

Dpl 2783

LINGUISTICA

SERIES C

RELATIONES, 9.

GIAMPAOLO SALVI

FROM LATIN WEAK PRONOUNS
TO ROMANCE CLITICS

A MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA NYELVTUDOMÁNYI INTÉZETE
INSTITUTUM LINGUISTICUM ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

1996

MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet Könyvtára



0003666

LINGUISTICA

SERIES C

RELATIONES, 9.

FROM LATIN WEAK PRONOUNS
TO ROMANCE CLITICS



LINGUISTICA

SERIES C

RELATIONES, 9.

GIAMPAOLO SALVI

**FROM LATIN WEAK PRONOUNS
TO ROMANCE CLITICS**

A MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA NYELVTUDOMÁNYI INTÉZETE
INSTITUTUM LINGUISTICUM ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

1996



ISBN 963 8461 91 8
ISSN 0866-4196

© 1996. Az MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézete

Computer typeset by mATEX .

Felelős kiadó: Kiefer Ferenc

Budapest, 1996.

Dpl 2783

A Nyelvtudományi Intézet

Könyvtára

Leltári szám:

26 825/96

- c. PP (cl) V ... : di grande scienza ti credo (*Nov.* II.45)
of great learning you I-believe (to be)
- d. Adv (cl) V ... : manifestamente l' hoe veduto nelle cose in
manifestly it I-have seen in-the things in
ch'... (*Nov.* II.45)
which
- e. V (cl) ... : fu li detto che... (*Nov.* II.11)
it-was to-him said that

(Examples are from Old Italian, but are meant to be representative of all Medieval Romance languages; for the more archaic construction types, not or scarcely attested in Italian, Old Portuguese examples are used. Notice that the common Old Romance syntax we are referring to here was not actually realized in all languages at the same time: so Italian texts generally show a more archaic character than the contemporary French ones, but more modern features than the Spanish or Portuguese ones.)

As far as clitics are concerned, they were placed after the first realized element of the sentence, as the examples in (1) show.

1.2. The core part of the sentence described in the previous section could be preceded by peripheral (left dislocated) constituents, as in (2):

- (2) Disl | X (cl) V ... / Disl | V (cl) ...
- a. dopo non molti giorni, lo re si pensò di... (*Nov.* II.42)
after not many days the king REFL thought of
- b. O_i | X cl_i V ... : tutti coloro de la terra ch' erano
all those of the country who were
colpevoli_i, il Grande Cane li_i fece uccidere (*Vanelli* 1986: 262)
guilty the Great Khan them made kill
- c. C | X (cl) V ... : se no 'l mi dirai, io ti farò di
if not it to-me you-will-say I you will-make of
villana morte morire (*Nov.* II.53)
infamous death die
- d. C | V (cl) ... : essendo poveramente ad arnese, misesei
being miserably equipped he-began-REFL
ad andare ad Alexandro (*Nov.* III.6)
to go to Alexander

The fact that the constituents separated by a vertical bar from the rest of the sentence are external with respect to the latter, appears clearly from example (2b): here, the direct object does not immediately precede the verb and the use of a resumptive clitic is compulsory. We can explain this fact in the following way: as in V2-languages only one constituent can precede the verb, the elements that do not precede it immediately are peripheral; on the assumption that peripheral elements cannot satisfy the

- (4) Disl | X cl ... V ...
- a. X (cl) S V ...: (Port.) logo lhe el- rrei taxava que
at once to-him the king ordained that
ouvesse por dia quatro soldos, e mais nom (*D. Pedro IV.64*)
he-had daily four shillings and more not
- b. C | X (cl) Adv V ...: (Port.) se nã, logo vos agora matarei
if not at once you now I-will-kill
(*Crónica CDLXXI.14*)
- c. X (cl) S Adv V ...: (Port.) tanto vos eu mui máis precei
so-much you I much more prized
(Joan Airas 120)

The same separation of the clitics from the verb was possible in subordinate clauses, where the clitics could immediately follow the complementizer, while the verb was located farther in the sentence with the interpolation of one or more elements:

- (5) que cl ... V ...
- a. que (cl) S V ...: (Port.) se se essa Stevaya Periz, nossa
if REFL that S. P. our
fila, cassar (*Doc. 138.12*)
daughter will-marry
- b. que (cl) Adv V ...: dacché vi pur piace (*Renzi 1989: 369n*)
since to-you yet pleases
- c. que (cl) S Adv V ...: (Port.) como quer que o el- rrei muito
although him the king much
amasse (*D. Pedro VIII.47*)
loved

But note that the type exemplified in (4) is found in subordinate clauses, too: in this case clitics followed a focussed element and we have interpolation of one or more elements between the clitics and the verb:

- (6) que | Disl | X cl ... V ...
- a. que X cl S V ...: (Port.) que sempre vos eu amey (*Crónica*
that always you I loved
CDLXIX.21)
- b. que | Disl | X cl S V ...: (Port.) que todollos filhos dos seus
that all-the sons of-the his
altos homões, depois que (...), logo os elle tomava
high-born men after (...) at once them he took
(*Crónica CDXLVI.2*)

(In the absence of peripheral elements, clitics could follow the complementizer, too, as appears from the contrast between (6a) and (7b) below.)

The syntactic type represented by main clauses in (1)–(2) and subordinate clauses in (3) (*type I*) and the one represented by main clauses in (4) and subordinate clauses in (5)–(6) (*type II*) show very different properties, e.g.:

a) in type I adverbs are postverbal (7a), in type II they are preverbal (7b);

b) Type II sentences admit free preposing of different elements in preverbal position without the features characteristic of left dislocation: in (7c) the direct object *aquello* does not immediately precede the verb, but there is no resumptive pronoun (contrast with (2b)):

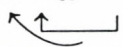





(7) a. (Port.) A raynha foi logo veer el rey (*Crónica* CCLXXV.7)
the queen went at once to-see the king

b. (Port.) que lhe logo el- rrei nom mandou cortar a
that to-him at once the king not made cut the
cabeça (*D. Pedro* IX.33)
head

c. (Port.) Quando lhe aquello el rey ouvyo dizer (*Crónica*
When to-him that the king heard say
CCLXXV.15)
'When the king heard him say that'

1.5. Table I summarizes the principal types of sentence structure and the possibilities for clitic placement in Old Romance, with a tentative (minimal) structural analysis (I leave the elements in peripheral position out of consideration).

Table I: Old Romance

	sentence structure	clitics after	
I / main /	a. [FX V [S... ...]] 	X	(1a–d)
	b. [FV [S... ...]] 	V	(1e)
sub. /	a. [Cque [FX V [S... ...]]] 	X	(3b–d)
	b. [Cque [FV [S... ...]]] 	que	(3a)
II / main	[FX [S... V ...]] 	X	(4)
sub. /	a. [Cque [S... V ...]]	que	(5)
	b. [Cque [FX [S... V ...]]] 	que/X	(7b)/(6a)

We can interpret the different positions of the adverbs in type I and type II sentences as evidence that in type I sentences the verb moves into a functional position (F), while in type II sentences the verb remains in its base position within the sentence (S). In type I, Verb Movement could be accompanied by preposing (thematization or focalization) of a constituent (I/main/a, I/sub./a); in type II, focalization of a constituent was possible independently from Verb Movement (II/main, II/sub./b).

In type I sentences, clitics were placed after the constituent preposed in the F domain (I/main/a, I/sub./a); in clauses without constituent preposing, clitics were placed after the complementizer (or after the SpecC"-filling constituent), i.e. in the next upper domain of sentence structure (I/sub./b); if no such upper domain existed, clitics appeared after the verb (I/main/b). Type II sentences were possible only in two marked cases: in subordinate clauses and in main clauses with a focussed element; in these sentences, clitics were placed after the focussed element (II/main, II/sub./b) or after the complementizer (II/sub./a-b).

The position of clitics in Old Romance seems to obey some form of Wackernagel's Law (cf. Wackernagel 1892; for Romance cf. Renzi 1987, Salvi 1991).

2. Latin

As noted in the introductory section, while Romance personal pronouns belong to two different morphological and syntactic categories: free forms and clitics, Latin had only one morphological type of personal pronouns. But we may wonder whether, under this morphological uniformity, a difference existed between two uses of the same forms, a difference that could have been the basis for the later evolution that resulted in the formation of the two different series in Old Romance. Such a question is all the more legitimate because other languages with only one morphological type of personal pronouns admit two uses of them (e.g. modern German; cf. Cardinaletti 1992, Lenerz 1992): they may be stressed or unstressed and this prosodic difference goes together with a different syntactic behaviour (e.g. possible positions) and with a different pragmatic use.

The existence of two *prosodically* different uses of Latin personal pronouns is demonstrated by the very existence of two different Romance outcomes of the same Latin personal pronoun, where the difference in the phonetic evolution can be explained on the basis of the stressed or unstressed nature of the form: so, e.g., from Latin *me* we have in Old French free *mei/moi* and clitic *me*, with the normal evolution of (Vulgar) Latin stressed *e* to the diphthong *ei/oi* and of unstressed *e* to [ə] (Schwan-Behrens 1932: 13). (Evidence from versification procedures is difficult to evaluate due to the quantitative nature of Latin verse.)

Latin pronouns could serve for different *pragmatic* uses: they could have the textual function of focus, of contrastive topic, of new topic and they could be simply anaphoric. These differences in pragmatic function could well be associated to the prosodic difference just noted, as in modern Romance languages free pronouns and clitics have different pragmatic functions (or semantics, as in Calabrese (1980)'s analysis, where clitics have expected referents and free pronouns have unexpected referents). It is interesting to note that in modern Romance translations of Latin texts, Latin personal pronouns can be rendered with free pronouns as well as with clitics,



indirectly reflecting in this way the different pragmatic functions they have in the discourse.

As for the different *syntactic* uses of Latin personal pronouns, I will assume that differences in stress, in meaning and pragmatic function and in syntactic behaviour go together and distinguish two principal uses of Latin personal pronouns: *strong* (use of) pronouns and *weak* (use of) pronouns. Strong pronouns were stressed and had the function of focus, contrastive topic or new topic (unexpected referent); weak pronouns were unstressed and had a purely anaphoric function (expected referent). Syntactically, strong pronouns could occupy the same positions as nominal NPs, but weak pronouns, I will argue, were limited to a number of well definable positions (as in Old Romance, those described by a form of Wackernagel's Law).

Strong pronouns appeared in all possible positions: e.g., in absolute initial position, as focus (8a) or as contrastive topic (8b):

- (8) a. Mihi crede (*Fam.* IX.16.8)
 'Believe me'
- b. Tibi autem idem consili do quod mihimet ipsi (*Fam.* IX.2.2)
 'To you, I give the very same advice I give myself'

To determine which were the possible positions for weak pronouns is the task of the following sections.

For this purpose I examined a little *corpus* taken from Cicero's letters (numbers CCCCLXXVIII–DVI of Beaujeu's edition), a text chosen as a good representative of colloquial Latin. For lack of direct prosodic evidence, the only basis for the identification of weak pronouns is their semantic/pragmatic function: indeed a dangerous ground to go on, because we can never be absolutely sure that we have grasped the author's intention about the informative value of a form. Nevertheless, even if we adopt a very conservative approach and leave out of consideration only those examples in which the context makes us sure that the pronoun is focussed or contrasted, the result is very encouraging: the overwhelming majority of the remaining forms takes an absolutely regular position within the sentence and, what is more, this regularity is easily comparable to the one observed in Old Romance.

We will consider first only the non-nominative, non-prepositional (mainly accusative and dative) forms of I and II person pronouns, of reflexives and of the anaphoric *is* (although the ancestor of Romance III person pronouns is Lat. *ille*, it was *is* that had the anaphoric function typical of weak pronouns in Classical Latin—de Jong 1993); nominative and prepositional forms will be discussed in sections 2.7.1 and 2.7.2, respectively. Only pronouns depending on tensed verbs will be considered (for pronouns depending on non-finite forms cf. Salvi 1993: 5.4).

Results partially similar to my own were independently reached by Adams (1994a,b) and Janse (1994); cf. also Kiparsky (1995) on Germanic.

2.1. In the Latin sentence, the verb normally occupied the final position. As a matter of fact, some constituents could appear after the verb: this was the normal case when the constituent was a clause, or with rhematic elements (Panhuis 1982; Pinkster 1988: ch. 9), but I will not dwell on this subject, since it does not affect the problem of weak pronouns' placement.

In main clauses, the first position could be held by a constituent with the pragmatic function of theme (9) or of focus (10), independently of its grammatical function; under particular conditions (e.g. emphasis), also the verb could come first (11):

- (9) $X_{\text{theme}}(p) \dots V$
- a. $S(p) \dots V$: Caninius noster me tuis uerbis admonuit ut (...) (*Fam.* IX.6.1)
'Our friend Caninius gave me your message, reminding me to (...)'
 - b. $O(p) \dots V$: Haec tibi antea non rescripsi, non quo (...) (*Fam.* IX.17.3)
'If I did not send you this reply before, it is not that (...)'
 - c. $PP(p) \dots V$: Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quaedam nuntiata sunt (*Fam.* XII.17.1)
'We have reports from Syria of some rather serious disturbances there'
 - d. $Adv(p) \dots V$: ante te certiozem faciam (*Fam.* IX.5.3)
'(I shall) give you notice beforehand'
- (10) $X_{\text{focus}}(p) \dots V$
- a. $S(p) \dots V$: nihil te omnino fefellit (*Fam.* IX.2.2)
'nothing whatever escaped your notice'
 - b. $PP(p) \dots V$: in Epicuri nos, aduersarii nostri, castra coiecimur (*Fam.* IX.20.1)
'I have thrown myself into the camp of my former adversary Epicurus'
 - c. $Adv(p) \dots V$: ita se cum multis conligauit (*Fam.* IX.17.2)
'so inextricably has he tied himself up with his multitude of counsellors'
- (11) $V(p) \dots$
Delectarunt me tuae litterae (*Fam.* IX.16.1)
'I was delighted with your letter'

As it is clear from the above examples, weak pronouns are placed after the first constituent of the sentence or after the first (independent) word of the first constituent (10b) (we will not treat this peculiarity of Latin word order here; about the non-independent word status of prepositions, see below section 2.7.2).

2.2. As in Old Romance, the core sentence could be preceded by peripheral elements: constituents introduced by *de* 'as for' (12a), embedded clauses (12b-c), etc.:

- (12) $Disl | X(p) \dots V / Disl | V(p) \dots$
- a. $de | X(p) \dots V$: De Aufidiano nomine nihil te hortor (*Fam.* XVI.19)
'In the matter of Aufidius's debt, I put no pressure upon you'
 - b. $C | X(p) \dots V$: si proficiscerer ad bellum, periculum te meum commouebat (*Fam.* VII.3.1)
'if I set out for the scene of war, you were appalled at the thought of my danger'

- c. C | V (p) ... : cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum (...),
 abdo me in bibliothecam (*Fam.* VII.28.2)
 'after devoting myself to the reception of my friends (...), I hide
 myself away in my library'

As the examples show, weak pronouns occupy the same position they would if peripheral constituents were not there.

2.3. Latin possessed a weak verb form, too: the copula *esse* 'to be' (or at least some of its forms; cf. Adams 1994b). Besides the normal clause final position (13), *esse* could also follow the first element of the clause, especially if that was focussed (14): the copula position is then the same as for weak pronouns.

- (13) hoc etiam κατὰ Χρύσιππον δυνατὸν est (*Fam.* IX.4)
 'for this also is possible according to Chrysippus'
- (14) X_{focus} V_{weak} ...
- a. Quis est tam Lynceus qui (...)? (*Fam.* IX.2.2)
 'who [...] is such an absolute Lynceus as (...)'
- b. Itaque nullum est ἀποπροηγμένου quod non verear (*Fam.* IX.7.2)
 'so there is every possible "objectionable" factor for me to fear'
- c. ita est a me consulatus peractus ut (...) (Adams 1994b: 38)
 'Indeed my consulship was so conducted from its beginning to
 its end, that (...)'

2.4. In subordinate clauses, weak pronouns appear after the complementizer (or the SpecC*-filling constituent) (15) or, as in main clauses, after the first constituent of the clause, especially if that constituent is focussed (16). In this case, as in main clauses, the presence of a peripheral element between the complementizer and the core part of the subordinate clause does not affect the position of weak pronouns (17):

- (15) que (p) ... V
- a. quamquam me non ratio solum consolatur (...), sed etiam (...)
 (*Fam.* VII.28.3)
 'although I am comforted not only by rational reflection (...),
 but also (...)'
- b. quo me coniectura ducat (*Fam.* IX.2.4)
 'where my conjectures lead me'
- c. qui se domo non commouerunt (*Fam.* IX.5.2)
 'who never stirred from home'

- (16) que X (p) ... V / que V (p) ...
- que O (p) ... V: qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnis uitae status parauerunt (*Fam.* IX.6.4)
'who have provided themselves with no resources against any vicissitudes of existence'
 - que Adv (p) ... V: quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit (*Fam.* IV.13.2)
'which Caesar has not spontaneously bestowed upon me'
 - que V (p) ...: Etsi enim et audio te et uideo lubenter (*Fam.* XVI.22.1)
'though it is a pleasure to me to hear and see you'
- (17) que | Disl | X (p) ... V / que | Disl | V (p) ...
- que | C | Adv (p) ... V: quae, quia tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tua me causa magis mouent quam mea (*Fam.* XII.17.1)
'and [lit.: which] as they touch you more nearly than they do me, they cause me more agitation on your account than my own'
 - que | C | V (p) ...: ut, quomodo in tali re atque tempore, aut liberarem te ista cura aut certe leuarem (*Fam.* IX.16.1)
'that I might, seeing how the matter stands, considering the circumstances and the time, free you from your anxiety, or at any rate alleviate it'

Notice that, if there was a focussed constituent in the subordinate clause, it was possible for weak pronouns to follow it (16) or to follow the complementizer, too (15a) (where *non ratio solum* is contrastive focus).

The weak forms of the copula *esse* have the same possibilities of placement in subordinate clauses as the weak pronouns do: after the complementizer (18a) or after the first constituent, especially if focussed (18b), the presence of peripheral elements between the complementizer and the core part of the clause being irrelevant (18c) (cf. Adams 1994b):

- (18) que V_{weak} ... / que X_{focus} V_{weak} ... / que | Disl | X_{focus} V_{weak} ...
- que V_{weak} ...: quid sis acturus (*Fam.* IX.2.5)
'what you intend to do'
 - que X V_{weak} ...: cum plena sint monumenta Graecorum quemadmodum (...) (*Fam.* IX.16.6)
'seeing that the annals of the Greek abound in examples of how (...)'
 - que | Disl | Adv V_{weak} ...: qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione uersatus (Adams 1994b: 39)
'who had always been associated with this Furius in tampering with the Allobroges'

2.5. Finally, in subordinate clauses, Latin permitted a constituent with theme or focus function in the position preceding SpecC". In this construction weak pronouns followed the preposed element (19a) or the complementizer (19b):

- (19) X (p) que ... / X que (p) ...
- a. Mortem mihi cur consciscerem causa non uisast, cur optarem multae causae (*Fam.* VII.3.4)
'Why I should contrive my own death there seemed no reason; why I should pray for it there were many'
 - b. Ego quanti te faciam semperque fecerim (*Fam.* VI.10.1)
'How highly I esteem and always have esteemed you'

2.6. Table II summarizes the principal types of sentence structure and the possibilities for the placement of weak pronouns in Latin, with a tentative (minimal) structural analysis (as for the Old Romance cases in section 1.5, I leave the elements in peripheral position out of consideration).

Table II: Latin

	sentence structure	weak pronoun after	
main a.	[S X ... V]	X	(9)
	b. [F X [S ... V]]	X	(10)
	c. [F V [S ...]]	V	(11)
sub. a.	[C que [S ... V]]	que	(15b-c)
	b. [C que [F X [S ... V]]]	que/X	(15a)/(16a-b)
	c. [C que [F V [S ...]]]	que/V	?(16c)
	d. [G X [C que [S ... V]]]	X/que	(19a)/(19b)

We may assume that the Latin sentence had a V-final structure (main/a) and a rule of focussing/emphasis that preposed a constituent (including the verb) into an initial functional position (main/b-c) (cf. Panhuis 1982). We have no positive evidence for postulating a parallel rule of topicalization, as in Old Romance: the expression of the topic was the task of peripheral elements. Subordinate clauses presented the same possibilities as main clauses (sub./a-c) and in addition constituents (but not the tensed verb) could be moved into a position preceding the C-domain (position labeled here G: sub./d).

Weak pronouns were freely placed after the preposed constituent in the F/G-domain (main/b-c, sub./b-d) or after the complementizer (sub./a-d). In main clauses without focussing, weak pronouns appear after the first element of the S-domain (main/a).

We could imagine that the position of the weak pronouns was bound to the realization of one of the functional domains F/C/G for reasons of semantic interpretation, e.g. because, being thematic elements, they had to have S in their domain. We could

also conceive that, being unstressed, they could not appear in absolute initial position in the sentence at the level of Phonetic Form. So, weak pronouns always raised to a functional domain higher than S; if this domain was phonologically realized, weak pronouns did not violate the filter forbidding them to appear in absolute initial position; if this higher domain was not phonologically realized, a Last Resort rule applied that postposed the weak pronoun, avoiding the application of the filter.

2.7. Independently of the details of the analysis, at a descriptive level, it is evident that the position of weak pronouns in Latin and the position of clitics in Old Romance were very similar, as Tables I and II show. But before I trace the lines of the diachronic evolution from the older system to the newer one, I must clarify why I insist in keeping weak pronouns and clitics distinct, or, in other words, what the reason is for claiming that Latin weak pronouns were not clitic (yet). (As for the copula *esse*, cf. the discussion in Adams 1994b: 12.2).

2.7.1. It was not only the non-nominative forms of Latin personal pronouns that had a weak use, but also the nominative ones, as their placement in the examples in (20) shows (cf. Adams 1994a: section 8):

- (20) a. Hunc ego mihi belli finem feci (*Fam.* VII.3.3) [cf. (9)]
 'This I resolved should be for me the end of the war'
- b. Quem tu mihi Popilium, quem denarium narras (...) ? (*Fam.* IX.16.7) [cf. (10)]
 'What is this Popilius you prate to me about, and this penny [...]?'
- c. quoniam tu secundum 'Oenomaum' Acci non (...) Atellanam, sed (...) mimum introduxisti (*Fam.* IX.16.7) [cf. (15)]
 'since you now, following the lead of Accius's *Oenomaus*, have staged not (...) an Atellan play, but (...) a farce'
- d. quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti (*Fam.* VI.22.3) [cf. (16)]
 'as you have consistently shown, and effectively too, in dealing with my affairs'
- e. quod ego cur nolim nihil uideo (*Fam.* IX.6.2) [cf. (19)]
 'and I see no reason why I should be indisposed to do so'

Now, if the non-nominative pronouns had been clitic, the nominative ones should have been too. But in the early stages of Romance languages only accusative and dative clitics existed: it would be very strange if a well-developed clitic system with forms for all grammatical cases had been reduced to only non-nominative forms, especially in view of the more generalized use of pronouns in Romance compared to Latin.

It is more natural to assume that in Latin weak pronouns were not clitic and that they became clitic only when the use of pronominal anaphora became obligatory. In Latin pronominal anaphora freely alternated with zero anaphora. Consider the following text excerpt:

- (21) Demetrius uenit ad me (...). Tu eum uidelicet non potuisti uidere; cras aderit; uidebis igitur (*Fam.* XVI.17.2)
 'Demetrius came to see me (...). You evidently could not have seen him. He will be in Rome tomorrow, so you will see him then'

The English translation shows that the text refers to Demetrius anaphorically three times (with the underlined pronouns *him/he/him* respectively): in the Latin text, only the first reference is realized with an anaphoric pronoun (*eum*), the other two have zero anaphora. In Old Romance, pronominal anaphora was obligatory in the case of direct and indirect objects and was realized by a clitic; in the case of the subject, pronominal anaphora was not obligatory and subject clitics did not exist (Vanelli-Renzi-Benincà 1985). It was only later, in some Romance languages as French and the Northern Italian dialects, that the expression of the subject became obligatory and these languages developed subject clitics, too (Vanelli 1987).

2.7.2. Not only personal pronouns used without a preposition had a weak use, but also those which were preceded by a preposition, as their placement in the following examples show (for a similar phenomenon in Old Czech cf. Esvan 1992):

- (22) a. Haec ad te scripsi uerbosius (*Fam.* VII.3.5) [cf. (9)]
 'I have written all this to you with some verbosity'
- b. disce a me προλεγόμενας, quas quaeris (*Fam.* IX.18.3) [cf. (11)]
 'let me at once teach you the first principles, since you ask for them'
- c. At tibi repente paucis post diebus, cum minime expectarem, uenit ad me Caninius mane (*Fam.* IX.2.1) [cf. (12)]
 'But, lo and behold, a few days afterwards, when I least expected it, Caninius paid me a sudden visit one morning'
- d. cum ad me peruesperi uenisset (*Fam.* IX.2.1) [cf. (15)]
 '[as he] came to me very late one evening'
- e. Si quid ad me scripseris (*Fam.* VI.22.3) [cf. (16)]
 'If you send me any message'
- f. (Non ea res me deterruit) quo minus, postea quam in Italiam uenisti, litteras ad te mitterem (*Fam.* VI.22.1) [cf. (17)]
 '(It was not the fact of (...)) that put me off) writing to you after your arrival in Italy'

The group *P + pronoun* is a phrase and this cannot be reconciled with the widely accepted view that clitics are heads (or rather, at least in their enclitic forms, a sort of affixes—cf. the following section).

To explain these facts, we must assume that prepositions were proclitic words in Classical Latin and that they could be adjoined to nominal NPs and to strong as well as to weak pronouns, not altering the character of their host. The cliticity of prepositions is proved by the fact that they could not be separated from their complement (perhaps the unique impossible scrambling in Latin word order) and

that, differently from other types of phrases (cf. ex. (10b)), they did not admit a weak pronoun between them and their complement (examples as *Per ego uobis deos atque homines dico, ut (...)* (Plautus *Menaechmi* 990), where the weak pronouns *ego* and *uobis* are inserted between the preposition *per* and its complement *deos atque homines*, are limited to the archaic language).

2.7.3. In Latin, examples with a weak pronoun following and depending on two coordinated verbs are possible (23a); the same holds in German (23b), while in Romance this construction is impossible with an enclitic pronoun (23c-d) (cf. Benincà-Cinque 1993):

- (23) a. sed cum consilii tui bene fortiterque suscepti eum tibi finem statueris quem ipsa fortuna terminum nostrarum contentionum esse uoluisset, oro optestorque te, pro uetere nostra coniunctione ac necessitudine proque summa mea in te beneuolentia et tua in me pari, (...) ut (...) (*Fam.* VI.22.2)
 'But seeing that you have resolved that the policy you so honourably and gallantly adopted should cease from the very moment when it had pleased fortune herself to put an end to our struggles, I beg and implore of you in the name of our old and intimate connection and of my most sincere affection for you, and of yours, just as sincere, for myself, to (...)'
- b. Jeder von ihnen verbirgt und versteckt sich.
 each of them conceal and hide himself
- c. (Port.) *Oiço e vejo-te
 I-hear and I-see you
- d. (Port.) Oiço- te e vejo-te (Barreto 1980: 237n)
 I-hear you and I-see you

If we assume that clitics, and especially enclitics, form a sort of compound with their host, the behaviour of Romance enclitics is straightforward: two coordinated verbs are not a word, so composition is impossible. The very fact that in Latin and in German this construction is possible, shows that these pronouns are not clitics, but independent words (though weak), to which no such restriction is applicable.

2.7.4. Weak pronouns might be separated from their host by other weak words: besides copula (cf. (14c)), mainly adverbs with connective value, as in the following examples:

- (24) a. Sollicitum autem te habebat cogitatio cum officii tum etiam periculi mei (*Fam.* VII.3.1) [cf. (9)]
 'But your anxiety was due to your brooding over the double problem of my duty and my danger'
- b. illud tamen tibi polliceor (*Fam.* VI.22.3) [cf. (10)]
 'this much, however, I promise you'

- c. erit enim nobis honestius (...) (*Fam.* IX.2.5) [cf. (11)]
 'for it will be more creditable to us (...)'
- d. cum enim te semper magnum hominem duxerim (*Fam.* IX.6.4) [cf. (15)]
 'while I ever deemed you a great man'

Although the syntactic behaviour of these adverbs was not exactly the same as in the case of personal pronouns (they always followed the first *word*, not the first constituent of the clause), they were clearly weak (they could not occupy the absolute initial position in the sentence). Now, if these groups of weak words had been enclitic in the same sense as Romance clitics may be, we would have to assume the formation of very complex compounds, which seems unnatural. Other solutions are surely imaginable, but it is clear that the Latin facts are very different from the Romance ones and deserve a different analysis. (Note that, if weak pronouns had been enclitic in Latin, this would have had some consequences in the accentual pattern of the group *host + enclitic* due to the nature of Latin stress; Latin grammarians do not report any fact of this type.)

3. From Latin to Old Romance

I will now sum up the main similarities and differences between Latin and Old Romance in the domain of sentence structure and of weak pronoun vs. clitic placement and then I will trace the main lines of the diachronic evolution.

3.1. If we compare Table I (section 1.5) and Table II (section 2.6), it turns out that:

a. if we disregard the position of the verb (final in Latin, not final in Old Romance), *Old Romance Type II sentences* preserved the Latin sentence structure quite well, namely:

- the main clause structure corresponds to Latin pattern *b*;
- the subordinate clause structures correspond to Latin patterns *a* and *b*;
- clitics occupy the same position as Latin weak pronouns.

b. *Old Romance Type I sentences* represent the innovative trend:

- they generalize Verb Movement into a pre-S functional position (in Latin, the verb could move as an option of the general rule of focussing/emphasis);
- they generalize Constituent Preposing to thematization/topicalization (in Latin, it was limited to focussing/emphasis);
- the position of clitic pronouns is fixed more strictly: in principle they follow the preposed constituent (pattern *a* of main and subordinate clauses); in the absence of such a constituent, they are cliticized in the upper domain C (pattern *b* of subordinate clauses); in the absence of an upper domain, they are enclitic to the verb (Law Tobler-Mussafia—pattern *b* of main clauses). In Latin, weak pronouns might be freely placed after the focussed element (constituent or verb) or in the upper domain C (patterns *b* and *c* of main clauses and all the patterns of subordinate clauses); in the absence of these contexts, they were placed after the first element of the S-domain.

c. the possibility of preposing a constituent into a pre-C position (Latin pattern *d* of subordinate clauses) is not preserved in Romance.

3.2. The main innovations in the evolution of sentence structure from Latin to Old Romance are then (disregarding the more archaic Type II):

- a. the different basic position of the verb (non final);
- b. the generalization of Verb Movement into a functional position;
- c. the extension of Constituent Preposing to the cases of thematization/topicalization.

As for the weak pronouns:

- d. they had become clitic;
- e. their position had been fixed.

I will conclude with some remarks on these points.

To point *a*: Verb Movement being generalized, the basic position of the verb can be established only on the basis of Type II sentences, in which the verb did not raise into a pre-S functional position. It is not clear to me what the relation is between this diachronic change and the following one.

To point *b*: as for the origin of this construction, we may think that it is based on an preexisting Latin structure and we may wonder whether it is a generalization of the rule that focussed/emphasized a constituent and that could focus/emphasize the verb too (Lenerz 1985) or it is the extension to all the other verbs of the placement of the (weak) copula (Hock 1982). Both hypotheses entail some difficulties: while in Latin the focussing of the verb was in complementary distribution with the focussing of another constituent, in Old Romance Verb Movement always accompanies Constituent Preposing. We would thus have to explain the cooccurrence of the two movements and also the fact that the preposed verb had no emphatic value anymore. The copula hypothesis does not face this last problem, but comes up against difficulties when it has to explain V1-sentences (cf. (1e)—being weak, the copula could not appear initially in the sentence). For some discussion cf. Kiparsky (1995: 3.3).

To point *c*: the fact that a preposed constituent could have the pragmatic function of theme/topic, had some repercussion on the possible functions of peripheral elements; in some Romance languages the peripheral position tended to be limited to circumstantials (to arguments only when they were heavy—cf. de Kok (1985: 2.1) on Old French, Vanelli (1986) on Old Italian, Salvi (1993a: 4.1) on the differences between Old Portuguese and Old Spanish).

To point *d*: cf. the discussion in section 2.7, especially 2.7.1.

To point *e*: adverbality is not an attribute Romance clitics had from the beginning, as examples (4)–(6) show and as is natural, since Latin weak pronouns were not bound to the verb, but to the first element of a syntactic domain. But the adverbality of clitics was typical of Type I sentences and this is an indirect consequence of the obligatory rule of Verb Movement: in main clauses the verb was always the first or the second element of the clause and the clitics were placed after the first element of that

domain, so they were always adjacent to the verb (a similar reasoning is applicable to subordinate clauses).

We may conclude that Romance clitics are the descendants of Latin weak pronouns and that their position is essentially the position weak pronouns occupied in the Latin sentence: the differences in this domain are only apparent and are due to the changes that had independently occurred in the evolution of sentence structure.

Acknowledgments. The material presented here develops parts of an unpublished paper (Salvi 1993b), which I had the opportunity to present in various forms to several audiences (University of Padua 1993; VIIth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1993, University of Hamburg 1993; University of Venice 1993; Ist International Congress of the Brazilian Linguistic Association, Federal University of Bahia, Salvador 1994, Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1995; VIIIth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, University of Eichstätt 1995; XXIst International Congress of Romance Linguistics and Philology, University of Palermo 1995): my thanks to the participants, for my ideas on these topics benefited a lot from the discussion. I am grateful also to Mark Janse, who read and punctually commented on a first draft of Salvi (1993b).

References

- Adams, J.N. (1994a): Wackernagel's Law and the Position of Unstressed Personal Pronouns in Classical Latin. In: Transactions of the Philological Society 92, 103-178.
- Adams, J.N. (1994b): Wackernagel's Law and the Placement of the Copula *Esse* in Classical Latin. The Cambridge Philological Society.
- Barreto, M. (1980): Novos Estudos da Língua Portuguesa. Rio de Janeiro, Presença/INL-FCRB - MEC.
- Battye, A. - I. Roberts (eds.) (1995): Clause Structure and Language Change. New York - Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Benincà, P. - G. Cinque (1993): Su alcune differenze fra enclisi e proclisi. In: Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena. Padova, Editoriale Programma, 2313-2326.
- Calabrese, A. (1980): Sui pronomi atoni e tonici dell'italiano. In: Rivista di Grammatica Generativa 5, 65-116.
- Cardinaletti, A. (1992): On Cliticization in Germanic Languages. In: Rivista di Grammatica Generativa 17, 65-99.
- de Jong, J.R. (1993): The Borderline between Deixis and Anaphora in Latin. Paper presented at the VIIth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem.
- de Kok, A.C. (1985): La place du pronom personnel régime conjoint en français. Une étude diachronique. Amsterdam, Rodopi.
- Esvan, F. (1992): Quelques observations sur l'ordre des mots en tchèque d'époque préhussite. In: Europa Orientalis 11, 163-179.
- Hock, H.-H. (1982): AUX-Cliticization as a Motivation for Word-order Change. In: Studies in the Linguistic Sciences 12, 91-101.
- Janse, M. (1994): La loi de Wackernagel et ses extensions en latin: à propos de la collocation pronominale chez Pétrone. In: Tema. Techniques et Méthodologies Modernes Appliquées à l'Antiquité 1, 107-146.
- Kiparsky, P. (1995): Indo-European Origins of Germanic Syntax. In: A. Battye-I. Roberts (eds), 140-169.
- Lenerz, J. (1985): Diachronic Syntax: Verb Position and COMP in German. In: J. Toman (ed.): Studies in German Grammar. Dordrecht, Foris, 103-132.

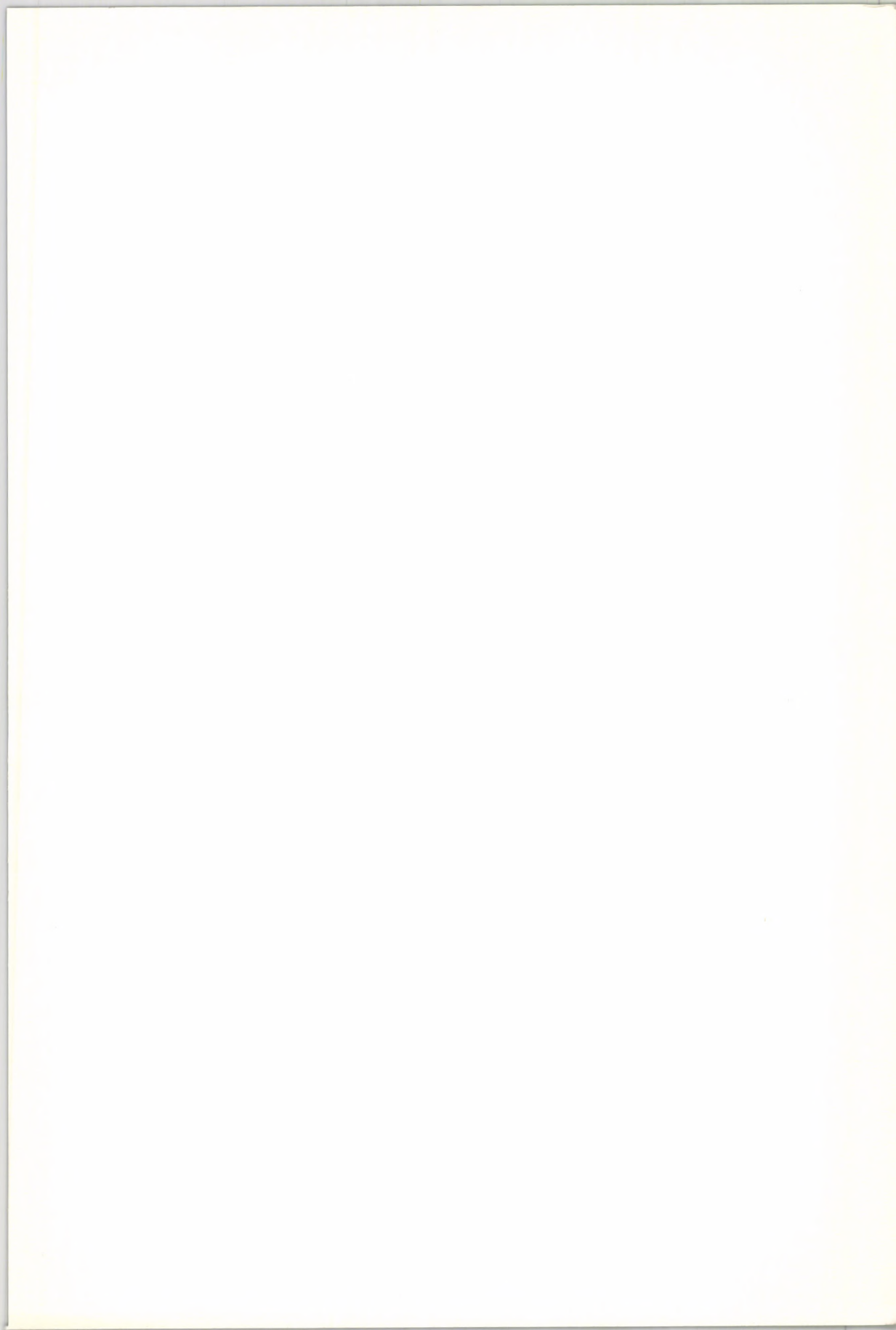
- Lenerz, J. (1992): Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Deutschen. In: Sprache und Pragmatik, 1-54.
- Panhuis, D.G. (1982): The Communicative Perspective in the Sentence: A Study of Latin Word Order. Amsterdam, Benjamins.
- Pinkster, H. (1988): Lateinische Syntax und Semantik. Tübingen, Francke.
- Renzi, L. (1987): Essor, transformation et mort d'une loi: la loi de Wackernagel. In: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Molho, vol. III: Linguistique, Les Cahiers de Fontenay, 291-302.
- Renzi, L. (1989): Two Types of Clitics in Natural Languages. In: Rivista di Linguistica 1, 355-372.
- Salvi, G. (1991): Difesa e illustrazione della legge di Wackernagel applicata alle lingue romanze antiche: la posizione delle forme pronominali clitiche. In: L. Vanelli-A. Zamboni (eds): Per Giovan Battista Pellegrini. Scritti degli allievi padovani. Padova, Unipress, 439-462.
- Salvi, G. (1993a): Ordine delle parole e struttura della frase nelle lingue romanze antiche. In: Chr. Schmitt (ed.): Grammatikographie der romanischen Sprachen. Bonn, Romanistischer Verlag, 455-477.
- Salvi, G. (1993b): La posizione dei pronomi in latino. Unpublished manuscript. Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest.
- Schwan, E. - D. Behrens (1932): Grammaire de l'ancien français. Leipzig.
- Vanelli, L. (1986): Strutture tematiche in italiano antico. In: H. Stammerjohann (ed.): Tema-Rema in Italiano. Tübingen, Narr, 249-273.
- Vanelli, L. (1987): I pronomi soggetto nei dialetti italiani settentrionali dal Medio Evo a oggi. In: Medioevo Romanzo 12, 173-211.
- Vanelli, L. - L. Renzi - P. Benincà (1985): Typologie des pronoms sujets dans les langues romanes. In: Actes du XVII^e Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes, vol. 3: Linguistique descriptive, phonétique, morphologie et lexicque. Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 163-176.
- Wackernagel, J. (1892): Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. In: Indogermanische Forschungen 1, 333-436.

Texts

- Cicéron: Correspondance, t. VII, ed. J. Beaujeu. Paris, 'Les Belles Lettres', 1980 (translations from Cicero: The Letters to His Friends, ed. W. Glynn Williams. Cambridge, Mass.-London, Harvard University Press - Heinemann, 1965 (1927), I-III).
- Crónica = Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344, ed. L.F. Lindley Cintra. Lisboa, 1951-61 (Lisboa, IN-CM, 1983).
- Doc. = Documentos. In: C. de Azevedo Maia: História do Galego-Português. Coimbra, INIC, 1986, 41-295.
- D. Pedro = Fernão Lopes: Crónica de D. Pedro, ed. G. Macchi. Roma, Ateneo, 1966.
- Fam. see Cicéron
- Joan Airas = J.L. Rodríguez: El cancionero de Joan Airas de Santiago. Edición y estudio. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1980.
- Nov. = Il Novellino, ed. G. Favati. Genova, Bozzi, 1970.



第 3 章 2.1 節 第 4 頁



Ára: 150 Ft