∎ Marc-Olivier Hinzelin: *Die Stellung der klitischen Objektpronomina in den romanischen Sprachen. Diachronie, Perspektive und Korpusstudie zum Okzitanischen sowie zum Katalanischen und Französischen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2007 (ScriptOralia; 134). XIII + 286 pp. ISBN 978-3-8233-6346-0.

∎ 1 General

The long-standing series *ScriptOralia*, edited by Paul Goetsch and Wolfgang Raible, presents with volume 134 an in-depth description of the changes in Romance clitic pronoun position focusing on the frequently neglected Occitan area. Hinzelin's study, *Die Stellung der klitischen Objektpronomina in den romanischen Sprachen* (*SkOrS*), is the outgrowth of his 2006 doctoral dissertation at the University of Konstanz under the direction of Georg Kaiser. Following in the tradition of Kaiser (starting with his 1992 study) and the rich literature on the evolution of clitic elements in the Romance languages, H presents a carefully calibrated historical tableau of the variation and trend lines characterizing a significant part of the observable behavior of Romance clitic object pronouns. With a focus on the Occitan domain, *SkOrS* complements the range of languages for which extensive data analyses and historical trajectories are available. The salient features of *SkOrS* are its systematic adherence to overtly presented data, its thorough review of the existing literature, and the determination to bring the many chronological accounts into line with a stable syntactic foundation. *SkOrS* confirms much of what has previously been elaborated and adds poignant characteristics for Occitan. The rather detailed background descriptions for Catalan, French, and Portuguese, nuanced by some Italian and Spanish observations, locate the typological value of Occitan and at the same time permit H to deal with Occitan as the complex of variants that never emerged in a single standardized form and therefore requires much regionalized information. The diachronic treatment amounts to a general (Western) Romance overview of clitic object pronoun (morpho)syntax.

∎ 2 Overall themes

The study addresses the typology of clitic positioning in root and subordinate clauses in terms of their syntactic and linear context, following the strong tradition established by Tobler (1875), Meyer-Lübke (1897), Ramsden (1963), and leading e.g. to Salvi (2004). Unlike the classical study of

Ramsden (1963), *SkOrS* is limited to finite verb forms as pronoun anchors, and within this category, focuses more on root clauses. This is understandable in view of the availability and complexity of the data. It is unfortunate for a deeper theoretical understanding, since the non-finite contexts represent a refractory aspect of the question, well documented e.g. in Ramsden (1963: 103–111). The non-finite dimension has never been well explained due to the standard focus on the more abundant and amenable finite-V contexts (see also Wanner, 2009). As is the case in the ancestral line, H's main descriptive device is a set of vaguely syntactically defined left-hand contexts derived by simplifying the Ramsden context categories (1963: 25–42). The observable dimension of linearity (i.e. the surface sequence between V and cl) yields the categories of enclisis /V - cl/, proclisis /cl - V/ and separation of the pronoun to the left known as interpolation, i.e. /cl - X - V/.

■ 3 Description of *SkOrS*

A well-structured Introduction (1–24) prepares the scene for the investigation, giving the reader a succinct overview of Occitan in its field of tension between French and Catalan, concerning both the typological and contact conditions defining this frequently neglected and "in-between" language. The literature review (ch. 2, 25–86) elegantly defines the arch leading from the early Tobler-Mussafia efforts in the late 19th century to current frameworks (basically Government and Binding and Optimality). Interpolation as the expression of a true "second position" placement of clitics (in the sense of Wackernagel, 1892) receives a place of prominence in this chapter (67–86). Romance clitic object pronouns appearing separated from the V in some periods of some languages under certain circumstances (Medieval Spanish, Portuguese, modern European Portuguese) are generally taken to be most revealing for clitic nature, development, and ultimately, distribution. Even though interpolation is absent from Occitan, H's study needs to treat this phenomenon in a circumspect way, since interpolation strongly informs H's diachronic analysis (see section 5 below). Chapter 3 (87–134) takes us across the Gallo- and Ibero-Romance domains based on what can be gleaned from the literature about the various clitic systems. Several densely informative tables on what each study argues constitute a veritable little *bibliographie raisonnée*. The following two chapters present the data collection (ch. 4, 135–188) and its detailed analysis (ch. 5, 189–230; more on these chapters below in sections 4 and 5). In addition to the clear conclu-

sions (231–240), the volume is complemented by registers and indexes providing useful access tools for all the information provided in *SkOrS*.

The text ends with a melancholy citation from Charles Ferdinand Ramuz[1] (240) vindicating the intrinsic value of such a study regardless of what the world may think (« il [le berger solitaire = le linguiste?] ne chantera que pour lui-même »). Moreover, the intriguing epigraphs for each chapter confer additional moments of self-conscious reflection, e.g. if Chapter 5 on the theoretical analysis of clitic position is introduced by a citation from Jorge Luis Borges (189). The paragraph (from *Del rigor en la ciencia*) relates the trajectory in some mythical country of an ever expanding will to precision of representation in geographic science. This trend ultimately leads to the abandonment of the entire discipline upon the realization that even a map of the kingdom of the physical extension of a province was not good enough to capture the detail to which the perfectionist geographers aspired. May H be hinting at some barrier in capturing the elusive behavior even of such well-known elements as are the Romance clitic object pronouns?

▪ 4 The data and their presentation

H chooses non-literary documentary texts from different periods of Occitan as the standard (140–143). This yields two groups, one for pre-13th century charts and similar documents (basically Brunel, 1926) and a second one for the second half of the 15th c. (several sources), plus one modern oral/transcribed text. The data analysis classifies the examples according to main vs. subordinate clause; main clauses are either verb initial or not, they may be negated, have a WH structure, or carry a marked initial element (certain adverbs, or a focus constituent). This is a welcome simplification and revision of the classical TM–Ramsden descriptive framework. Imperatives, non-finites, and unclassifiable cases are recognized where they appear (rarely), but are not further considered in *SkOrS*.

The analysis for each text group, e.g. for the oldest Occitan documents up to the year 1200 (148–153), comprises a form and function table of the object pronouns encountered and a data chart according to their string configuration, followed by some discussion with actual examples. Due to

---

1   1878–1947, lived in the Canton de Vaud of Western Switzerland, belonging to the (former) linguistic domain of Francoprovençal, another Galloromance area of infrequent study.

the complexity and multiplicity of context classifications operated by H, the meaning of the added graphs about percentages of enclisis in main clause contexts (152) is unclear. According to Figures 4.2.1-1,2 (152), the percentage of postposed clitics in the oldest documents is higher in main clauses excluding verb-initial cases (= Ix) than in the group including them (= IAx). Either the presentation of these classifications (IAx vs. Ix) is insufficiently clear, or the result defies the established view that the verb-initial constructions only permit post-verbal clitic placement in a TM environment, so that the percentage of enclisis should be higher in the inclusive group (IAx). A confounding factor is H's liberal interpretation of the domain of a main clause. According to his practice, this category includes all left-periphery materials (subordinate clauses, adverbs, focus constituents, extractions), resulting in a virtual absence of true verb first (V1) instances. In Table 4.2.1-3 (149), four V1 clauses (= IA) are all listed with preposed clitics. H deviates here from the research tradition in a way that removes his results from direct comparison. The later slices of Occitan text groups show a more orthodox distribution, i.e. more enclisis in IA than in Ix (161, 170, 173–174).

For purposes of presentation, the classifications found in the analysis are not sufficiently transparent within the study, in spite of the translational table (35–36). (The schematic listing on p. 144 could profitably refer back to this earlier collection of exemplars). Table 3.3-2 (102) misses its opportunity to connect the identifying label with actual structures; a name "HS, V1 mit NS (Ia')" 'main clause, verb-initial, with subordinate clause (Ia')' does not reach the necessary clarity: where is the subordinate clause, to the left of HS? What criterion pulls the specified subordinate clause into the same main clause? I.e., where do these sentences begin and end? In view of the observation that medieval texts do not necessarily have well-defined sentence organization (a sentence in a modern sense being a cohesive, closed-off syntactic structure), a more conservative approach might be to choose smaller syntactic units, i.e. clauses.[2]

---

2   Perhaps my translation of Gm. *HS (Hauptsatz)*, *NS (Nebensatz)* as 'main clause, subordinate clause' may be misleading. H seems to operate with a HS as the overall syntactic structure including any more peripheral appendages, i.e. 'sentence with a main clause'.

■ 5 Critique

■ 5.1 Linearization in an Optimality Framework

SkOrS clearly establishes that clitic-V linearization (enclisis, proclisis, interpolation) is due to structural features of syntax as has been established in the previous literature with regard to at least part of the contexts. H's own analysis of the Occitan and other Romance data is couched in terms of a Government and Binding perspective where the clitic pronoun, once it has been constituted as such, shares with its host an X^0 position, either in C^0 or alternatively in I^0. This postulation holds since the beginnings of Romance documentation, and continues without vacillation to the present-day language. Clitics thus do not substantially change in their syntactic pattern between the medieval and the current Romance languages other than for what regards the C or I attachment.[3] Other aspects of syntax control the shifting surface positions observable for these elements in the surface strings. The only relevant change for clitics was their emergence in medieval Romance from a different (Late) Latin substratum (where they were non-existent). Diachronic development takes places in immediate structural or linear contact with the clitics, mainly through the evolving mobility conditions for the verb within the left periphery of the clause: V-to-I, V-(to-I-)-to-C with varying constraints on their application. Within this structural GB perspective, H elaborates an optimality-theoretic model involving differential ordering of constraints to account for varying surface positions. Ultimately, changes in the surface location of clitics correspond directly to changes in the strict order of application of a stable set of five syntactic constraints (218–219), an interesting proposal worth discussing here.

Cnstr 1	DIR - HOST	Cl and host are in same syntactic phrase
Cnstr 2	C^0 - ENCL	cl is enclitic to substantive element (= host) in C^0
Cnstr 3	PROCL - I^0	cl is proclitic to substantive element (= host) in I^0
Cnstr 4	V - ADJ	cl is contiguous with V, at surface or throughout derivation
Cnstr 5	STAY	No trace allowed (blockage of V-to-C movement)

---

3   The surface effect of C^0 vs. I^0 clitic location is frequently covert due to the linear sequence of surface elements, this amenable to reanalysis in the sense of Harris and Campbell (1995). The present-day language only admits I^0 for the cases H considers. The conditions under which a clitic appears in C or I in the older language are not made explicit in a coherent way in *SkOrS*.

If C (and, where applicable, I) at most contains a single element plus an open number of clitics, the situations encountered in the development of the Romance languages considered here can be accounted for with varying ordering of the hierarchical constraints (220–226) to yield optimality. A general characterization of the change between Medieval and Modern Romance languages as represented in H's data involves three crucial re-ordering patterns in diachronic sequence (227).

Chg I: Cnstr 4 (V-ADJ) dominates Cnstr 2 (C^0 - ENCL): eliminate interpolation
If V and cl are adjacent (Cnstr 4), interpolation /cl - X - V/ is eliminated (e.g. the Medieval Portuguese type gives way to the Medieval Occitan pattern).[4]

Chg II: Cnstrt 5 (STAY) precedes Cnstr 4 (V - ADJ_{DIR})[5]: no optional enclisis
Postverbal clitics will disappear except in the V1 configuration (Constr 4a), since V cannot move up (Constr 5) and cl thus needs to be proclitic in I next to V (Cnstr 3). The older type of Medieval Occitan evolves into what is seen e.g. in the Early Medieval French system.

Chg III: Cnstr 4, 5 (V-ADJ, STAY) precede Cnstr 2 (C^0 - ENCL): No V1
cl cannot surface in C any longer eliminating the V1 enclitic construction (the original Tobler-Mussafia trademark context for enclisis). The Early Medieval French pattern yields the Modern Spanish type.

Cl in C position without V-to-C raising (interpolation) changes earliest in Chg I. A subject-introduced main clause shifts under Chg II – overtly to exclude postverbal position of cl – and then also under Chg III – covertly, to locate cl in I avoiding a V trace instead of having cl appear in C with at least one V trace. V1 main clauses disappear under Chg III due to the elimination of last-resort V-to-C raising.

---

4   This does not imply that Portuguese developed in Occitan in any way, only that the morphosyntactic type embodied e.g. by Medieval Portuguese through this change turns into the pattern exhibited by Medieval Occitan.

5   ADJ_{DIR} refers to adjacency of V and cl throughout the derivation, not just at the surface.

Context	Chg I: no interpolation	Chg II: no free enclisis	Chg III: no V1	Constraint(s) involved
Ctxt 1	=	=	change	XP in [Spec, CP]
Ctxt 2	=	change	change	V1 = V in C
Ctxt 3	change	=	=	C^0 filled (c, X)
Example	MedPg > MedOcc	MedOcc > EMedFr	EMedFr > ModSp	

Figure 1. Change type vs. context class in chronological sequence (left to right)

▪ 5.2 Archaism of Interpolation

The overriding perspective is a historical progression from a C-based cl position to an I-based one, binding cl and V together in a systematic link and giving cl progressively more inflection-like stability (single linearization). The perspective relies on two widely held *a priori* assumptions shared by *SkOrS*: (a) Clitics are by default enclitic; (b) Romance clitics develop in a default situation. By intersecting these implicit assumptions with a third observation that clitics tend to be second-position items (i.e. Wackernagel's [1892] law), Medieval Portuguese and Medieval Spanish with overt interpolation are thought to exhibit a more original clitic syntax than other languages (e.g. Medieval Occitan without interpolation). Assuming a unidirectional trajectory, the wide-spread opinion that (European) Portuguese has an archaic (clitic) syntax (ever since Meyer-Lübke [1897], based on the medieval and still present-day option of interpolation) yields a goal-oriented evolution toward a simpler, surface-true clitic distribution.

This perspective can be challenged by three observations. H directly approaches the first one regarding important changes in interpolation between Medieval and Modern European Portuguese. Based on detailed studies by Martins (1994), the modern interpolation options are only a limited subset of the medieval ones; in addition, they seem to emerge after the near-complete disappearance of interpolation in the 16th century (230). Modern European Portuguese interpolation is a secondary phenomenon, not directly connected with the Medieval phase, hence it does not support a medieval archaism of Portuguese.

Second, a careful diachronic reconstruction of Medieval Spanish interpolation (not approached in *SkOrS*) shows that the phenomenon is not an archaic feature of the language; i.e., it is not the case that the older the documents, the more interpolation they contain. Rather, after a low,

almost undocumented presence in the 12th and early 13th century texts (few known documents that have a confirmed date for the extant copy), the phenomenon increases strongly by the late 13th century and first half of the 14th century, progressively dropping off after 1350 to its extinction by about 1500. Spanish interpolation is a secondary phenomenon internally developed, as in Modern European Portuguese; it is not typical of the oldest texts and does not support the claim or archaism for interpolation.

Third, the archaic nature of Portuguese is derived from the wish to connect interpolation to Wackernagel's (1892) second position law by stipulating enclisis as the true clitic orientation directly continuing into the Tobler-Mussafia condition of clause-initial enclisis to the V in first position. Portuguese (like Spanish) shows considerable enclisis in optional contexts (Ctxt 1 above). A loose dating of Medieval Portuguese texts – typically with a secure copy date not before the second half of the 13th century, i.e. in the period when Spanish developed interpolation into a stable feature of its clitic phenotype – produces the fictitious story line of a monotonic development from Late Latin to Medieval Romance to present-day Romance clitic distribution. The original clitic characteristics thus belong to the second position syndrome, and then move away from interpolation and from enclisis to proclisis, losing all of the second position traits. In this context Portuguese is inevitably assessed as archaic.

Since the premises on which this scenario rests are questionable, the conclusion is uncertain. The absence of interpolation in Medieval Occitan does not by itself constitute a more "advanced" syntax (whatever this might mean); it rather presents another option from the Spanish and Portuguese solution regarding a Medieval Romance clitic pattern, shared at least with Catalan and Italian.

■ 5.3 Limitations of the analysis

If the analysis of *SkOrS* as reconstructed here is successful for the languages and the contexts H actively considers, it is still not comprehensive of the clitic object pronoun syntax. The imperative forms (special morphological manifestations for some commands separate from subjunctives or indicatives; finite, yet different) may show a /V - cl/ pattern even in the most enclisis-averse languages like French.[6] The imperatives are a func-

---

6   Are present-day French postverbal pronouns really clitics? They share some of the special forms (*le*); but some of them are non-clitic full forms (*moi*). This rather simple perspective is sufficient for the current claim that even French knows some object pro-

tionalized remnant of V1 syntax that the five constraints cannot account for without additional ordering patterns (e.g. by modifying ordering conditions for Cstr 2: C⁰ - ENCL). Similarly, non-finite verb forms maintain interestingly different linearization conditions in most languages, including Occitan (much enclisis, regardless of syntactic context, even with preceding negation or in the presence of a preposition or a complementizer). The exclusion of non-finite forms also deprives *SkOrS* of the opportunity to deal with the clitic raising contexts (modal, temporal, aspectual verbs) that enrich the repertoire of clitic display patterns (see e.g. Davies, 1997). Whatever the means of analyzing these additional contexts, they require additional machinery beyond what *SkOrS* presents.

The analysis developed in *SkOrS* is (in a positive sense) non-intuitive, contributing to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon going far beyond description and thereby denying the skepticism inherent in the Borges quote heading the analysis chapter 5 (190). Yet the analysis relies on abstract constraint ordering organizing non-transparent principles (the constraints) that are only accessible to the native speaker through surface data observation. The analysis faces the issue of systematic non-learnability due to inherent contradictions between data and analytical reconstruction required of the learner. On the one hand, the variety of conditions and the changes undergone by clitic systems could be taken for an argument in favor of such an uncertain reproduction of the parent system through natural language acquisition. However, the fluctuations are less than random overall, attesting to the relative stability of the system beyond the predictions of an opaque learning situation. The fragmentary nature of the solution proposed, the complexity of the devices needed even for a part of the phenomenon, and the still variable results may raise the question of the return on analytical investment in this rather minor piece of morphosyntax in the perspective off the overall Occitan grammar.

■ 5.4 Overall appraisal

In spite of this meta-theoretic skepticism, H's study makes available a careful novel analysis, a broad presentation of the surrounding languages, and a true contribution to thoughtful analyses that take the observable reality of clitic patterns across languages and times seriously.

---

noun enclisis. The phrasal accent falling on a pronoun such as *le* in *Mais mange-le !* does not deny clitic status; cf. the non-clitic *mange ça !,* and the contrastive prepositional behavior *in compte sur ça ! vs. *compte sur le !*

In this perspective, the most valuable contribution of *SkOrS* consists of the detailed descriptions of the languages investigated, Occitan in the first place, but also Catalan, French, and Portuguese. Clear summary tables of raw data permit easy comparison across samples and languages. Second place belongs to the literature survey with its meticulous reconstruction of the many contrasting analytical approaches, amounting to a focused overview of the clitic debates. This background serves H to characterize the history of Occitan in relation to the surrounding languages. The *pièce de résistance* in the form of an original technical analysis undoubtedly constitutes an important refinement of the theoretical literature about Romance clitics. Still, it is likely that the lasting contribution of this study will remain the new data and the broad overview of the situation with many good insights into the emblematic history of the Romance clitic syntax, whereby the explicit analysis of chapter 5 provides a welcome way of assessing the claims and inherent assumptions. The study inserts itself into the long series of substantive investigations progressively clarifying the development of a stable, but analytically still baffling morphosyntactic component of clitic pronouns, with its pronounced break between the medieval manifestations and the conditions from the 16th century onward. ■

■ References

Brunel, Clovis (1926): *Les plus anciennes chartes en langue provençale. Recueil des pièces originales antérieures au XIIIe siècle. Publiées avec une étude morphologique*, Paris: Picard.

Davies, Mark (1997): "A corpus-based approach to diachronic clitic climbing in Portuguese", *Hispanic Journal* 17, 93–111.

Harris, Alice / Campbell, Lyle (1995): *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaiser, Georg (1992): *Die klitischen Personalpronomina im Französischen und Portugiesischen. Eine synchronische und diachronische Analyse*, Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert.

Martins, Ana Maria (1994): *Clíticos na história do português*, Lisbon: University of Lisbon (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation).

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm (1897): "Zur Stellung der tonlosen Objektspronomina", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 21, 313–334.

Ramsden, Herbert A. (1963): *Weak Pronoun Position in the Early Romance Languages*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Salvi, Giampaolo (2004): *La formazione della struttura di frase romanza: ordine delle parole e clitici dal latino alle lingue romanze antiche*, Tübingen: Niemeyer (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie; 323).

Tobler, Adolf (1875 / 1912): Review of J. Le Coultre, *De l'ordre des mots dans Chrétien de Troyes*. Reprinted in *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik* 5, Leipzig: Hirzel, 395–414.

Wackernagel, Jacob (1892): "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1, 333–436.

Wanner, Dieter (2009): "Pronombres átonos de objeto con infinitivo, o la pertinencia de la periferia", in: *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española, Mérida (Yucatán), August 2006*, Mexico: Publicaciones UNAM (to appear).

■ Dieter Wanner, Ohio State University, Department of Spanish and Portuguese,
  298 Hagerty Hall, 1775 College Road, USA-Columbus, OH, 43210-1775,
  <wanner.2@osu.edu>.