Table of contents

List of tables		xxiii	
Intro	Introduction		
List	of symbolizations	xxix	
Char	ter 1: The problem		
l.	Setting	1	
1.1	Romance concordance	1	
1.2	Latin situation		
1.3	Transition	2 3	
1.4	Space of this study and fragility of the task	3	
1.5	Good documentation in Romance	4	
1.6	Synchrony = diachrony	5	
1.7	General interest in clitics	6	
2.	The present study	6	
2.1	Organization: Background chapters 1 to 3	6	
2.2	Original contributions: Chapters 4 to 9	7	
2.3	Data and theory	9	
2.4	Theoretical stance of this study	9	
2.5	Componential clitic analysis	1.1	
2.6	Diachronic principles	11	
2.7	Weakened theoretical claims through dia-		
	chronic considerations	13	
2.8	Synchronic weakening as a consequence	15	
2.9	Exclusions from this study	16	
2.10	General contributions	17	
	Notes	18	
Char	oter 2: Clitic elements		
1.	Terminology	23	
1.1	Cliticness in linguistics	23	
1.2	Cliticness in philology	24	
1.3	Greek origin	24	
1.4	Romance clitic studies	25	
1.5	Clitics in transformational grammar	26	
1.6	Recent investigative concentrations	27	
2.	Italian special clitics	28	
2.1	Clitic features	28	
2.2	Specialness	30	
2.3	Clitics are not purely morphological	31	

xii Table of contents

2.4	Clitics are not purely syntactic	32
2.5	Clitics are not purely phonological	32
2.6	Similar clitics in other Romance languages	33
2.7	Componentiality	34
3.	Other clitic types	35
3.1	Special clitics in Italian vs. simple	
	clitics in English	35
3.2	Simple clitics in German	37
3.3	Verbal simple clitics	38
3.4	Variable clitic status for special clitics	39
3.5	Subtypes of special clitics: It. loro, Pashto	41
3.6	Walbiri, Somali	42
4.	Peripheral clitic elements	43
4.1	Articles	43
4.2	Spanish reinforced article	46
4.3	Prepositions	46
4.4	Complementizers	47
4.5	Verbal particles	47
4.6	Preposizione articolata	48
4.7	Serbo-Croatian negative auxiliary verbs	49
4.8	Word character of clitics	50
4.9	Separation from derivational morphology	51
5.	Towards a framework for clitics	52
5.1	Cliticness	52
5.2	Primary component parameters	53
5.3	Secondary component parameters	54
5.4	Tasks and problems	55
5.5	General operational properties of the system	56
5.6	Latin to Romance transition: General	
	characterization	57
	Notes	58
Char	oter 3: Clitics in Latin	
1.	Background	67
1.1	Latin and Romance clitics	67
1.2	Different Latin phases: Evolution	68
1.3	Origin of clitic movement	69
1.4	Definite article	70
1.5	Typology and continuity	70
1.6	Exclusions	70
2.	Special enclitics of Latin	71
2.1	Enclitics and stress adjustments	71
2.2	Second position (2P) = Wackernagel's law (W)	72

Table of	contents	xiii
----------	----------	------

2.3	Enclitic alternations	73
3.	Pronouns as clitics	74
3.1	Forms for I, II, and III reflexive	74
3.2	Forms of III	75
3.3	Other Latin clitics and clitic-like elements	76
3.4	Prosodic summary	78
4.	Indo-European background	79
4.1	Pronouns in PIE, Greek, and Sanskrit	79
4.2	Pronoun prosody	81
4.3	W is not a rhythmical, but a syntactic	
	principle	82
4.4	Second position	83
5.	Evolution of pronoun forms from Latin to	
	Romance	85
5.1	Third person forms	85
5.2	Case syncretism	86
5.3	Formal tendencies	87
6.	Demonstratives from Latin to Romance: Outline	88
6.1	Determinative confusions	88
6.2	Clitic pronoun vs. definite article	90
7.	Latin demonstratives	91
7.1	Overlapping	91
7.2	Three-step to two-step system	91
7.3	Formal restrictions and insufficiencies	92
7.4	Numerical considerations	95
7.5	Discussion of frequency tables	96
7.6	Summary	101
8.	Article development in Late Latin	101
8.1	Origin and setting of article	101
8.2	Article in IE	103
8.3	Article use and regularity	105
8.4	Gelenkspartikel	106
8.5	Greek influence	107
8.6	Article linearization	107
8.7	ille vs. ipse	109
9.	Demonstratives developing into clitics	110
9.1	Romance = Latin; lack of bridging	
	documentation	110
9.2	Special clitics as a stable endpoint of	-10
	evolution	112
	Notes	112
	110100	112

xiv Table of contents

Chap	ter 4: The new analysis	
1.	The previous analysis of proto-Romance	
	pronouns: Ramsden 1963	123
1.1	Ramsden's central role	123
1.2	The thirteen categories of Ramsden 1963	124
1.3	Late Latin evolution according to Ramsden 1963	126
1.4	Ramsden's theory of cliticization	127
1.5	Critique of cliticization theory	129
1.6	Needed improvements	130
2.	The logic of the new analysis	131
2.1	General hypothesis: Latin to Romance	
	transition	131
2.2	Quantification and non-categorical status	132
2.3	Forms	133
2.4	Prosodic downgrading	133
2.5	ille as a proto-clitic	134
3.	Syntactic classification of the data	135
3.1	Placement classes	135
3.2	Left context	136
3.3	Special arrangements for non-finite verbs	137
3.4	Classificatory grid	139
4.	Text selection	139
4.1	Criteria for text inclusion	139
4.2	Text classes	141
4.3	Characterization of text classes CL, TN,	
	VG, CX, BX, and HL	142
4.4	Text class supersedes chronology	147
	Notes	148
Chapt	ter 5: Clitic placement and linearization	
1.	Old Romance norms	155
1.1	Old Romance unity	155
1.2	Clitic placement	155
1.3	Clitic linearization: TM classes I-V for	
	enclisis	156
1.4	Clitic linearization: TM class VI for	
	proclisis	160
1.5	No ideal solution	162
1.6	Idealized categorical structure	163
2.	Latin conditions	165
2.1	Context options grid	165
2.2	Clause delimitation	166
2.3	Definition of 'second position'	168
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

2.4	Syntactic conception of 2P	170
2.5	String analysis illustrations for 2P	171
2.6	String definition of VB and 2ND hypotheses	174
2.7	Sample sentences for string analysis	176
3.	Data analysis	177
3.1	Data description	177
3.2	Text class behavior for VB and 2ND	178
3.3	Text class behavior for PRO	178
3.4	Text class behavior for separation	182
3.5	General characteristics	183
3.6	Categorial context formulae for Latin and	
	Romance	184
3.7	Scaling procedures	187
3.8		191
3.9	Discussion of 2ND	191
3.10	Discussion of VB	196
3.11	Discussion of PRO	200
3.12	Combined contextual parameters	205
	Best proto-Romance approximations	207
	Importance of Greek influence	209
3.15	Internal Latin origin of proto-Romance	
	features	211
4.	Style level considerations	213
4.1	Chronology and text group connections	213
4.2	Special character of Biblical language	218
4.3	Biblical pronoun syntax as a Hebraism	221
4.4	Augustinus: Internal style level changes	222
5.	Origin of enclisis after et (TM class II)	226
5.1	Data from supplementary investigation	226
5.2	Proclisis after cj, rel, and et	227
5.3	Latin prefiguration of TM II	229
6.	The function of neutral placement cases	231
6.1	Correlations between the main parameters	
	VB, 2ND, and PRO	231
6.2	Transition from 2ND to VB through	
	neutral placement	233
6.3	Passive approximation of verb to pronoun	235
7.	Transition from Latin pronoun placement to	
	Old Romance norms. A synthesis	236
7.1	Pronoun weakening, verb juxtaposition,	
	and cliticization	236
7.2	Typological explanations	237
7.3	Intersection of 2ND and VB	240

xvi Table of contents

7.4	VB extensions over 2ND	241
7.5	Early proto-Romance approximations	243
7.6	Submerged linguistic features	244
7.7	Gradual surface change vs. abstract	
	discontinuities	245
7.8	Emergence of Romance attestations	246
	Notes	247
Cha	pter 6: Nonfinite host verbs	
1.	Differences between finite and nonfinite	
	host verbs	263
1.1	Narrow scope for nonfinite analysis	263
1.2	Romance nonfinite form use: Auxiliated	
	constructions	264
1.3	Romance absolute constructions	265
1.4	Old Italian advanced linearization	266
1.5	Old Spanish linearization conditions	267
1.6	Auxiliated nonfinite forms in Latin	270
1.7	Latin absolute constructions	271
1.8	Continuity from Latin to Romance	272
2.	Data discussion	273
2.1	Description of data appendices	273
2.2	VB, 2ND, and PRO parameters for participial	
	forms	273
2.3	VB, 2ND, and PRO parameters for infinitival	
	host verb forms	275
3.	Imperatives as host verbs	276
3.1	Old Italian imperative-plus-clitic structures	276
3.2	Evolutionary constants	278
	Notes	279
_	pter 7: Clitic movement	
1.	Clitic movement in modern Romance	283
1.1	Description of clitic movement in Italian	283
1.2	Structural approaches	284
1.3	Semantic approach	286
1.4	Essential properties of CM	288
2.	Clitic movement in Old Romance	290
2.1	Preponderance of +CM in Old Italian	290
2.2	Old Italian CM predicates	293
2.3	Extension to Old Romance	296
2.4	Structural limits of CM	298
2.5	Old Romance norm	299

2.6	CM from Old to modern Romance	299
2.7	Late Latin prefiguration of CM: A hypothesis	300
3.	Latin infinitival constructions	301
3.1	CM is not defined in Latin	301
3.2	Latin infinitive types	302
3.3	a.c.i. constructions	304
3.4	n.c.i. and passive of a.c.i.	305
3.5	a.c.i. and pure infinitives	308
3.6	Omission of subject accusative in a.c.i.	308
3.7	An attempt at integrating Latin infinitives	309
4.	Analytical categories	312
4.1	General organization	312
4.2	Pronoun classes	313
4.3	String types	314
4.4	Derivation types and rules	315
4.5	Clause level distinction	317
4.6	Proto-Romance CM classification	319
4.7	Rule application and typical strings	320
5.	Analysis of new data	322
5 .1	Organization of structural tables	322
5.2	String analysis: S level sequence	325
5.3	Frequency tables	326
5.4	Direct transition hypothesis: ob.inf behavior	327
5.5	Latin CM prefiguration: Pronoun functions	330
5.6	Latin CM prefiguration: Derivation types	332
5.7	VG as proto-Romance	333
5.8	Restructuring function	334
5.9	Split Latin - Romance	335
5.10	InvCM pronoun functions and prefiguration	335
6.	Interpretation of Late Latin CM prefiguration	337
6.1	Contiguity /1 c/: Accidental extraposition	
	result	337
6.2	Implications: Pronoun class differences	338
6.3	Contiguity /c 1/: Clause dissolution	
	through restructuring	340
6.4	Implications of dissolution hypothesis	343
6.5	Effective Late Latin prefiguration of CM	345
6.6	V ₁ class composition for major classes	346
6.7	su.aci- = su.aci+	348
6.8	Two pronouns in a string: Same function	350
6.9	Two pronouns in a string: Unlike functions	351
7.	Transition of Latin into Romance CM patterns	353
7.1	The group /1 c/ /c 1/ specific to a c i	353

xviii Table of contents

7.2	a.c.i. survivals in Romance	355
7.3	The group /1 2/ characteristic of Romance	357
7.4	CM depends on TM placement/linearization	358
7.5	Necessary lack of transition documentation	359
	Notes	360
Chaj	pter 8: Verb position	
1.	Received opinions on Latin verb position	377
1.1	Verb position as a determinant of clitic	
	placement	377
1.2	Typological problems with Latin word order	378
1.3	Descriptions of Latin verb position	380
1.4	Verb shifts in Late Latin	381
1.5	Initial and medial verb position	381
1.6	Functional constituent order	384
1.7	Text class differences	387
1.8	Summary of typological analyses	388
1.9	The new analysis	392
2.	Old Romance verb position	393
2.1	Initial verb	393
2.2	Verb in second position	394
3.	Parameters of the new investigation	397
3.1	Three verb positions: Final, initial, medial	397
3.2	The corpus	399
3.3	Latin/Romance intersection of verb and	
	clitic place	400
3.4	Tabulation of frequencies	403
3.5	Scaling algorithms	404
3.6	Summary tabulation	405
4.	Data analysis	406
4.1	Dominant string types: U derivations	406
4.2	Dominant string types: +/+ configurations	407
4.3	General trends of Late Latin verb and	
	clitic placement	408
4.4	Approximations to Romance	411
4.5	Internal structure of U, F, and D string	
	clauses	412
4.6	D derivations as a functional constant	
	component	414
4.7	F derivations increase heavily in more	
	spontaneous registers	417
4.8	U derivations as consistent main stay	420
4.9	Importance of U+/+: Short clauses	420

7	'abl	e	of	contents	xix
---	------	---	----	----------	-----

4.10	Three factors of proto-Romance verb and	
	clitic place evolution	423
4.11	Reconstructed transition from SOV to SVO	
	typology	425
4.12	Concluding summary on verb placement	428
	Notes	430
Chapt	er 9: Implications	
1.	Proto-clitics in Late Latin	441
1.1	The proto-clitic hypothesis	441
1.2	Late Latin level differences	443
1.3	Transition to Romance	445
1.4	Greek catalytic influence	447
2.	Derivation path from Latin to Romance	449
2.1	Restatement of chapter conclusions	449
2.2	Active vs. adaptive changes	451
2.3	Chronological considerations	454
2.4	Derivation of TM conditions	456
2.5	Other clitic aspects	459
2.6	Continuity vs. innovation	460
3.	Conception of clitic space	462
3.1	Componential clitic description	462
3.2	Multiple subcomponents for clitic syntax	463
3.3	Demarcation to non-clitics	468
3.4	Clitic syntax as extended normal syntax	471
3.5	Clitic development	471
3.6	Clitic attachment: Prosody vs. syntax	473
4.	Wider consequences for linguistic	
	conceptualization	479
4.1	Regularity	479
4.2	Quantification	482
4.3	Relativization of grammatical status	485
4.4	Considerations for another diachronic	
	framework	488
4.5	Clitic development in a new light	492
4.6	Final remarks	494
	Notes	495
Appen	dices	
1	Italian object and adverbial clitic forms	503
1-a	Elision and gliding	503
1-b	Other phonetic adjustments	504
1-c	Special restrictions	505

xx Table of contents

1-d	Linearization with imperatives	507
1-e	Clitic movement	507
2	Text lists for (Late) Latin corpus	509
2-a	Text list according to class/identification	
	number	509
2-b	Alphabetical list of abbreviatory symbols	
	for text identification	510
2-c	Main list of text sources	512
2-d	Selected bibliographical materials for	
	individual texts	516
3	Frequency count for placement/linearization	
	corpus	519
4	Conformity with hypotheses VB, 2ND, PRO	
	for finite verbs	544
4-a	Percentage of conformity with VB in given	•
	context	544
4-b	Percentage of conformity with 2ND in given	•
	context	546
4-c	Percentage of conformity with PRO in given	
. •	context	547
4-d	Summary of scaled class averages X	548
4-e	Summary of realized class average scalings	549
4-f	Summary of scaling marks for VB, 2ND, and	• .,
	PRO per text	550
5	Data tables for et effect (context 2: $[s -]$	551
5-a	Base data tabulation for secondary	001
• •	investigation of context $2 = \int c$	551
5-b	Percentages for subclasses of context	331
	$2 = \int c$ - concerning PRO and separation	554
6	Conformity to VB, 2ND, PRO for participles	555
6-a	Selected texts from corpus in App. 3	555
6-b	Additional PR texts	557
6-c	Summary of class averages (participles vs.	33.
	finite verbs)	558
7	Conformity to VB, 2ND, PRO for infinitives	559
7-a	Selected texts from corpus in App. 3	559
7-b	Placement and linearization parameters VB,	557
	2ND, and PRO for objects of infinitives	560
7-c	Summary of class averages (infinitives vs.	500
	finite verbs)	561
8	Data for clitic movement	562
9	Clitic movement corpus rearranged by	302
,	pronoun function	579
	pronoull runction	ンパフ

	Table of contents	xxi
10	Percentages of CM derivation types by	
	pronoun function	584
11	Predicates V ₁ admitting CM	589
12	Verb position typology: Frequencies and	
	percentages	600
12-a	Percentage figures for verb position per	
	text class	601
12-b	Table vi: Summary per text class (scaling	
_	marks and variation span)	606
12-c	Summary per text class (percentage of	
	realized scaling marks	607
Biblio	graphy	609
	of linguistic terms	641
	of names	657