rizzi-style left periphery. This provides for a straightforward explanation of the diachronic progression of SCLs in Friulano, as left periphery positions were lost through conflation — a process of syntactic change in which indistinguishable adjacent phrasal positions collapse into a single projection to economize structure.

2   The Dialects and Corpus

Friulano or Friulian is the name given to a cluster of closely related dialects spoken in the Friuli - Venezia Giulia region of northeast Italy. Despite significant debate whether present-day Friulano should be classified with NIDs or with Rhaeto-Romance, early Friulano texts bear significant lexical resemblance to other Italian varieties. Friu-

lano also notably patterns with other NIDs in its use of SCLs to represent agreement information about clausal subjects. SCLs are clearly an innovation when compared to Proto-Romance; Standard Italian lacks them, but French, Gallo-Romance, and some Ladin varieties feature them to varying extents. Compared to neighboring dialect groups, Friulano is notable for being liberal with respect to subject doubling. In Friulano, an SCL may double any type of subject nominal (pronouns, DPs, QPs, and Wh-phrases). Only Trentino has even more extensive doubling, as it mandatorily doubles all subject nominals.

Subject clitics are typically internal innovations within a language, and follow a predictable course of development, beginning as non-clitic pronouns.

(1)   tonic pronouns → weak pronouns → agreement markers

The latter two stages are the two classes of syntactic elements that are subsumed under the label *subject clitic*. Weak pronouns are also known as *phonological clitics*, since they do not satisfy their clitic nature by forming a syntactic unit with any other element in the clause. Phonological subject clitics are found in Standard French, and pattern closely with full DP subjects. As such, they are best treated as maximal projections in ordinary subject position (Spec TP). Since these SCLs compete with DP subjects for a single position, they are in complementary distribution and subject doubling is impossible. Contrast the agreement-marking SCLs found in certain colloquial French varieties and NIDs, which are also known as *syntactic clitics*, since they necessarily participate in syntactic head-adjunction. Syntactic subject clitics are best analyzed as externally merged syntactic heads, to which other X^{min} categories (typically the T+v+V complex) adjoin.

It is generally the case that syntactic clitics / agreement markers, such as those found in present-day NIDs, have to pass through an intermediate stage of being weak pronouns before becoming agreement markers through a process of Spec-to-head reanalysis. However, the corpus data show that while Friulano has had syntactic clitics for most of its history, there was never a time at which it had phonological clitics. As such, an alternate explanation of the genesis of Friulano SCLs is required.

The corpus used in this study is a selection of approximately 4500 words of Friulano poetry from a historical anthology (Gregor 1975); the texts cover the years 1400–1877.[1] The corpus contains 537 tensed clauses, each of which was tagged for matrix/embedded position, clause type, verb valence, the position and features of the subject, and presence and type of SCL. The earliest texts show no use of SCLs, and from their first attestation in

a 1529 text, their frequency increases essentially monotonically over the surveyed period. Statistical analysis of the annotated data shows no strong correlation between SCL frequency and syntactic features other than subject type. I discuss this in more detail in §5 and conclude that the major factor driving the change is conflation of positions in the articulated left periphery, which hosts certain SCLs. Although no single feature predicts increased SCL use, there are structural contexts that prevent use of SCLs, namely when other types of clitics occur in the same clause. Previous analyses of SCLs do not directly predict this fact, but I show in §6 that contrary to other approaches that rely on information structure (Benincà 1983; Poletto 2000), these non-co-occurrence phenomena can be explained purely in terms of the clausal architecture, particularly the phase bottleneck at Spec IP.

3   Properties of Friulano SCLs

Drawing upon data from nine dialect groups and over 100 individual varieties, Poletto (2000) subdivides the SCLs found in NIDs into four groups — invariable, deictic, number, and person SCLs — and claims that each occupies a distinct position in the "agreement field", which spans the left periphery and the upper portion of IP.

(2) $[_{LDP}$ invariable $[_{CP}$ deictic $[_{FP}$ t$_{invariable}$ $[_{IP}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{NumP}$ number $[_{HearerP}$ person $[_{SpeakerP}$ T+v+V $[$ TP $]]]]]]]]]$

(after Poletto 2000:36, ex. 63)

It is important to note that Poletto makes a non-trivial distinction between IP and TP in her cartography. TP contains only tense and argument structure positions, whereas IP dominates polarity (NegP), the two lowest SCL positions, and TP. I will make use of this distinction between left-peripheral and IP-internal SCL positions to explain clitic interaction effects in §6. Nevertheless, all four types of SCLs are syntactic clitics, and therefore heads.

Within the Friulano varieties, there is a certain amount of heterogeneity of surface forms of SCLs. However, they do appear to be syntactically homogenous and cluster into two groups, comparable to deictic and number SCLs in Poletto's taxonomy. As I do not adopt the same cartography as Poletto, and in light of there being only two classes, I refer to these as "high SCLs" and "low SCLs". A representative paradigm of these forms, adapted from Gregor (1975), is given in (3). As the paradigm shows, the high SCL *al* is uninflected, whereas low SCLs

are inflected for person and number. Also of note is the fact that while the low SCLs are clearly related to their corresponding tonic pronominal forms, *al* has no such correlate.

(3)

high	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
al	'o	tu	'e	'o	'o	'a

Both types of Friulano SCLs are syntactic clitics, and therefore heads. This is demonstrated by the fact that both high and low SCLs are found in doubling contexts.

(4)   un stradarûl   al   mene   la   cariole
        a   street-sweeper SCL push.3s the cart
        'A street-sweeper pushes his cart.'

(5)   la   biciclete 'e   va
        the bicycle   SCL go.3s
        'The bicycle goes.'

Although at first glance there do not appear to be major structural differences between sentences with high SCLs and those with low SCLs, they do clearly occupy distinct positions. The high SCL *al* must occupy a left periphery position, as this will account for its variability in terms of what types of subjects it can double (see §5). The fact that low SCLs do not undergo the changes that high SCLs do, are limited with respect to what types of subjects they can double, and cannot co-occur with any other type of clitic (see §6) indicate that they occupy a distinct, lower position inside the inflectional field.

4   The evolution of Friulano SCLs

Recall the canonical path by which syntactic SCLs are taken to develop from strong pronominal forms:

(6)   tonic pronouns → weak pronouns → agreement markers

Poletto (1995) argues that just this type of change has occurred in the Veneto dialect cluster, which geographically neighbors Friulano. It would be reasonable to assume a parallel change occurred in Friulano, except the cor-

pus data contraindicates the existence of a middle stage. In the earliest texts (c. 1400), SCLs were not used in any way. After their first attestation (1529), their frequency of use increased consistently until the end of the surveyed period (1877).

(7)

High SCL frequency by year

Low SCL frequency by year
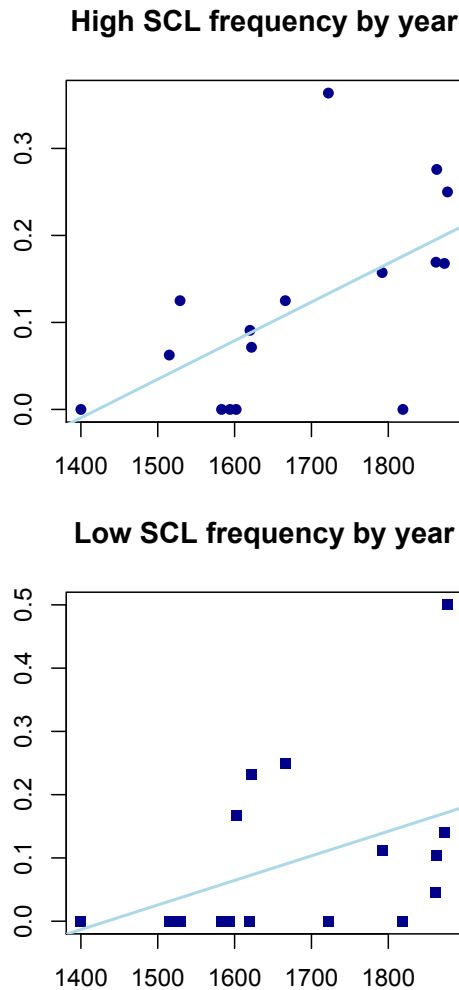
Of all of the clause characteristics coded for in the corpus — including embedding status, verb valence, presence of negation, second conjunct status, and subject position — none proved to be a significant predictor of SCL frequency. However, as the figures in (7) show, the date of a text did correlate with SCL frequency.[2] Across the entire corpus, 14.5% of tensed clauses had a high SCL, and 11.4% had a low SCL. High and low SCLs never co-occurred within a single clause.

What is even more striking, however, is the fact that none of the corpus data exhibits weak pronouns of the French type. The Friulano data confirm a jump from a language with no SCLs to one with syntactic SCLs, with no intermediate stage. Since phonological clitics pattern with DP subjects, they are in complementary distribution, ruling out clitic doubling of an overt subject. Conversely, languages with phonological SCLs tend not to allow *pro*-drop. In 15th century Friulano, *pro*-drop was always available for 1st person (8) and 2nd person subjects (9), and for 3rd person in embedded contexts. When *pro*-drop was unavailable (e.g. for 3rd person, unembedded subjects), tonic subject pronouns were mandatory (10).

(8)   Sufriraj peno e   torment pluj ch'ogno altri inamorat.
        suffer.1s pain and torment more than-any other lover
        'I suffer pain and torment more than any other lover.'

(9)   alegro may no mi   vedras
        happy never not OCL will-see.2s
        'You will never see me happy again.'

(10)   may el   sarà   pur lu to   dan
        never PN.3s will-be.3s too the your loss
        '…but the loss will be your own.'

SCLs first appear in the 16th century. Interestingly, the high SCL *al* is attested significantly earlier (1529) than any of the low SCLs (1602). This is unsurprising in one sense: since *al* is indeclinable and does not appear to be derived from a pronominal form, it was certainly never a weak pronoun *per se*, nor does it appear to have been an ontologically equivalent phonological clitic. This is in accordance with the stance taken by Benincà (1983) that the Padovan clitic *a*, which has a similar distribution and appears to be cognate with Friulano *al*, is not a true subject clitic, but rather a clitic left peripheral particle.[3]

The major difference between the situations in the two dialect groups is that Benincà claims that Padovan *a* was once a member of an inflected SCL paradigm, but broke free from the paradigm and was reanalyzed as occupying a higher position. This cannot be the case for Friulano, since *al* is attested before any of the members of the low SCL paradigm. One possible explanation is that Friulano *al* was introduced by contact with Padovan or other neighboring dialects in which such a paradigm split did in fact take place. This hypothesis is bolstered by the extraordinarily high rate of high SCL use in a 1722 Friulano text. In that text, the form of the high SCL is *a*, not *al*, suggesting that this one text may have been more influenced by Padovan than the rest of the corpus, and also sup-

porting the notion that Padovan *a* was further along in its course of development.

5 Subject doubling in Friulano

5.1 An implicational hierarchy of subject doubling

Another prediction to test against the corpus data is the general typology of doubling within NIDs. Dialects vary as to what type of subjects they can double, but these variations form an implicational hierarchy.

(11)   Wh-phrase > QP > DP > tonic pronoun

According to Poletto (2000), if a dialect can optionally double a particular level on the hierarchy, it mandatorily doubles subjects from all lower levels. At least some present-day Friulano dialects optionally double Wh-phrases, as shown in an example of an embedded Wh-relative from the variety spoken in San Michele al Tagliamento.

(12)   Le fomne che le   neta le scale e   e   ndade via.
        the women who SCL clean the stairs SCL have gone   away
        'The women who clean the stairs have left.'

(Poletto 2000:142, ex. 8c)

The historical Friulano corpus does not have any examples of Wh-doubling, but does show the expected progression of doubling as far as it went in the surveyed period, in that pronouns are first doubled, followed by DPs, followed by QPs. The below table gives the dates of first attestation of each type of doubling, both with high and low SCLs.

(13)

	Wh	QP	DP	pronoun
high	N/A	1862	1622	1529
low	N/A	1792	1622	1602

However, at no point is there mandatory doubling of any type of subject, despite the fact that DP doubling was possible in the majority of texts and QP doubling was possible in later texts. In the next section I will show how this is possible in a diachronic left periphery analysis of Friulano SCLs, how further change could easily lead to

the mandatory doubling situation found in some present-day Friulano varieties, and how hierarchy-imposed mandatory doubling could be explained by an identical left-peripheral structure plus minimal lexical change.

5.2   Conflation as progression along the hierarchy

The cartography of the agreement field, as put forth in Poletto (2000), specifies individual positions for each of the four types of SCLs, but makes little attempt to assimilate these positions to the more traditional cartography of the left periphery, following from Rizzi (1997). Since Friulano uses just two of Poletto's positions, rather than using a simplified version of her cartography (14), I adopt the Rizzi-style left periphery (15a). The one aspect of Poletto's structural analysis that I agree with is that high SCLs are in the CP layer, while low SCLs are in the TP/IP layer.

(14) $[_{CP}$ high SCL $[_{IP}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{NumP}$ low SCL $[_{HearerP}$ $[_{SpeakerP}$ T+v+V $[$ TP $]]]]]]]$

(15)   a.   ForceP > (TopP) > FocusP > TopP > FinP > TP

          b.   Wh-phrase > QP > DP > tonic pronoun

One major benefit of adopting the traditional cartography is that it directly mirrors the doubling hierarchy, which is reflected in the diachronic progression of doubling possibilities and SCL frequency in the Friulano corpus.

This parallelism is not coincidental, but corresponds to the functions that the various left peripheral positions perform in other contexts and other languages. Spec ForceP is the locus of Wh-moved nominals. FocusP is claimed by Rizzi to be inherently quantificational, in contrast to TopP, which is a more generalized information structure position. FinP is the least specified left peripheral position, and can host any type of subject, including *pro*.

With these facts in mind, we can form a diachronic explanation for Friulano's progression up the doubling hierarchy. First of all, *al* is the only overt left peripheral particle in the language. As such there is no way to directly determine its position by comparison to other left peripheral heads. This is exactly the learnability problem that was posed to children acquiring a Friulano variety. The potential ambiguity in the position of *al* eventually led to the loss of distinction between the various possible positions. This is the process of conflation, in which two adjacent syntactic phrases become a single phrase that can bear the features of either, because no positional distinction can be made. In the case of *al*, its position became conflated with null-headed positions that host nominals

in their Specs; those nominals' features correspond to the projection they are attracted to (ForceP, FocusP, and TopP). Thus conflation allowed *al* to occupy the same position as these more specialized null heads, and thereby increase its doubling possibilities. The stepwise nature of the change, where each type of doubling was allowed in turn over the span of some 500 years, indicates that these positions were conflated one by one, rather than in one fell swoop.

To elaborate on the conflation account, the first fact that must be ascertained is what the original position of *al* was. In its first 100 years of attestation in the corpus, *al* was almost exclusively used in conjunction with *pro*.

(16) Al pâr al mont cu cui cu scrîi in rime al sei tignût a fâlu par toscan
      SCL seems to.the world that to-him who writes in rhyme SCL is held to do.it through Tuscan
      'It seems to the world that for those who write in meter, they are required to do it in Tuscan.'

In both clauses containing *al* in (16), the subject must be *pro*. In the first, it is expletive *pro* used with the raising verb *pâr*; in the second, the Wh-phrase "who write in meter" is contained in a dative relative, and cannot be the structural subject of the clause, although it is coreferential with the *pro* subject. In later texts in the corpus it becomes very common to use *al* in sentences with postposed DP subjects. In these sentences too the subject position cannot go empty, and is filled by *pro*.[4]

(17) Al alze i vôi Denêl
      SCL raise.3s the voice Daniel
   'Daniel raised his voice.'

The impossibility of overt subject doubling in early uses of *al* indicates that it bears rather impoverished features, since it cannot attract a DP subject. In light of this, it seems best to posit that the first occurrences of *al* are in Fin^0. There are early subject-initial clauses that lack *al* (18); in such clauses, no dedicated Fin^0 is selected, and the overt subject may remain in Spec TP.

(18) jo cgiantaraj al vuestri honor
      PN.1s sing.FUT.1S to-the your honor
      'I will sing in your honor.'

Because *al* is located in the lowest position in the left periphery, it does not interfere with the function of the higher positions. Certainly there may be clauses where FinP is the highest active projection (by the Avoid Struc-

ture Principle), but in other clauses, ForceP, FinP, and TopicP may be selected to be active. This is the case in the embedded clause in (16) above, where a non-argument relative clause is preposed before *al*. The possibility of filling the projections above FinP, combined with the fact that Top^0 is null in Friulano, presents a learnability challenge. In a structure that selects for a topic and a null subject, there is no intervening overt element between the topicalized XP and *al* in Fin^0; as such, there is the opportunity to collapse the structure, giving *al* the ability to license overt topics. The trees in (19) show how the two null positions are eliminated in favor of a structure with a single, conflated Top/Fin projection.
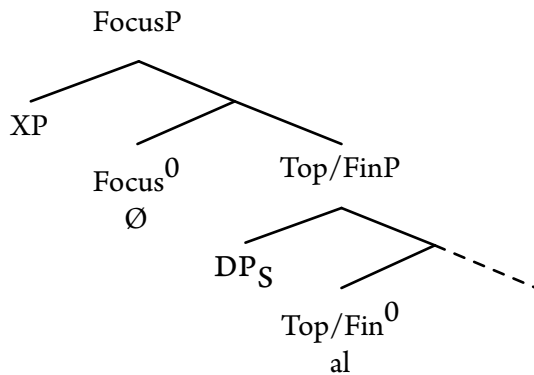
(19)
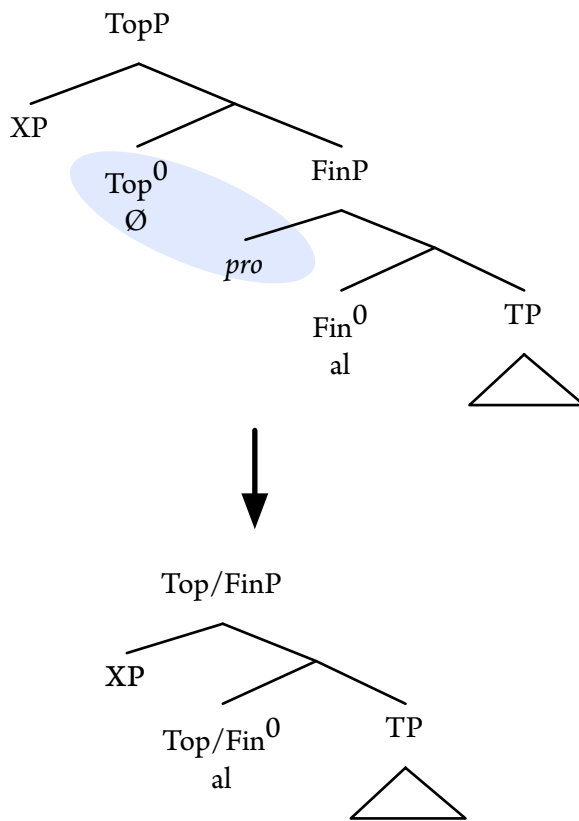
The structure with distinct TopP and FinP is representative of the stage prior to the first attestation of subject doubling in Friulano. Once conflation occurs, subject doubling with *al* becomes possible.[5] As attested in the corpus, at the second stage only DP subjects could be doubled. This is in accordance with the fact that TopP only hosts "plain" DPs in its Spec position, while QPs and Wh-phrases must be hosted in Spec FocusP and Spec ForceP, respectively.

After the conflation of FinP and TopP took place, there was a relatively lengthy, stable period during which optional subject doubling in Top/FinP was present in Friulano. Similar configurations have persisted to the modern day in most other NIDs.[6] However, in Friulano, the possibility for further change was realized. One reason that this change did not occur as readily as the conflation between TopP and FinP is because unlike in the prior stage, as shown in (19), the presence of an overt specifier of *al* prevents the higher projection from conflating with it directly.

(20)

```
                    FocusP
                   /      \
            XP           
                   /        \
             Focus⁰          Top/FinP
               Ø            /        \
                      DP_S          
                          /     \
                    Top/Fin⁰      ⋱
                        al
```

Despite the fact that Focus^0 is null, the structure is completely unambiguous; no structure can be conflated directly. From the configuration shown in (20), additional conflation could be triggered in one of two ways.

One possibility is that the conflation of FocusP and TopP proceeds "silently", i.e. only through ambiguity between clauses containing null left peripheral heads, and the result indirectly affects the featural specification of *al*. A general lack of co-occurrence of the two projections could lead to such a simplification of structure.[7] When FocusP and low TopP are conflated, there is no longer a need for separate null Focus^0 and Top^0; a single head can bear the features of each, including the $[+Q]$ feature inherent to Focus. Since *al* is the only other head merged in that position, by analogy the $[+Q]$ feature is transferred to it as well, allowing for QP doubling, as found in Friulano from 1862 onward.

(21)　se qualchidùn al　　cîr di scrivi　　sclet in tal　nestri lengàz
　　　　if　somebody　SCL tries of write.INF plain in such　our　　language
　　　　'if somebody tries to write clearly in our language'

The other possibility is that the criteria for conflation are simply too strict. On a conservative view, conflation can only take place if a given construction is always ambiguous; if even one grammatical structure disambiguates the positions, a child acquiring the language will have positive evidence for multiple positions and maintain them in the grammar. In the case of subject doubling, while there will be unambiguous structures at the stage represented in (20), *al* can still host a *pro* subject, leading to a configuration similar to that in (19), which was conflatable (and indeed conflated). If conflatable structures appear at a significant enough rate in the primary linguistic data, the conflation may take place in spite of the existence of unambiguous structures. What exactly the critical rate for triggering conflation may be is an open matter for the field of diachronic syntax.[8]

5.3   Extension to Wh-doubling and mandatory doubling

The most "advanced" type of doubling found in the corpus is QP doubling, which indicates that for speakers born in the late 19th century, conflation of the left periphery had proceeded only as far as FocusP. Present-day data exhibiting Wh-doubling, such as (12), show that additional conflation must have taken place. Like the Focus/Top collapse, that change must also have taken place indirectly, again offering an explanation for the existence of a stable period between the changes. The only further possible change is that found in Trentino, in which doubling of all subjects, including Wh-phrases, becomes mandatory. Although this has not yet occurred in Friulano, it is certainly a plausible change. Once a language has Wh-doubling, it necessarily has a unitary CP layer. If the only available C^0 elements (ignoring subordinating complementizers) have identical feature specifications, but one is null and the other is overt, lexical loss of the null variant is possible. When that occurs, doubling becomes mandatory for all subjects, since all subjects must move into CP to be licensed, and C must be overtly headed.

While the conflation analysis I have presented accounts for the diachronic pattern in Friulano, it only addresses half of the typological claims made by Poletto (2000). What of her claim that if a language optionally doubles subjects at a certain level, it mandatorily doubles subjects of all lower levels? This simply does not seem to be the case in Friulano, as there is no mandatory subject doubling (either by high or low SCLs) at any stage. The conflation analysis I have posited does not necessarily predict mandatory doubling; however, by a lexical loss process similar to that posited above for Trentino, mandatory doubling of lower levels can be accounted for in varieties that exhibit it.

After conflation takes place, there are two lexical items that can fill the new position: the null head that occu-

pied the former, higher position, and the high SCL. Since the null alternant for the lower position can no longer be distinguished from any other null left peripheral head, it is lost. Thus the high SCL becomes the only head that can bear the features previously borne by the lower null head. So, for example, at the optional QP doubling stage, the Focus head can either be filled by a null Focus^0 that is $[+Q]$ or by the high SCL, which is $[\pm Q]$, $[\pm Topic]$, and $[+phi]$. A topicalized element must check its topic feature against the high SCL, whereas a focalized element can check against $\emptyset$ or the overt clitic. Since this does not occur in Friulano, either the "lower" functional heads are maintained in the lexicon (although they merge in the single conflated position), or the "lower" features are transferred to the higher null head, allowing pure optionality between $\emptyset$ and *al*.

The below schemata summarize the two paths of change: that which does not predict mandatory doubling, and that which does.

(22) Friulano corpus – no mandatory doubling

    a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \textit{pro} \{al/\emptyset\}[+phi] [\text{ TP }]]]]]$

    b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} [_{\text{Top/FinP}} \text{DP}_S \{al/\emptyset\}[\pm\text{Topic}, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]]]$

    c. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{Focus/Top/FinP}} \text{QP/DP}_S \{al/\emptyset\}[\pm Q, \pm\text{Topic}, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]]$

(23) Trentino – mandatory doubling

    a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} [_{\text{TopP}} [_{\text{FinP}} \textit{pro} \{\text{SCL}/\emptyset\}[+phi] [\text{ TP }]]]]]$

    b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{FocusP}} [_{\text{Top/FinP}} \text{DP}_S \text{SCL}[\pm\text{Topic}, +phi] / \emptyset[+\text{Topic}, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]]]$

    c. $[_{\text{ForceP}} [_{\text{Focus/Top/FinP}} \text{QP/DP}_S \text{SCL}[\pm Q, \pm\text{Topic}, +phi] / \emptyset[+Q, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]]$

    d. $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Wh-/QP/DP}_S \text{SCL}[\pm\text{Wh}, \pm Q, \pm\text{Topic}, +phi] / \emptyset[+\text{Wh}, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]$

    e. $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Wh-/QP/DP}_S \text{SCL}[\pm\text{Wh}, \pm Q, \pm\text{Topic}, +phi] [\text{ TP }]]$

6 Non-co-occurrence of *al* and other clitics

Despite being the only overt head in the left periphery, the high SCL *al* appears to interact with clitic positions elsewhere in the clause. Although it does not behave like a "true SCL" in several respects, one of the reasons for classifying *al* and Padovan *a* as SCLs is their inability to co-occur with other SCLs. This is a desirable prediction; since each clause has a single subject, it can only agree with a single clitic element. The prediction is borne out in

the Friulano corpus, as there is no clause containing both a high and low SCL. A further pattern which emerged from the corpus, which to my knowledge has not been discussed in the literature for Friulano or any other NID, is that the high SCL cannot co-occur with *any* type of clitic, including object and dative clitics. Given that 46 clauses in the corpus contain object or dative clitics, with an overall high SCL occurrence rate of 14.5%, this pattern cannot be due to chance.

One possible explanation would be an appeal to information structure properties of the high SCL. The view that high SCLs "indicate that the whole sentence is new information" (Poletto 2000:23) was first put forth by Benincà (1983) in her discussion of Padovan *a*. Naturally, object and dative clitics stand in place of given information, and would be incompatible with such a restriction. However, *al* appears with other elements that represent old information, including *pro*, definite DPs, and deictic subjects.

(24)   L'onor   de me' famèe al   ûl   cussì
        the.honor of my family SCL wish.3s thus
        'Thus will be the honor of my family.'
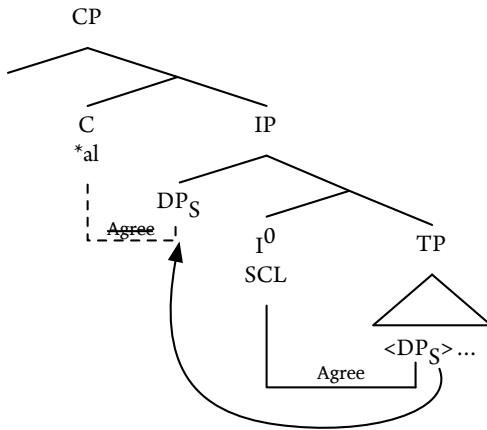
(25)   Chest al   è pôc
        this   SCL is little
        'This is the least of it.'

These data confound an explanation that relies solely on the new versus old information distinction. Fortunately, the data can be explained in terms of syntactic structure rather than information structure. The positions of low SCLs, object clitics, and dative clitics—although not identical—all serve the same role to prevent the selection of *al*. Object and dative clitics are generally held to occupy a position within an articulated IP. Recall that Poletto (2000) also places low SCLs of the type found in Friulano in a high position within articulated IP, crucially above TP. What these positions all have in common is that they intervene between Spec TP and the position of the high SCL in the left periphery.
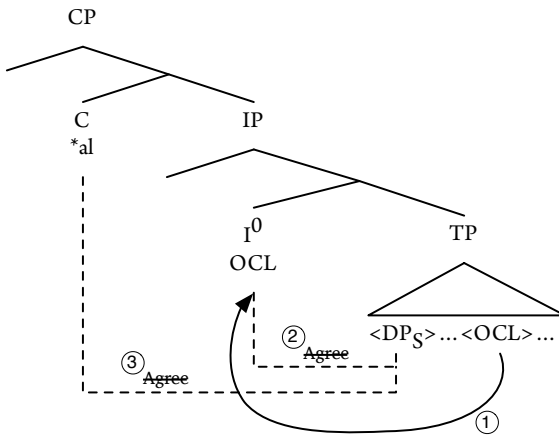
Presuming that IP is a phase, the subject must occupy the Spec IP position to be accessible to Agree with *al*. When there is a clitic in IP, it occupies the highest head position in the phase. In the case of low SCLs, they undergo Agree with the subject and move it to Spec IP, creating a low SCL doubling configuration. However, that Agree relation checks all of the features on the subject, rendering it inactive for further Agree with *al* and movement into the left periphery (26). In the case of non-subject clitics, they do not bear the features required

to Agree with the subject and move it to the phase edge, so it remains inaccessible to heads in the left periphery. If *al* were merged in such a case, it would not be able to probe for a suitable goal, and the derivation would crash (27).

(26)

CP
- C *al
- IP
  - DP$_S$
  - I^0 SCL
  - TP
    - <DP$_S$>...

Agree

Agree

(27)

CP
- C *al
- IP
  - I^0 OCL
  - TP
    - <DP$_S$>...<OCL>...

③ Agree

② Agree

①

Thus the position and featural content of high versus low clitics of all types directly predicts the non-co-occurrence facts exhibited in the corpus data.

7 Conclusions

I've shown that through examination of a historical corpus of Friulano texts, much can be determined about both the synchrony and diachrony of subject clitics in Friulano and their place in the typology of NIDs and clitic-doubling languages more generally. The corpus findings also reveal some unexpected results about the development of SCLs, compared to previous accounts in the literature. High SCLs appear in the corpus prior to inflected low SCLs, contrary to the case in Padovan. However, this difference actually helps to account for the fact that Friulano seems to have never had phonological clitics, only syntactic clitics, unlike its neighbor to the south, Veneto.

In terms of their internal diachrony, Friulano SCLs do progress in the expected, stepwise fashion with respect to the types of subjects they can double. I've explained this change as being caused by the conflation of positions in the Rizzi-style left periphery, which correspond directly to the various types of subjects. Subjects with higher final positions are "more difficult" to double, as the high SCL *al* began in the lowest left-peripheral head, Fin^0, and over time was able to assume the "higher" roles as the structure of the left periphery collapsed onto it. This model of conflation does not necessarily produce mandatory subject doubling, which is in accordance with the data, but with a single minor addition can produce the hierarchical effect that is argued by Poletto to take place in other NIDs.

Finally, the wide range of the historical corpus helped illuminate what is clearly an unchanged synchronic fact about Friulano, namely that high SCLs do not co-occur with any other clitic elements. I have shown that it is not necessary to appeal to information structure considerations to explain these facts. The positions of clitics in articulated IP, in conjunction with the fact that IP is a phase and therefore creates a bottleneck effect, predicts these outcomes purely in terms of structure. Thus the cartography of the Friulano clause, as I have outlined it, directly accounts for the major diachronic and synchronic issues involving SCLs.

Notes

[1] The date of birth of the author was used when available. For some earlier texts or those with unknown authorship the estimated date of composition was used.

[2] There was considerably higher variance for low SCLs, although this appears to be due mostly to stylistic vari-

ation rather than any grammatical property. Comparatively early texts with a preponderance of low SCLs tend to be heavy in dialogue, which has a high frequency of pronominal and *pro* subjects. Conversely, later texts that eschew low SCLs entirely are written a more formal register.

[3] Despite the fact that I agree with Benincà that *al* is not an SCL, I continue to gloss it as SCL, as this has remained the standard in the NID literature.

[4] A remnant movement analysis, in which the postposed subject does not remain low, is untenable for these constructions. Since *al* plus its complement (TP) do not comprise a maximal projection, that unit cannot be moved. Thus the DP subject in Spec of *al*, despite having all its features checked, would have to be moved to a higher Spec position, and then the remnant would have to subsequently cross over it. Given that *al* heads one of the highest positions (if not the highest) in the clause, there is simply no way to accomplish such movement.

[5] Note that while TopP could attract other elements while *al* resided in FinP, it would not be possible to have a subject topic and *al* in Fin occur in the same clause. If both were selected for, the derivation would necessarily crash, since if the subject could raise directly into Spec TopP, skipping over Spec FinP, the probing features of *al* would go unchecked.

[6] Other varieties that can double both pronouns and DPs may lack high SCLs altogether; in such cases, a conflation has likely occurred within IP. Without drastic modification of the clausal structure, namely breaking down the phasal barrier between IP and CP, no further conflation could take place, freezing those dialects at DP doubling. If the presence of a high SCL is requisite for QP or Wh-doubling, it could explain the relative infrequency of such doubling across NIDs.

[7] Exactly what condition would produce such a scenario needs to be determined by further work on the current corpus, as well as comparison with other cases of Focus/Top conflation. One possibility, however, is the availability of the high TopP, above FocusP. If when topics co-occur with foci they overwhelmingly surface as high topics, this could lead language learners to conclude that FocusP and low TopP are essentially the same position.

[8] Preliminary work on a perhaps related issue, namely phonemic merger, has been undertaken by Charles Yang (unpublished ms.) and others. Their findings indicate that even a small percent of merged data can trigger a merger for a particular individual, and then spread rapidly throughout a population.

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