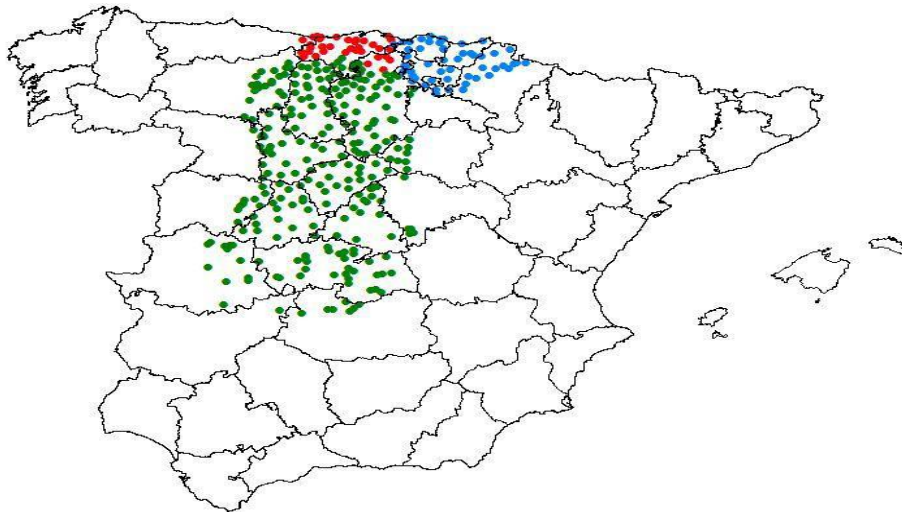




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Edisyn Workshop on Ibero-Romance Dialects: Clitics and Beyond

Getafe (Madrid), 12th-13th December 2012
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid



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EDISYN Workshop on Ibero-Romance Dialects: Clitics and Beyond

The European research network [Edisyn](#) and the [COSER project](#) research group organize the 'EDISYN Workshop on Ibero-Romance Dialects: Clitics and Beyond'. It will be held at the Carlos III University, Getafe Campus, Getafe (Spain), on December 12-13, 2012. This workshop is sponsored by the [University Carlos III de Madrid \(UC3M\)](#) and the [Meertens Instituut](#) (The Netherlands).

The [Edisyn](#) network is a meeting point for research done in the area of variation in dialectal continua, and gathers researchers from all across Europe. This workshop will provide a forum for discussing questions of syntactic variation and change in Ibero-Romance Languages and Dialects. The meeting will include, together with reporting sessions involving the projects operating under the network, a thematic one devoting to current trends in Ibero-Romance Dialectology. Although clitics are the main topic of the workshop, sessions devoted to locatives, interrogative particles and infinitives will also take place. All theoretical approaches are represented, but formal approaches based on micro-comparative research on dialect syntax are especially encouraged. Proceedings will not be published, so the emphasis will be on experimentality and a friendly and constructive atmosphere in which views can be expressed and exchanged.

We are delighted to announce that the speakers for EDISYN Workshop on Ibero-Romance Dialects: Clitics and Beyond' will be Álvaro Octavio de Toledo y Huerta (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen), Carlota de Benito Moreno (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), Enrique Pato (Université de Montréal), Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (Real Academia Española / Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), Ioanna Sitaridou (University of Cambridge, Queens' College), Javier Rodríguez Molina (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid), Johannes Kabatek (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen), Miriam Bouzouita (Universiteit Gent / University of Cambridge), Montserrat Batllori Dillet (Universitat de Girona) and Víctor Lara Bermejo (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).

The meeting will be of much interest to syntactic researchers, graduate students, and, more in general, to all those interested in linguistic variation and linguistic theory. Those interested in attending the workshop are of course welcome.

How to get there: From Chamartín, Nuevos Ministerios and Atocha railway stations there is a direct train to the Getafe Campus. Take line C4 in the direction of Parla and get off at Las Margaritas Universidad. The conference venue is on walking distance from the railway station. Upon leaving the train station from the main exit, turn right and walk straight on for 5 minutes or so until you reach the University.

How to get there by car:

http://www.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/get_know_us/how_get_here/by_car

How to get there by train:

http://www.uc3m.es/portal/page/portal/get_know_us/how_get_here/by_train

Conference venue: The conference will be held in Building 14 “Concepción Arenal”, Room 14.0.11, [Carlos III University](#), [Getafe Campus](#), C/ Madrid 126, (See the [Campus Map](#)).

Instructions for speakers: Presentations will be limited to 35 minutes + 10 minutes for questions. Speakers are advised to prepare 25 handouts. If you have a handout please send it in advance to jrmolina@uc3m.es. Thank you.

Language of the workshop: Spanish, English.

Conference dinner: Wednesday 12 December 21:00, in Restaurante [daNicola](#) (C/ Orense 4, Madrid, Metro Nuevos Ministerios, [Map](#)).

If participants (speakers, students, others) want to take part in the conference dinner, they have to subscribe sending an e-mail to jrmolina@hum.uc3m.es no later than 30th November.

Contact

Contact person for the Workshop:

- Javier Rodríguez Molina: jrmolina@hum.uc3m.es

PROGRAM

12th of December 2012 (Wednesday)

9.00 Opening Session

Session 1: Dialect insights from the corpus COSER

9.30. Enrique Pato & Carlota de Benito **'On the "de + infinitive" construction in Southern Spanish'**

10.15. Víctor Lara Bermejo **'On Second Person Clitics Morphology in Peninsular Spanish: the Andalusian evidence'**

11.00. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez **'Gender syncretism in indefinite quantifiers in Spanish dialects'**

11.45. Summary & Conclusions

12.15 Coffee Break

12.45 Forum on current trends in Ibero-Romance Dialectology

13.45 Lunch

Session 2: Historical Dialectology

15.30. Álvaro Octavio de Toledo y Huerta **'Why historical syntax (badly) needs dialectology: evidence from Ibero-Romance locatives'**

16.15. Miriam Bouzouita **'On the Status of Future and Conditional Constructions with Enclisis in Old Spanish'**

17.00. Javier Rodríguez Molina **'Old Spanish sí as an interrogative particle: Comparative Evidence from Romance Dialects'**

17.45 Summary & Conclusions

20.30 Conference dinner

13th of December 2012 (Thursday)

Session 3: Clitics in American Spanish, Catalan, Galician & Portuguese

09.45 Montserrat Batllori **'Two Reminders of the Syntax of Clitics: Enclisis as a Root Phenomenon, and Clitic Doubling in Periphrastic Constructions'**

10.30 Ioanna Sitaridou **'Clitic climbing and micro-variation in Spanish'**

11.15 Coffee Break

11.45 Johannes Kabatek **'May clitics change due to conscious intervention?'**

12.30 Summary and Conclusions

13.00 Closing Ceremony

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS

ON THE "DE + INFINITIVE" CONSTRUCTION IN SOUTHERN SPANISH

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Some Modern Spanish varieties show a wide number of infinitive clauses preceded by the preposition *de*, like *oí de cantar*, *vi de llover*, *lo he visto de caer* o *comencé de limpiar* (cf. Zamora Vicente 1970: 330-331). This work will study the first three examples, which are cases of the so-called *deísmo*. The last example, on the other hand, illustrates a change of the preposition (where *de* replaces *a*), phenomenon that will not be studied here.

Gómez Torrego (1999: 2128) has described the *deísmo* as the "superfluous use of the preposition *de* in infinitive subordinate clauses" (uso «superfluo de la preposición *de* en estructuras subordinadas de infinitivo»). This "superfluous" use is very frequent in Andalusia and Extremadura (cf. Zamora Vicente 1970: 330, Llorente 1980: 36, Gómez Torrego 1999: 2128) and it has been considered incorrect from a prescriptive point of view (cf., for example, di Tullio 2011: 185).

This work has several goals. Firstly, it aims to document the phenomenon and to present its geographical extension for the first time, thanks to the data offered by the COSER. Secondly, it will try to offer a fine-grained description of the phenomenon, considering it an example of microvariation in Peninsular Spanish syntax. It will also try to find out if the presence or absence of the preposition implies a change of meaning (*Nos mandó salir* vs. *Nos mandó de salir*), that is to say, if they have the same syntactic and semantic value. In order to do so, we will focus on the type of verb, both in the infinitive clause and in the main clause (V1) and the semantic values of the preposition *de*. Lastly, we will investigate the potential analogical source of this syntactic-semantic feature and if it is an example of the survival of a medieval use (as suggested by RAE 2009: 3257).

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ON SECOND PERSON CLITICS MORPHOLOGY IN PENINSULAR SPANISH: THE ANDALUSIAN EVIDENCE

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The unstressed second person plural pronoun (*os* in standard peninsular Spanish) is the clitic with more allomorphs. The data in the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (ALPI) show several forms such as *sos*, *vos*, *tos* or *los*, in comparison to the monolithic forms in singular and in third person plural. Although in the first person plural we can find the allomorph *mos* instead of *nos*, it is in the fifth one where there is a wide divergence.

Despite the fact that the Spanish has throughout the Peninsula dialectal differences in the second person plural clitic, it is the Andalusian area (above all, West Andalusia) the most interesting zone, as it does not use the standard second person plural pronoun *vosotros*. West Andalusia has chosen the polite pronoun *ustedes* for both formality and informality. Therefore, the informants' answers must depend both on the existing disagreements among clitics and second person plural pronouns (Lara 2012, Cano 2004, Menéndez Pidal 2005, Alvar et al. 1961-1965) and on the geographical area.

This communication aims to show the data in ALPI, as well as the current allomorphs in the Andalusian area, in order to check the possible evolution or diffusion of certain morphemes.

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GENDER SYNCRETISM IN INDEFINITE QUANTIFIERS IN SPANISH DIALECTS

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Rural Spanish in the Iberian Peninsula attests several contexts where quantifiers present gender syncretism:

1. a. Mucha ruido ‘much.F noise.M’.
b. Poca dinero ‘few.F money.M’.
c. Demasiado cebada ‘Too much.M barley.F’.
d. Mucho maleza ‘Much.M weed.F’.

1(a-b) present a masculine mass or abstract noun preceded by a feminine indefinite quantifier. This phrase was firstly described by Penny (1969) and it is also found in *Audible Corpus of Spoken Rural Spanish* (*Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural*; or COSER, its Spanish abbreviation) in the same area thirty years later. Conversely, the dialects in the Center and Northwest in the Iberian Peninsula present an inverse gender syncretism 1(c-d): a feminine mass noun preceded by a masculine indefinite quantifier. Both syncretisms are to be found in the area where pronouns and adjectives express the mass or countable interpretation of nouns by distinct morphemes (see Fernández-Ordóñez 2006-2007, 2009).

The lack of agreement is usual in Center and South Italian dialects with indefinite quantifiers (Rohlf, §§ 954, 955a, 957). It also happens with universal quantifiers in Rhaeto-Romance and in Sardinian (Liver 1982, Blasco Ferrer, 1986).

My objectives are three-fold: 1) to determine the area with these structures are attested; 2) to analyse the gender syncretism found in indefinite quantifiers in contrast with other quantifiers and determiners; 3) to propose a hypothesis that could account for the unexpected agreement.

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WHY HISTORICAL SYNTAX (BADLY) NEEDS DIALECTOLOGY: EVIDENCE FROM IBERO-ROMANCE LOCATIVES

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The history of Spanish locative prepositions and transitive adverbs (LPTAs) has been explored time and again over the last three decades (see for instance Alvar / Pottier 1983: 285-319, Brea 1985, Sánchez Lancis 1990, Morera 1998, Sánchez Lancis 2003, Coello 2004, García Miguel 2006, Espinosa 2010). However valuable, these works typically take the form of general overviews, privileging the study of large-scale systemic relations whilst neglecting the history of particular subsets (see Santos / Espinosa 1996: 54-65, Eberenz 2008 for two exceptions), let alone individual elements (yet cf. Corominas 1947, Arroyo 2006, Plaza 2007, Pato 2008, Enríquez / Maldonado 2011, among others). In my contribution, I will argue that the evolution of LPTAs cannot be properly traced unless individual assessment of their variational status is undertaken on firm philological ground. I will focus here on the diatopic characterization of three (groups of) elements, namely:

- a) The vertical projective transitive adverbs formed on the nominal roots *cima* and *somo*, and how they stood as dialectal alternatives throughout the Middle Ages;
- b) the surge of the transitive adverb *bajo* and its dialectally conditioned alternation between direct and indirect regime during (Pre)Classical Spanish; and
- c) the set of adverbs that show a *de-* prefix (*delante*, *detrás*, *decerca*, *desobre*, etc.), particularly in contrast with similar elements prefixed by *a-* and *en-*.

On the basis of such phenomena, I will show how much the consideration of dialectal factors contributes to delivering a clearer picture of the evolution of LPTAs and, more generally, of the history of Romance varieties within Castile and across neighboring territories, much in line with recent proposals by Fernández-Ordóñez (2011).

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ON THE STATUS OF FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ENCLISIS IN OLD SPANISH

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As is well known, Old Spanish licenses different types of future and conditional structures: the so-called synthetic and analytic constructions. The latter always appear with a mesoclitic pronoun, whereas the former can appear with a pre- or postverbal clitic (proclisis and enclisis), or without any clitics. Generally speaking, it has been accepted that the syntactic contexts in which synthetic futures with enclisis occur usually tend to present analytic constructions with mesoclitis (Bouzouita 2011, 2012; Castillo Lluch 2002; Eberenz 1991, among others). This is clearly exemplified by the following minimal pair, which contains the same verse from the Book of Jeremiah: while ms. Escorial I.i.6 (E6) exhibits following a left-dislocated constituent a synthetic future with a coreferential postverbal clitic (*metré los*), *General Estoria IV* (GE4) presents in the same syntactic environment an analytic future (*meter los he*), as illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively.

[Je 34:21]

- | | |
|---------|---|
| (1) E6 | <i>E <u>Sedechias e sos capdiellos</u>, metré los en mano de sos enemigos</i> |
| (2) GE4 | <i>E a <u>Sedechias, rey de Juda, e a sos principes</u>, meter los he en manos de sos enemigos</i> |

One of the explanations proposed in the literature for this variation claims that the enclitic future forms manifest themselves in cases in which the future stem has undergone some phonological change such as syncope (Moreno Bernal 2004, Matute & Pato 2010), as is indeed the case in example (1). Although there clearly is a correlation between these two variables, this explanation cannot account for all the synthetic future constructions with enclisis, considering that this phenomenon has also been observed with verbs of the first conjugation, in which such phonological changes are not manifest. This is demonstrated with *dexaré la* in example (3), which like (1)-(2) contains a left-dislocated constituent that is resumed by a following object pronoun. Notice further that for this verse too other biblical texts present analytic structures, as shown in (4) and (5).

[Je 27:11]

- | | |
|--------|--|
| (3) E6 | <i><u>toda yent que metiere su cerniz</u> so el iugo del rey de babilonna e lo siruiere, dexaré la estar en su tierra</i> |
| (4) E3 | <i><u>E el gentio que metiere su garganta enel yugo del rey de baujlonja e lo serujere</u>, dexar lo he sobre su tierra</i> |
| (5) E5 | <i><u>E la gente que metiere la cerniz en yugo del rey de babilonia e lo siruiere</u> fazerlo he folgar ensu tierra</i> |

Besides the morpho-phonological hypothesis, several other types of accounts have been put forward in the literature such as semantic (Rossi 1975), language-contact (Bouzouita 2013) and even stylistic ones (Morreale 1978). The aim of this paper is to critically evaluate these various explanations to elucidate the occurrence of the synthetic future and conditional forms with enclisis and the variation these constructions present with their analytic counterparts in Old Spanish. It will be shown that a multi-variate analysis is needed in order to adequately account for all the data.

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OLD SPANISH *SÍ* AS AN INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE: COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE FROM ROMANCE DIALECTS

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In Old Spanish and up to the 17th century the adverb *si* could be used optionally to introduce rhetorical questions (1a), polar interrogatives (1b) and alternative interrogatives (1c). While examples like (1a) still remain possible in Modern Spanish (1d), structures like (1a-b) are no longer possible (1e).

- (1) a. ¿**Si** fue nunca qui son tan dulce oyesse en logar del mundo? [Alfonso X, *General estoria*, 13th century]
- b. enbio mensage | a iosapha el rey de iudea e dixol el | Rey de moab me es falso **si** iras | conmigo ala batalla sobrel : dixo | ire todo lo mio tuyo es [*Fazienda de Ultramar*, 13th century]
- c. díxole: -¿**Si** eres el mi Jasón o **si** heres alguna vesión que en sueños me has aparecido [...]? [Lope García de Salazar, *Bienandanzas y Fortunas*, 15th century]
- d. ¿**Si** sera tonto?
- e. ¿ {***Si** / \emptyset } vendrás conmigo al cine?
- f. ¿ {***Si** / \emptyset } quieres agua o vino?

This structures with interrogative *si*, which competed with other, more common devices to mark interrogative structures, such as intonation or verb-subject inversion, has barely been noticed by linguists and no principled analysis of its meaning and functions has been formulated. In order to fill this gap in this paper I tackle a number of questions relating to the origin and evolution of this marker, such as: ¿what is the categorial status of interrogative *si*? ¿what is its historical origin? ¿what meaning nuances did it develop? ¿what is its relationship with other uses of the adverb *si* and with other interrogative particles? ¿how frequently and in what kind of texts did it appear? My aim is to establish the chronology for this particle and determine its grammatical properties in relation with its Latin ancestors and its Romance cognates.

One of the unique features of this marker is that, while it is fairly rare in literary texts, Bible translations employ it rather frequently to render the Hebrew interrogative particle *hă* (or its Late Latin counterparts *num* and *numquid*). For this reason, the use of parallel

versions is particularly useful in studying this particle, as the medieval translations of the Bible into Old Spanish (now easily accessible thanks to the [Biblia Medieval](#) corpus) provide hundreds of examples of interrogative *si* next to their Latin or Hebrew sources and side-by-side with the Old Spanish equivalents in the other versions.

Likewise, I have obtained general information on the coding of interrogative constructions in other the languages, both in the typological literature (Siemund 2001, Köning & Siemund 2007) and in Romance Linguistics Literature. A microcomparative analysis of Modern and Medieval Romance Dialects reveals a widespread use of interrogative particles absent in Romance Standard Languages, like Sardinian *a*, Romanian *au*, Old Occitan *si*, Old French *si*, *et* and *enne* or Tuscan *o*, whose grammatical properties could cast new light on the Old Spanish interrogative particle *si*.

My conclusions may be summarized as follows:

- a) Old Spanish *si* was used as an interrogative particle in all kinds of interrogative structures (polar interrogatives, alternative interrogatives and rhetorical questions, see Siemund 2001), a usage that, to date, has not been described in the linguistic literature.
- b) This *si* is morphologically an adverb, and grammatically it behaves as a *Wh-* element associated with the left periphery. The typological analysis reveals how it shares properties with interrogative particles and interrogative words in other languages.
- c) These structures have a Latin origin and have cognates in other Romance languages, but in the Old Spanish achieved greater success possibly due to the influence of Hebrew marker *hă* in biblical translation.
- d) This interrogative particle declines and all but disappears after the seventeenth century.

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TWO REMAINDERS OF THE SYNTAX OF CLITICS: ENCLISIS AS A ROOT PHENOMENON, AND CLITIC DOUBLING IN PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

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This paper focuses on two main aspects of the syntax of clitics.

ON THE ONE HAND, it aims at providing an explanation for enclisis in a range of embedded sentences of different Modern Western Ibero-Romance varieties — that is, Modern Asturian, see (1), Modern Galician, and also Modern Portuguese, see (2).

- (1) a. nun sé si davos les gracias [A.Ll.A. (1998: 367)]
 b. nun sabemos qué regala-y [A.Ll.A. (1998: 368)]
 c. nun atoparon casa onde agospia-se [A.Ll.A. (1998: 368)]
 d. nun alcuentren fecha cuando casa-se [A.Ll.A. (1998:368)]
- (2) a. porque nao apercebeu-se que ... [Mateus et al. (2003: 851)]
 b. O meu primo diz que lá elas lavam-se antes e depois. [Martins (2008); *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo*: L0342P0120X]
 c. Fê-la girar no chão (...) com tanta violência que os membros estreitos da garota embrulharam-se uns nos outros como fios de esparguete. [Martins (2008); *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo*]
 d. Ela devassava tão apaixonadamente os gestos das pessoas, e sobretudo tratando-se de bichos, que nesse momento lia-se-lhe nos olhos uma profunda gratidão. [Martins (2008); *Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo*: L0023P0039X]

As is well known, the syntactic distribution of their clitic pronouns is similar to that of Old Ibero-Romance weak pronouns, such as Old Portuguese and Old Galician, see (3), Old Spanish, see (4), and Old Catalan, see (5). Therefore, a synchronic and diachronic comparative approach is given to this phenomenon.

- (3) Et aquelles mourros eram tã muytos que, fiandosse ena muyteduem, partirõse e... [Ogando (1980: 266)]
- (4) a. Et dizen en las uidas que fazien los de Persia que un rey conseiose con sus aguaziles ... et dixol uno dellos... [*Por*: 46; Granberg (1988: 113)]
 b. E vi que en la rreligion pensar es bien porque el que en ella pensare omillase e tienese por pagado con lo que ha [*CeD A*: 30; Granberg (1988)]
 c. Et su uertud es atal que el que trae consigo acaésce el oluidamiento de todas las cosas [*Lap*: 56; Granberg (1988)]
 d. Entonz ouo y un electo Clemens, que por miedo de los Almoades uinose a Talauera, et alli moró, fasta que murio [*EG*: 63; Granberg (1988: 98)]
- (5) a. E diu que lo primer respòs-li hòrreament e ab males paraules [XIV. Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*: 65, 13]

- b. E nos, ab ira que.n haguem, donam tal de la ma en la sageta que trencam **la**, e exia.ns la sanch per la cara a enjus [Jaume I. *Crónica*. 1313-1343; Russell-Gebbett (1965: 147)]
- c. e les gens sabien lo rey tan just, que desperaven-**se** de ell quant lo havien offès [XIII. Ramon Llull, *Meravelles*: 115, 6]
- d. e-l qual li féu gran pahor en son venir, car dubtà'l molt fortment, per ço car li tenia por [XIII. Ramon Llull, *Meravelles*: 48, 8]
- e. lo dit bon hom hac totes les vestedures pobres e mesquines que la dita infanta portà-**li** ans que fos sa muller [XIV. Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*: 34, 20]

In general, it could be said that, in all of them, main clauses display enclisis, whereas embedded clauses exhibit proclisis. Besides, main clause proclisis can be triggered by the presence of *Wh*- phrases, focused fronted phrases, quantifiers, and some adverbs. It remains unclear, however, why clitic pronouns can be enclitic in some embedded clauses. Several scholars have agreed in the fact that these patterns can be found in subordinate clauses selected by assertive verbs (i.e., *decir*, *contar*, *saber*, etc.), perception verbs (that is, *ver*, *oir*, etc.), as well as in some relative, causal, resultative and purpose clauses, among others. Moreover, the data seem to allude to a distinction between weak and strong subordination.

From this standpoint, this work explores the asymmetric syntactic behaviour of some adverbial clauses with respect to Main Clause Phenomena (MCP) and, particularly, with respect to enclisis, and testes the two existing proposals for the analysis of adverbial clauses within the generative framework (and, particularly, the *Theory of Left Periphery* posed by Rizzi 1997):

1. **The 'truncation' account**, according to which root clauses would have a full-fledged left periphery, while embedded ones would display an impoverished one. There has been some debate concerning the projections intervening in the left periphery of truncated clauses. In this respect, Munaro (2010: 160), for instance, argues that "conditional clauses have a structurally deficient CP layer in that they lack both a node encoding informational structure and a node responsible for internal focalization of phrasal constituents".
2. **The 'intervention' account**, that pays attention to the asymmetry between peripheral and non-peripheral adverbial clauses, and to the derivation of non-peripheral adverbial clauses as free relatives, which brings about intervention effects. In general, the intervention account allows for an explanation of the incompatibility of MCP whenever adverbial clauses are derived by operator extraction (see Haegeman 2010a, 2010b and references therein).

ON THE OTHER HAND, the paper examines some Modern Spanish and Modern Catalan oral speech patterns that display Clitic Doubling (CD) in periphrastic constructions, see (6)

- (6) a. Cuando **me** empecé a peinar**me** con aquel peine de púas, me di cuenta de que se me caía el pelo.
- b. En Joan **ho** ha començat a fer-**ho**, però ho ha hagut de deixar a mitges.

The following examples show that these structures were also common in Old Catalan and they might have also been common in Old Spanish, either.

- (7) a. La condició de nostre enteniment, sobre illustre senyora, que sol en la veritat reposa, **me** fa més prop acostar-**me** [XV. Joan Roís de Corella, *Sep*: 12]

- b. fatigat marit dins les portes de la sua casa, que ... no **li** forçàs descobrir-**li** la ficta enganosa figura [XV. Joan Roís de Corella, *Par*: 1]

In my belief, this pattern is only possible in those languages in which clitic climbing is not compulsory, which enables the speakers to spell out the lower copy of the clitic pronoun. Languages such as Modern and Old French, for instance, that force clitic climbing (see, Martineau 1991 and Kok 1985: 213ss, 413ss), would not allow these constructions. Compare the Old French example in (8a) with the Old Catalan example in (8b). If this is the case, the examples in (7) provide further evidence in favour of considering that Old Catalan clitic climbing is not compulsory (cf. Fischer 2002), and that in this respect Catalan is closer to Spanish than to French.

- (8) a. Mes ele ne **la** pot veoir [*La Chastelaine de Vergi*: 729; Fischer (2002: 42, ex. 53)]
 b. per oblit e no per frau, han deixat de pagar-**la**. [XV. Joan Roís de Corella, *Ann*: 17]

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MAY CLITICS CHANGE DUE TO CONSCIOUS INTERVENTION?

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An old topic that has been repeated many times is the idea that languages change unconsciously: speakers seem not to be aware of changes in language, at least not of syntactic changes. This assumption is of course not true, and if it were, introspection judgements would maybe not be possible. Speakers *can* of course be aware of the dynamics of their language, and they might even try to modify their language by their own behaviour. It might be generally true that language change is an “invisible hand process”, but speaking includes the possibility of conscious intervention, of conscious looks on what the “invisible hand” does, and on preferences as well as avoidances.

There is no doubt about that if we look at the lexicon, at taboo words or at political correctness, but can it also be the case for grammar? And in the concrete case of this workshop: can clitics, elements deeply anchored in the core grammar of the Romance languages, become the object of conscious intervention, of metalinguistically motivated language change? My claim is that this is without any doubt possible, and the real question in historical linguistics should not be limited to a discussion about the possibility or not of conscious intervention but should rather concentrate on the degree of influence in this or that concrete diachronic evolution. We suppose that there are two continua, a first one between more or less intense metalinguistic reflection, and a second one of phenomena that allow for more or less conscious intervention, and we will look at a series of examples in order to check the validity of this hypothesis.

The first example will be clitics with polyphonic, dialogical function, so-called ethic datives, and we will look at Latin, Galician, Old French and Spanish and show how these clitics are of restricted use due to their being “filtered out” in standardization processes.

The second example will be clitics in marked positions (negation, subordination, etc.), and we will look again at Galician, Spanish and Portuguese and show how conscious intervention leads to hypercorrection and can establish new traditions.

Finally, the last example will consist in a more general look at the history of Portuguese, and we will ask finally if there has ever been any change *without* conscious intervention.

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CLITIC CLIMBING AND MICRO-VARIATION IN SPANISH

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This paper discusses clitic climbing (CC) in Argentinean Spanish, both on a nano scale, comparatively examining CC in three Argentinean Spanish varieties, and on a micro level, comparing findings with CC in Standard Peninsular Spanish as well as, on a macro level, with, Brazilian Portuguese.

Unlike in French and, more recently, Brazilian Portuguese, and, furthermore, in contrast to strict proclisis in Spanish simple finite verbs, Spanish retains optionality in placement of object clitics in complex predicate constructions. This is to say that either enclisis to the embedded infinitive or gerund, or, alternatively, proclisis to the matrix finite verb are generally allowed.

Intriguingly, however, there is a considerable amount of variation, including diatopic, diaphasic, and with regards to the position clitics surface being dependent also on the matrix verb that heads the construction. For this study, a questionnaire devised to test the grammaticality of climbed and non-climbed clitics in certain complex predicate configurations was presented to speakers from five different cities in Argentina, which comprise three regional Argentinean Spanish varieties. In doing so, the status of CC in Argentinean Spanish has been investigated and compared with the CC status in Standard Peninsular Spanish –a language which has optional CC– and with that in Brazilian Portuguese –a variety that has lost this optionality. Argentinean Spanish diverges from Standard Peninsular Spanish, and additionally from Brazilian Portuguese and French. In Argentinean Spanish, CC not only remains optional but is accepted within a greater number of complex predicate constructions than that which allow CC in Standard Peninsular Spanish.

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