

Second Position Clitic Pronouns in Old Spanish and Categorical Grammar

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Unlike their counterparts in modern Spanish (MSP, henceforth), non-tonic object pronouns in Old Spanish (OSP, henceforth)¹ are phonologically enclitic, and they require an element to their left commonly known as the EXORDIUM (cf. Wackernagel 1982). The left element may be the pronoun's verbal head, as in (1) below, but it does not need to be; a variety of nonverbal expressions can serve as the left element for the clitic pronoun, as illustrated in (2-5)², where the clitic pronoun appears preverbally.

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¹In OSP as well as MSP, nontonic object pronouns are customarily classified into three paradigms: (A) accusative, (B) dative, and (C) reflexive. The three sets are basically the same in both stages except for the second person plural form, which is *os* in MSP; it is *vos* in OSP. In this paper, I will be dealing primarily with accusative and dative clitic pronouns.

²Clitic pronouns are shown in capital letters for clarity. Also, the symbol = is used to indicate the phonological liaison between the clitic pronoun and its host word.

- (1) et dio=L vida perdurable para siempre
and he.gave=HIM life lasting forever
"and he gave him an eternal life" (Luc 23)
- (2) (rogó=L) que=L perdonasse lo
(he.begged=HIM) that=HIM he.forgive that
que avie errado
which he.had erred
"he begged him) to forgive him what he had erred" (Mil 232c)
- (3) que nadi no=L diessen posada
that no one not=HIM would.give lodging
"that no one would give him lodging" (Cid 4)
- (4) Asi=L dizia verdat
in.this.way=HIM he.told truth
"In this way, he told him the truth" (Luc 31)
- (5) yo=L daré por ello buen galardón
I=HIM I.will.give for that good reward
"I will give him good reward for that" (Cid 126)

In these examples, the pronoun appears in the apocopated form *-l* instead of in its full forms *le* or *lo*.³ This gives evidence that OSp nontonic pronouns phonologically attach to the word that precedes them, and not to the verb that follows them. Looking at the examples given above, OSp clitic pronouns seem to conform to the famous Wackernagel's Law: Nontonic pronouns and particles appear as the second word of a sentence (cf. Wackernagel 1892). However, this is not always the case, since the left element can also be comprised of a phrasal expression, as in (6) and (7) below.⁴ In these instances, the clitic pronoun phonologically attaches to the rightmost word of the left element.

³In OSp, clitic pronouns ending in *-e*, or *-o*, i.e., *me* (1sg), *te* (2sg), *le* (dat, 3sg), *lo* (acc, 3sg) and *se* (refl), are subject to apocope. Orthographically, an apostrophe is used in some texts between the host and the apocopated pronoun as in (i); in others no apostrophe is used as in (ii).

- (i) rogó'l que'l perdonasse lo que avie errado
he.begged=him that=him he.forgive that which he.had erred
"he begged him to forgive him for what he had erred" (Mil 232c)
- (ii) Ayudól el Criador
he.helped=him the Creator
"God helped him" (Cid 65)

⁴Halpern (1992) distinguishes two kinds of second position clitics: (A) 2W clitics, which appear as the second word of a clause, and (B) 2D clitics, which appear as the second daughter (constituent) of a clause. Clearly, OSp clitics pronouns are of the second type, since they do not exercise the option of appearing as the second word as in **una=L ferida dava*.

- (6) una ferida=L dava
a wound=IT he.gave
"he gave it a blow" (Cid 4)
- (7) Por Dios de todos=LO terne
for god of all=HIM I.have
"I will hold him as god of everybody" (Auto 18)

Owing to the need for a left element, clitic pronouns tend to appear in the second position of a clause, as in (1)–(7). However, it is not an absolute requirement that they do so, as shown in (8) and (9) below, where the occurrence of the clitic is delayed.

- (8) que Dios=LE curie de mal
that God=HIM protect from bad
"that God protect him from evil" (Cid 18)
- (9) si él mal=LO mandaba
If he badly=IT ordered
"If he wrongly ordered it" (Mil 768d)

The clitic pronouns appear adjacent to verbs in all of (1–9); however, this is not strictly required in OSp. They may appear separated from their verbal heads, demonstrating the phenomenon commonly called INTERPOLATION,⁵ as shown in (10–13), and CLITIC CLIMBING,⁶ as shown in (14).^{6,7} The intervening elements are placed in brackets for the purpose of clarity.

- (10) si=LOS [non] acorrias ...
if=THEM [not] you.helped
"if you did not help them" (Ramsden 1963: 136)
- (11) El sabe que=LO [yo] deseo
he knows that=IT [I] desire
"He knows that I desire it." (Lib.Est 81)

⁵According to Wanner (1991), interpolation occurred most frequently in the late 13th century and all throughout the 14th century. It started to decline in the 15th century and disappeared completely in the 16th century.

⁶In my view, the difference between interpolation and clitic climbing lies solely in that the former involves nonverbal elements while the latter involves verbal elements. Clitic climbing is not considered to be an instance of interpolation in philology since the clitic is adjacent to a verb. As demonstrated in Rivero (1986), both interpolation and climbing are also possible with full NPs.

⁷Though clitic climbing is also observed in MSP, there are some fundamental differences in the two stages. See Wanner (1982) and Rivero (1991) for detailed discussions and analyses.

