

PARAMETERS IN THE TYPOLOGY OF CLITICS IN ROMANCE AND OLD SPANISH

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Old Spanish clitics or weak pronominals differ from modern Romance clitics in their syntactic properties. They are NP's or PP's, share the distribution of other phrasal complements, and undergo the same movement rules.

In Old Spanish (ca. 1200–1450), weak pronominals encliticize in Phonetic Form, after syntactic and stylistic rules have applied; i.e. they are phonological clitics.

In doubling constructions, including the resumptive pronoun strategy, the pronominal/clitic is the phrase in Argument-position; the doubling phrase is a topic or focus constituent, base-generated as a left or right adjunct of one of the maximal projections (i.e. VP, S, S', S'').*

1. INTRODUCTION. One of the essential issues in linguistic theory is the determination of the parameters of U[niversal] G[rammar]. Within recent work in the Government/Binding framework, a fruitful approach to achieve this aim is provided by the detailed study and comparison of languages belonging to the same family, such as the Romance group, which differ in a cluster of properties. Under such circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that the differences follow from fixing the value of some parameter of UG in one of the permissible ways. A clear example of this research program is the literature around the so-called PRO-drop parameter in Romance (cf. the bibliography in Chomsky 1981, and much subsequent work). This paper follows the same tradition. It considers what I label the Clitic Parameter of Old Spanish, determining the differences that exist between that Romance language and present-day Spanish.

A homogeneous typology of pronominal clitics emerges from the recent bibliography on clitic constructions in modern Romance, with at least the following characteristics:

- (a) Clitics are 'bound words' or affix-like items in non-Argument position.
- (b) Clitics 'absorb' some feature of the V connected with Government/Case/ θ -role (Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1981, Aoun 1981 respectively).
- (c) Clitics are linked to an empty category in Argument position.

In this paper, I argue that non-tonic pronouns in OSp. do not share the properties listed above.

For the typology of clitics I establish, OSp. refers to the period between approximately 1200 and 1450. I assume that Old and Modern Spanish are two closely related languages, even though it is evident that they are the 'same'

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A list of primary sources is given at the end of this article.

language from a diachronic perspective. So their comparison is similar to the study of the parameters separating Spanish and Modern French, which are coextensive in time. Even though my proposals have implications for historical linguistics, I will not deal with diachronic issues.

Consider this OSp. example, which is identical to its modern counterpart:

(1) *Ellos lo entendieron.*

they it understood 'They understood it.' (Lib.Est. 63.5)

The analysis for the OSp. sentence is Figure 1, for which I will argue in §2. The same sentence corresponds to Figure 2 in Mod.Sp. (Borer 1981).

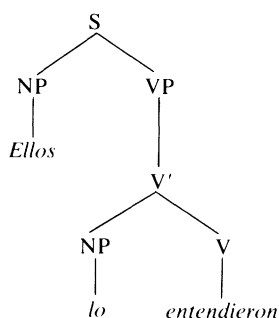


FIGURE 1.

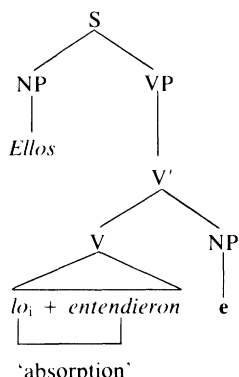


FIGURE 2.

For the modern stage, many recent studies propose that the clitic is base-generated in its surface position in cases like ex. 1 (Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, and subsequent work). For quite different reasons, I adopt the same hypothesis for OSp. in §2. From these two analyses, some of the essential differences between the two 'languages' emerge:

(i) OSp. non-tonic pronouns are lexical categories heading maximal projections.

(ii) OSp. non-tonic pronouns may occupy an A[rgument] position. In Fig. 1, *lo* 'it' is the subcategorized NP-complement of V', within a V-final schema, and it receives Case and θ -role from V.

(iii) The OSp. clitic in Fig. 1 is not linked to, nor does it license, an Empty Category.

Other distinctions are also consequences of the different typology of clitics in Old and Modern Spanish. As I will show in §2, OSp. non-tonic pronouns share with tonic pronominals and other NP's or PP's a particular version of 'Move α '; also, they have the same general distribution as non-clitics.

Old Spanish and Modern Spanish non-tonic pronominals are 'clitics' in different senses. Clitics in Modern Romance are connected by an (extended) word-formation component (Stowell 1981) and principles of affixation (Borer 1984); they are morphological dependents of V. OSp. clitics are phonological dependents, unrelated to word formation in the lexicon. I return to this difference in §4.

Treating OSp. non-tonic pronominals as A-phrases in syntax, and as phonological clitics, has implications for many aspects of the syntax of clitic constructions, as seen in §2. In §3, I will concentrate on clitic-doubling configurations, with a clitic and an NP understood to corefer; e.g.,

- (2) *Que la_i quemén a la vieja_i ranciosa.*
 that her they.burn the old.woman rancorous
 ‘Let them burn the rancorous old woman.’ (Cor. 200)

OSp. doubling constructions have pronominal phrases (e.g. clitics) in subcategorized position, and doubling phrases as base-generated adjuncts of maximal projections.

Clitics receive a modular treatment in the grammar of OSp., organized as in Figure 3. (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977).

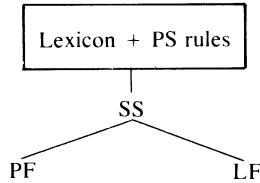


FIGURE 3.

Up to Surface Structure and/or P[honetic] F[orm], they are PRONOUNS, and share the categorial characteristics of NP's and PP's. After the stylistic rules in PF, they are CLITICS, and are restricted on the basis of their lack of tonicity. A 'clitic' has all the regular properties expected from its appropriate characterization in each branch of the grammar. As a consequence, there are no 'clitic' positions in the Phrase Structure rules, and no rules reserved for 'clitics' in syntax or Logical Form. In the PF branch, clitics have special properties.

2. SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF OLD SPANISH NON-TONIC PRONOUNS.¹ I argue here that these pronouns are heads of phrasal categories in syntax, and share the distribution of stressed pronominals and non-pronominal NP's. In developing this hypothesis, I first propose that V', the level where subcategorized complements are generated (cf. Stowell), is unordered. Direct or indirect objects precede or follow the verb with no apparent constraints. Since clitics are NP's and PP's in the base, they too can precede or follow the verb.

Second, OSp. verbs assign Case to an NP under lexical government exclusively, without an adjacency requirement. Thus a dative complement may in-

¹ The properties described in §§2-3 are found in the earliest documents, and survive until the 15th century. All works from OSp. share the symptomatic properties which motivate my analysis.

I use an abundance of primary sources from the 13th century, as partially reflected in the list of texts (see also the materials in Rivero 1984, 1986). For the 14th century, I have examined the *Libro de los estados* and *El Conde Lucanor*. For the 15th, I surveyed the *Corbacho*. Examples taken from secondary sources, and not checked in primary editions, are so indicated.

Since I consider that the period between 1200 and 1450 shares a common system, I cite indiscriminately from works of these centuries, without arranging the examples chronologically.

tervene between object and verb. Likewise, an NP clitic may be separated from the verb by a tonic dative phrase.

Third, a movement rule may left-adjoin a subcategorized complement of V to a maximal projection such as VP or S, as seen in §2.2. Then non-subcategorized material will intervene between the verb and the preposed complement. Likewise, a preverbal clitic may be separated from its verb by several non-subcategorized constituents.

Fourth, in so-called 'clitic-climbing' constructions with verbs like *querer* 'to want', OSp. clitics and NP/PP complements have the same distribution: both types may precede the tensed V (i.e. they both 'climb'), as seen in §2.3.

As we will see in §3, the distribution of clitics in doubling constructions provides additional motivation for the hypothesis that they are NP's or PP's in syntax.

I close §2 with the argument that non-tonic pronouns encliticize after the syntactic component, once PF rules have operated; in this sense, they are phonological clitics. I also argue that clitics have a more restricted distribution than other complements because of their lack of tonicity; e.g., they are subject to a restriction that bars them from being S'-initial. This constraint must be stated after syntactic and stylistic rules apply, i.e. in PF.²

2.1. THE STRUCTURE OF V' IN OLD SPANISH. A first series of arguments, indicating that clitics in OSp. are heads of phrasal categories (not affix-like elements), is based on INTERPOLATION. A clitic may be separated from the verb it complements by intervening material; e.g.,

- (3) a. *quien te algo prometierte ...*
 who you something would.promise
 'the one who would promise something to you ...' (Cor. 145)
- b. *Busca todas buenas vias ... para lo; mejor*
 he.seeks all good ways in.order.to it better
conplir que lo; ella non mando.
 accomplish than it she not ordered
 'He looks for all the good ways ... in order to accomplish it
 better than she ordered it.' (Cor. 91)

In 3a, the object *algo* separates the non-tonic dative *te* from the verb *prometierte*. In 3b, the first clitic *lo* is the object of the infinitive *conplir*, and the adverbial *mejor* intervenes. The second *lo* is the object of *mando*; the subject *ella* and the negation *non* intervene.

Interpolation provides clear positive evidence against a treatment of cliticization as part of a word-formation component in which clitics would be treated as bound morphemes, forming a single complex word with V and functioning as one syntactic element. Rather, clitics in OSp. must count as words which are independent of the V in Phrase Structure. Since they are pronominals, the null hypothesis is that they head NP's (accusative clitics) or PP's

² Clitic position in Romance has been a much debated topic. I refer the reader to Ramsden (1963:1-24) for a summary of proposals dating back to the work of Friedrich Diez in 1844.

(dative clitics, *en* and *hi*). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, in 3, the clitics occupy nodes where NP's/PP's and tonic pronominals may appear; and it can also be maintained independently of the two analyses I will propose for the phenomenon known as Interpolation. I first analyse 3a, and in §2.2 I will turn to 3b.

In OSp., the order of a verb with respect to its complements is quite free, in both main and embedded clauses. Along the lines of proposals by Chomsky 1981, Stowell 1981, Koopman 1984, and Travis 1984, I assume that the complements of a lexical head are unordered in the X' system, and that a particular order results from the interaction of other principles. For instance, Stowell proposes that an object NP must follow, and be strictly adjacent to, the verb it complements—because of the requirement that Case be assigned under adjacency, plus the proviso that the head be initial.

If a grammar contains no specifications as to adjacency or directionality, then the order of verb and subcategorized complements should be free; and this is true in OSp. First, the head may be initial or final, and a complement may precede or follow the verb:

- (4) a. *El infante ovo respuesta del rrey.*
 the prince had answer from.the king (Lib.Est. 31.29)
 b. *El infante esta rrespuesta ovo del rrey.*
 the prince this answer had from.the king (Lib.Est. 31.33)

If accusative clitics are equivalent to object NP's, then they should be able to precede or follow the V. In ex. 1, the clitic is preverbal, and equivalent in position to the NP in 4a. In 5, the clitic is postverbal, and equivalent to the complement in 4b:

- (5) *El rrey recibio-lo muy bien.*
 the king received-him very well (Lib.Est. 29.32)

Menéndez Pidal 1964 (II, 130) noted the parallel distribution of tonic and non-tonic dative and accusative pronominals in OSp. Minimal pairs like 6–7 are common throughout the period. From my perspective, this results from the phrasal status of the clitics, and from the lack of a 'head-initial vs. head-final' parameter:

- (6) a. *lo que a mi paresçe*
 what to me it.seems 'what seems to me' (Lib.Est. 115.22)
 b. *lo que vos paresçe*
 what you it.seems 'what seems to you' (Lib.Est. 35.25)
 (7) a. *dexad a mi*
 let me 'let me' (Cor. 109)
 b. *dexa-me*
 let-me 'let me' (Cor. 83)

Second, an OSp. verb assigns Case to an object NP under lexical government EXCLUSIVELY; a complement need not be strictly adjacent to the verb in order to be case-marked. Subcategorized complements are generated under V', and government is defined as follows (Aoun & Sportiche 1983):

- (8) α governs γ in [... γ ... α ... γ ...], where
 - (i) $\alpha = X^0$; and
 - (ii) ϕ is a maximal projection, ϕ dominates α iff ϕ dominates γ .

Therefore, a dative complement may separate a V and its object, as in 9a; or the object may be strictly adjacent to the V, as in 9b:

- (9) a. *La muger esto a su marido faze.*
 the wife this to her husband does
 'The wife does this to her husband.' (Cor. 174)
- b. *A ella merçet pido.*
 to her mercy I.ask 'I ask her mercy.' (B.S.Or. 3b)

Verb-initial and verb-medial sequences similar to 9 are also found.

If clitics are phrasal categories, they too should enjoy the freedom of distribution which follows from the minimal assumptions of the X' theory which I have used. In 3a, the dative clitic *te* 'you' occupies a base position equivalent to *a ella* 'to her' in 9b. The clitic *se* 'themselves' in 10 is the case-marked NP in preverbal position, equivalent to *esto* 'this' in 9a:

- (10) *Fara bien d'ello a quantos se a el ayuntaren.*
 he.will.make well of.it to all.who themselves to him
 will.come.close
 'It will be profitable to whoever comes close to him.' (Lib.Con. 195B)

The trees in Figures 4–5 reflect the parallel structure of clitics and tonic complements under the above assumptions. For additional examples of this first type of Interpolation, see Chenery 1905.

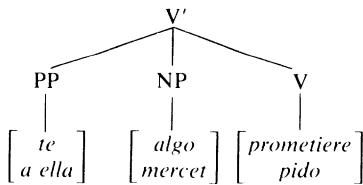


FIGURE 4.

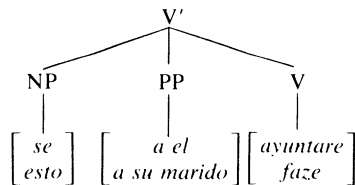


FIGURE 5.

I see no evidence that the pre- or postverbal position of subcategorized complements is the result of movement rules in syntax or PF, departing from a single basic order within V'.

My analysis predicts that the mirror images of Figs. 4–5, with a clitic as the last element, are possible; however, such sequences are unattested, and should be considered ungrammatical. When clitics are postverbal, they are strictly adjacent to the verb. The situation parallels the dative alternation in English: *I gave Mary the book* or *I gave the book to Mary* vs. **I gave Mary it* or *I gave it to Mary*. I suggest that the OSp. clitics are restricted positionally by phonological factors operating after the syntactic component. In §2.4, I study a similar positional restriction.

If my proposals are correct, the OSp. X' system contains no special node(s) for clitics in the base. Independently of my analysis, I have shown that preverbal dative and accusative clitics pattern like tonic complements in their distribution.

2.2. INTERPOLATION AS MOVEMENT. Consider ex. 3b: *lo* 'it' is extracted from V and adjoined to S, as indicated in Figure 6. No significance should be attached to the pre- or postverbal position of the extraction site in this and the following cases, in view of the assumed non-configurationality of V'.

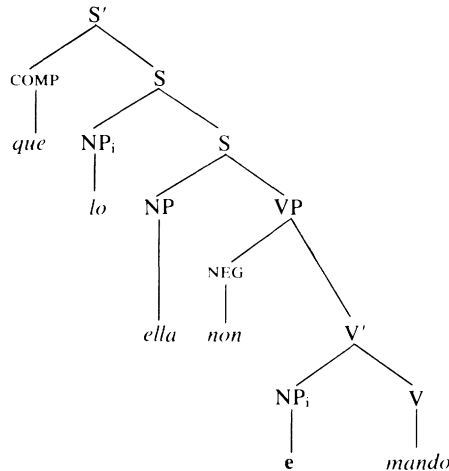


FIGURE 6.

I assume that VP is a maximal projection. As we shall see, Interpolation may adjoin a complement to the VP node; this provides evidence for VP, if an adjunction rule may freely select any maximal projection as landing site. In §3, I will show that topic-like constituents are base-generated as adjuncts to the VP, among other maximal projections; this provides a second type of evidence for the node. Furthermore, OSp. has passive constructions (i.e. NP-movement). In exx. 4–5 and 9a, the preverbal subject is external to the VP, and is immediately dominated by S. Under similar assumptions, the *lo* in 3b does not occupy a position that satisfies the lexical requirements of *mando* 'ordered'. Rather, the Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981) requires an empty NP in the complement position of the transitive V.

If we assumed that OSp. S were flat, and lacked a VP node, the 'scrambling' effect in 3b would result from the lack of configurationality:

- (11) [S [NP *lo*] [NP *ella*] [NEG *non*] [V *mando*]]

The landing sites of Interpolation are easily identifiable as adjunctions to major categories, and the movement is always to the left; but this would not be captured by the flat analysis.

Interpolation is not a local rule permuting two strictly adjacent constituents, as seen in 3b; to treat it as adjunction captures the nature of the landing sites as well as the parallel syntactic structure of interpolated constructions and the topic-like configurations in §3.11. I conclude that the rule is 'Move α '.

Interpolation may also extract a V' complement and adjoin it to VP:

- (12) a. *Tu lazerio non ayas.*
 you suffering not have
 'Do not suffer.' (Apo. 142D)
 b. [S [NP *tu*] [VP [NP_i *lazerio*] [VP *non ayas* e_i]]]
- (13) a. *Que ellos te non digan en que puede finir.*
 that they you not say in what it.can end
 'Let them not tell you how it could end.' (Alex. 2482c[O])
 b. [S [NP *ellos*] [VP [PP_i *te*] [VP *non digan* e_i]]]

In §3.11, I discuss topic-like configurations with a base-generated constituent adjoined to the VP, and coindexed with a phrase in A-position.

As we can see, the movement rule treats clitics and non-clitics alike. In my terms, it is a rule for phrasal categories. Observe, as well, the parallel behavior of clitics and tonic complements in infinitival complements (14–15) and in clitic-climbing environments (16) with Interpolation:

- (14) *Murieron ... por lengua non refrenar.*
 they.died for tongue not to.restrain
 'They died because they did not hold their tongues.' (Cor. 268)
- (15) *... maldiziendo su conciencia por la non creer*
 ... cursing his conscience for her not to believe
 'cursing his conscience because he did not believe her' (Cor. 118)
- (16) a. *que aquel termino non puede traspasar*
 that that boundary not he.can cross
 'that he cannot cross that boundary' (Cor. 218)
 b. *que lo non podedes excusar*
 that it not can excuse
 'that you cannot excuse it' (Lib.Est. 166.33)

From now on, I will concentrate on moved clitics, to show that Interpolation, as 'Move α ', creates the binding relations associated with topicalized NP's. The phenomenon motivates the assumption that these clitics are treated like NP's by Binding Theory, whether the movement rule is located in PF or in syntax.

Interpolation allows strong crossover violations (Postal 1971, Wasow 1972) when a reflexive adjoins to S in structures with preverbal subjects—whether these are pronominals (17), quantified or indefinite expressions (18), or definite NP's (19). Examples of this type are not numerous, but can be found throughout the period and in several authors:

- (17) a. *... se aprovechan de las melezinas que son mezcladas*
 themselves profit from the medicines that are mixed
con las cosas de que se_i ellos_i pagan.
 with the things of which themselves they please
 '... they profit from the medicines which are mixed with the things they like.' (Luc. 51)
 b. [S' [COMP *de que*] [S [NP_i *se*] [S [NP_i *ellos*] [VP *pagan* e_i]]]]]

- (18) a. *vn açor ... de que se_i omne_i non duela mucho*
 a falcon of which himself man not displeas much
 'a falcon ... about which one is not too unhappy' (Juan Manuel,
 Libro de la Caza 67,4; as cited in Chenery 1905:113)
 b. [_S' [_{COMP} *de que*] [_S [_{NP_i} *se*] [[*omne*] [_{VP} *non duela e_i mucho*]]]]
- (19) a. *fasta do se_i el sol_i pon*
 up.to where itself the sun sets
 'up to where the sun sets' (Alex. 88d[O])
 b. [_S' [_{COMP} *do*] [_S [_{NP_i} *se*] [_S [_{NP} *el sol*] [_{VP} *pon e_i*]]]]

In the previous sentences, the E[mpty] C[ategory] is coindexed with a c-commanding subject, and with the reflexive in the adjoined position. Under a movement analysis, the reflexive crosses over a coreferential c-commanding NP into a non-A position.

A pronominal which adjoins to S under parallel conditions must be disjoint in reference from the preverbal subject:

- (20) *asi commo le_i el_j dezia*
 as how to.him he said 'as he said to him' (Lib.Est. 98.15)
- (21) *del dia que lo omne_j comiença a beber*
 from.the day that it/him man begins to drink
 'from the time one begins to drink it/him' (Lib.Est. 123.18)
- (22) *Brunnelos con manteca, que le_i el grand sennor_j enbia*
 Donuts with lard that to.him the great lord sends
 (Poema de Alfonso Onceno 926,4; as cited in Chenery, 122)

The OSp. clitics act like topicalized tonic forms in Modern Romance, as G. Cinque has pointed out (p.c.) In Mod.Sp., *Consigno mismo Juan no habla nunca* 'John never speaks to himself' is parallel to 19 in the relevant sense; and *Con él Juan no habla nunca* 'John never speaks with him' is like 22. The initial element behaves as if it were in the place of the EC for Binding Theory. I will outline two separate proposals, within the model of grammar in Fig. 3, which can account for this behavior; but for lack of evidence, I will not choose between them. In each case, clitics must be treated as NP's at a level other than PF, providing support for my general hypothesis.

First, it can be proposed that Interpolation is a PF rule, i.e. a stylistic movement with no SS or LF effects; in this sense, it differs from some of the focus and topic movements in the current literature. Thus Binding Theory, sensitive to SS and/or LF only, would be blind to its output. Since Interpolation moves NP or PP complements, this implies that clitics are considered NP's or PP's up to PF.

I have argued that OSp. clitics may be generated in A-position, and are categorized as NP's in the lexicon: thus they should be lexical items that can count as arguments (i.e. expressions having semantic content, as in Rizzi 1983). Then the proposal that Interpolation applies in PF has the advantage of avoiding a θ -criterion violation in 17–19, if Rizzi's algorithm for chain formation in Italian

is correct. It can be extended to strong crossover of the NP type in OSp.³ The θ -criterion specifies a one-to-one correspondence between argument chains and θ -roles. Rizzi proposes to characterize a chain as a sequence of coindexed positions such that each of them, except the last, is the closest antecedent of the following one, without skipping intervening binders.

Consider 17–19 with respect to Rizzi’s procedure for chain formation. First, the positions occupied by $\{ellos_i / omne_i / el\ sol_i\}$ and e_i are θ -positions. That occupied by se_i is a non- θ position. To comply with the θ -criterion, these structures must contain two chains; and each chain must contain a single argument. If we treat se as one argument and $\{ellos / omne / el\ sol\}$ as another, then none of the chains which could be formed would satisfy the θ -criterion. If $se_i \dots \{ellos_i / omne_i / el\ sol_i\}$ constituted a chain, there would be two arguments sharing the subject θ -role. If $\{ellos_i / omne_i / el\ sol_i\} .. e_i$ formed a chain, there would be two θ -roles and only one argument, under the usual assumption that an EC that is [+anaphor, –pronominal] (i.e. equivalent to NP-trace) is a non-argument. If a pure anaphor EC were an argument, then passive derivations would be excluded—since, in structures like *Peter_i was hit* e_i , two arguments would share one θ -role; i.e., they would belong to the same chain. Rizzi’s approach disallows the chain $se_i \dots e_i$ because the relationship between its two elements is not local: there is an intermediate binder.

Second, if Interpolation is a syntactic rule, like the usual topicalization, it must be concluded that clitics are treated like ordinary NP’s which are repositioned in θ -position by processes of LF reconstruction (Cinque 1983, Guéron 1984, Longobardi 1985) for the purposes of Binding Theory. Then OSp. clitics are moved in syntax, and reconstructed in LF, by procedures used for phrasal categories.

In conclusion, the effect of Interpolation as (a) a PF rule or (b) a syntactic movement indicates that clitics are phrasal in SS and later.

2.3. CLIMBING PHENOMENA IN OLD SPANISH. My analysis predicts that clitics and non-clitics should have the same distribution in syntax, unless additional principles intervene. Thus the proposal is rich in empirical predictions, which I will not survey. I will mention a case here that has escaped notice in the traditional literature, but I will not provide an analysis.

As expected, clitic-climbing is not reserved for non-tonic pronominals. Examples like this are numerous:

- (23) a. *quando ... Jesuchristo las sus divinales bodas quisyere*
 when Jesus the his divine wedding would.wish
celebrar
 to.celebrate
 ‘when Jesus would wish to celebrate his sacred wedding’ (Cor. 278)

³ Rizzi assumes that Italian clitics are arguments. As a reviewer points out, if that hypothesis is not accepted, then the deviance of the Italian [NP_i ... se_i ... e_i] structures, as discussed by Rizzi, does not result from a θ -criterion violation. In that case, Interpolation can be a syntactic rule in OSp.

- b. *antes que la queria cumplir*
 before that it he.wanted to. fulfill
 'before he wanted to fulfill it' (Cor. 271)

The preposed NP object in 23a and the clitic *la* in 23b are logically related to the infinitivals. Thus the mechanisms at work deal with NP's, not clitics; this is a consequence of my proposals. No special position is reserved for clitics in these constructions. Clitic and non-clitic complements after the embedded infinitive are also possible:

- (24) a. *Non quiso matar-la.*
 not he.wanted to.kill-her
 'He did not want to kill her.' (Cor. 151)
 b. *sy algunas veses quisyeres tener esta regla*
 if some times you.would.want to.have this rule
 'if you wanted to have this rule sometimes' (Cor. 71)

2.4. NON-TONIC PRONOUNS AS PHONOLOGICAL CLITICS. The phenomenon behind the hypothesis that non-tonic pronominals are phonological clitics is labeled **INCLINATION** in the traditional literature (see Staaf 1906). Non-tonic singular pronouns become enclitic on the preceding word, and apocopate through a general rule of final vowel deletion. A postverbal clitic encliticizes on the V, and loses its vowel (in 25, *firio lo* → *firio-l*):

- (25) *et el padre firio-l et maltrexo lo*
 and the father hurt-him and mistreated him (Por. 45)

Preverbal clitics encliticize on the adjacent element in 26, and reduce. The category of the preceding element is irrelevant; the apocopated clitic leans on any immediately adjacent element (see Staaf for inventories of possibilities):

- (26) a. *luego que-l fieren*
 after that-him they.hurt 'after they hurt him' (Por. 73)
 b. *No-l querades.*
 not-him you.want 'Do not want it/him.' (Por. 52)

The interaction of Interpolation with Inclination in 27 shows that the last process applies after syntactic and stylistic rules, in the PF branch:

- (27) a. *Fizo como-l el mando*
 he.did how-it he ordered
 'He acted the way he ordered it.' (Por. 31)
 b. [_S [_{COMP} *como*] [_S [_{NP_i} *lo*] [_S *él* [_V *mando* e_i]]]]

Thus, after the stylistic rules of PF, a non-tonic pronominal counts as a clitic; in this sense it is postsyntactic and phonological.

In conclusion, OSp. non-tonic pronominals are pronouns in the lexicon, in the syntax, and in the stylistic rules of PF; and they are clitics in the (postlexical) phonological component. The appropriate syntactic consequences follow from this modular characterization.

Now that I have provided motivation to consider OSp. clitics phonological, I will briefly consider a well-known constraint that restricts their distribution

as NP's or PP's, and show that it applies at the PF or postlexical phonological level.

It has been known, since neogrammarian times, that non-tonic pronouns can never stand in initial position in early Romance (Wackernagel's Law). I formulate this restriction as a filter in OSp. applying after syntactic processes and stylistic rules:

- (28) Non-tonic pronouns cannot be initial in the minimal S' that contains them.

This condition is probably unnecessary; it should follow from principles of phrasal (i.e. postlexical) phonology made sensitive to syntactic boundaries, coupled with the assumption that OSp. non-tonic pronouns can only be enclitic. However, since I will not enter this area, I show only that 28 applies in PF, and that it mentions S' as a boundary.

First, 28 must apply after all syntactic or stylistic rules—i.e., not before PF. Consider 29, which involves WH-movement, and Interpolation. The application of WH-movement makes the interpolated clitic comply with 28:

- (29) a. *Por qué me non recudes?*
 why me not you.answer
 'Why don't you answer me?' (B.Mil. 293b)
 b. [_{S'} [_{COMP} *Por que*]_i] [_S *me*]_j [_S *non recudes t_j t_i*]]

Once all movements in syntax and PF have occurred, it becomes possible to check a structure in terms of 28.

Second, S' seems to be the appropriate node for the restriction against initial position, as seen in the properties of left-dislocated structures. If no constituent intervenes between topic and verb, the clitic is usually postverbal in left dislocations (30a). Assuming that the topic is outside S' (as in 30b), the clitic position provides evidence for 28 as stated; a preverbal clitic in this type of structure would be S'-initial and violate the filter. As discussed in §3, I analyse OSp. left dislocations like 30 as proposed in Rivero 1980 for Mod.Sp., except for the characteristics of the clitic as NP:

- (30) a. [*Este mandamiento*]_i *traspasas-te-lo*_j *jamás?*
 this commandment transgress-yourself-it ever
 'This commandment, do you ever transgress it?' (Cor. 91)
 b. [_{S'} [_{TOP} *Este mandamiento*]] [_{S'} [_{COMP} *e*]] [_S [_{NP} *e*]] [_{VP} [_V *traspasas*]
te lo] *jamás*]]]

In view of my analysis of clitics in OSp., constraints on their distribution in general should be statable at the PF or postlexical phonology levels. The discussion of 28 is only one example of how such restrictions should be approached, if it is correct that clitics are phrasal categories in syntax.

3. DOUBLING CONSTRUCTIONS. I develop here an analysis of clitic doubling constructions which is consistent with the hypotheses of the previous section, and which motivates them further. I show that OSp. sentences with clitic doubling have no properties reserved for clitics per se; in this sense, they differ in several respects from similar constructions in Mod.Sp. If the proposals in

§2 are correct, this is expected. From a syntactic point of view, clitic doubling configurations—with a clitic and an NP understood to corefer, as in 31—are a subset of a very general class of doubling constructions which includes topic or focus nodes of maximal projections, left-dislocations, and WH-constructions with resumptive phrases:

- (31) *Priso lo_i al conde_i*
 he.took him the count 'He took the count.' (Cid 1012)

The doubling phenomenon is not limited to clitics, but extends to tonic pronouns, demonstratives, and epithets—i.e. the range of expressions which can function as resumptive phrases. Clitics can be base-generated in a syntactic focus/topic position in a doubling construction, as we shall see; this is expected in view of their phrasal status as NP's or PP's. However, clitics must also comply with the prohibition against being S'-initial, because of their lack of tonicity.

In §3.1, I develop the X' system of doubling constructions in detail. In §3.2, I discuss how doubling constructions comply with Case and θ -requirements for NP's.

3.1. THE X' SYSTEM OF DOUBLING CONSTRUCTIONS. I propose that doubling phrases like *al conde* in OSp. ex. 31 are topic-like or focus-like constituents, base-generated in non-A position and adjoined to a maximal projection. They are coindexed with an A-phrase at LF.

Topic-like or focus-like adjuncts attach to four maximal projections in OSp. The S'' adjunct is the TOP node of left and right dislocations. The S' adjunct is the WH-phrase in relatives and questions which use the resumptive pronoun strategy. These two types of adjuncts have partial counterparts in Mod.Sp., as we shall see. The S adjunct and the VP adjunct are focus-like constituents (i.e. topics internal to S'/S), and have no clear counterparts in the syntax of Mod.Sp. In the following sections, I examine these different adjuncts—beginning with the VP, and concluding with S''. In the discussion of the resumptive strategy in §3.13, I will consider quantified structures and their relation to doubling.

OSp. adjuncts can attach to the left or the right of a maximal projection, much like the TOP-node in the familiar left/right dislocation of many languages. It has been suggested (Chomsky 1977, 1981) that the TOP-node, and the S' to which it attaches, are related by predication, in the sense of Williams 1980. In OSp., subjects and predicates are freely ordered with respect to one another, as we see in 32. In 32a, the NP subject precedes its AP predicate; in 32b, it follows it:

- (32) a. *Tengo ya* [NP *toda mi gente*] [AP *ayuntada*].
 I.have already all my people united (Luc. 112)
 b. *Tenia* [AP *cercada*] a [NP *Sevilla*].
 he.had surrounded Seville (Luc. 120)

If doubling phrases occupy topic nodes attached to maximal projections, they have the freedom of distribution which other 'subjects' enjoy in the language.

In §3.2, I argue that doubling must be seen from the perspective of the operator/variable relation; in that case, c-command is relevant, but order is free too.

3.11. VP ADJUNCTS (i.e. VP topic or VP focus). In §2.1, I argued that, in the OSp. transitive configuration [_V V NP], where V subcategorizes NP and θ-marks it under lexical government, this last position can be occupied by an accusative clitic as one of the appropriate lexical heads for NP. Then, under the usual assumptions about strict subcategorization, *lo* in 31 is the NP occupying that A-position; and the second NP *al conde* occupies a non-θ, non-A position with respect to the V.

Stowell (95) proposes that PS rules freely generate adjuncts as sisters of maximal projections. I adopt his definition in 33, with a minor modification that allows the adjunct to precede or follow the X'' phrase, in view of the previous discussion:

- (33) In the configuration [β α β], α is a non-A with respect to β if
 - (i) γ is a projection of β , and
 - (ii) $\beta = X''$, and
 - (iii) α and β are both immediate constituents of γ .

In 31, the phrase *al conde* is a base-generated adjunct of the VP, as in Figure 7. It is not governed by V, because the internal VP node is a maximal projection

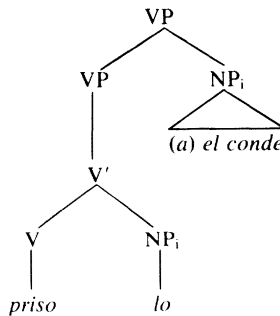


FIGURE 7.

and intervenes between the two; it occupies an ungoverned position and cannot be assigned a θ-role by V, since such assignment is effected under lexical government. In what follows, I will refer to non-A phrases in configurations like those in Fig. 7 as DOUBLING PHRASES or ADJUNCT PHRASES.

The analysis in Fig. 7 differs from the two treatments of Mod.Sp. in the recent bibliography on clitic doubling. Jaeggli 1982 and Borer 1981 consider that the doubling phrase is in A-position (it is a canonical complement); see Figure 8 for ex. 34:

- (34) ¡Enciérralo al conde! 'Jail the count!'

Hurtado 1983, 1985 treats the doubling phrase as an external phrase, not a complement, but does not propose a specific analysis. In both treatments, the clitic does not occupy an A-position in the syntactic structure; furthermore,

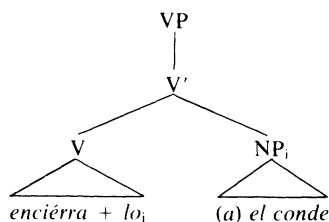


FIGURE 8.

an A-position as complement of the V is required by the Projection Principle. In view of the syntactic parallelism of tonic pronominals and clitics in OSp., the modern analyses are not viable proposals for the earlier period. In this and the following sections, I will show how the predictions of the analysis in Fig. 7 are fulfilled.

If V' is non-configurational, and if a preverbal complement position can be filled by a clitic, then 35a,c have the structure of 35b,d respectively. The clitic is the A-phrase in V', and the doubling phrase is a left VP adjunct, following the subject:

- (35) a. *Non querria que otro ninguno a ella; le; llegase.*
 not he.would.want that other none to her to.her
 would.come
 'He did not want anyone else to come to her.' (Cor. 105)
- b. *Otro ninguno* [_{VP} [_{PP} *a ella*] [_{VP} [_{V'} [_{PP} *le*] [_V *llegase*]]]]
- c. *El infante el cauallo; no-l; quiso caualgar.*
 the prince the horse not-it wanted to.ride
 'The prince did not want to ride the horse.' (Alex. 119a[O])
- d. [_S [_{NP} *El infante*] [_{VP} [_{NP} *el cauallo*] [_{VP} *no* [_{NP} *lo*] *quiso caualgar*]]]

In 35d, the adjunct cannot be case-marked by the verbal complex under lexical government, since it occupies an ungoverned position. Also, outside the VP there is no potential case-marker. I assume that this doubling phrase is caseless; I will return to this issue later.

OSp. clitics are lexical items of the NP or PP type. NP's and PP's are freely generated as base-adjuncts of maximal projections. A clitic as adjunct should then be possible, if it does not occupy a position which is S'-initial and complies with the PF filter in 28. This prediction is correct:

- (36) a. *Non te maravilles sy tu eres punido ... cada que le; a El; plaze.*
 not yourself surprise if you are punished ... each [time] that
 to.him to Him it.pleases
 'Do not be surprised if you are punished ... each time it pleases Him.' (Cor. 278)
- b. [_{S'} [_{COMP} *que*] [_{VP} [_{PP} *le*] [_{V'} [_{PP} *a El*] [_V *plaze*]]]]]

The clitic *le* is separated from the V by the coreferring phrase *a El* 'to Him'. If we follow the logic behind the analyses in Fig. 7 and in 35, *a El* occupies the preverbal A-position in V', and *le* is a left-adjunct in non-A position. The complementizer *que* allows the non-tonic *le* to comply with filter 28 in PF. Thus clitics share the distribution of other NP's and PP's in non-A position. Structures 35b and 36b once again demonstrate the parallelism of tonic and non-tonic pronominals in the syntax.

In 36, the subject is null; *le* could be treated as an adjunct of S as well (see §3.12), but this aspect does not affect the argument.

Given my analysis, the A-position in the VP need not be reserved for clitics; cf. 36 and 37. In 37a, the demonstrative *esto* is in A-position, and the declarative S is the right doubling phrase. In 37b, *las casas ...* is the left-adjunct, and *aquellas mismas* is the A-phrase, in view of the word order:

- (37) a. *Et quando ellas uieren esto_i [que uos los ueedes]_i, temer*
 and when they will.see this that you them see fear
uos an mas.
 you they.will more
 'and when they will realize that you can see them, they will fear you more.' (Por. 56)
- b. *[Las cosas que uiere en suennos]_i, [aquellas mismas]_i*
 the things that he.will.see in dreams those same
uera despierto
 he.will.see awake
 'He will see the same things he saw dreaming, when he is awake.' (Lib.Con. 240B)

The constituents with pronominal characteristics (*esto* and *aquellas mismas*) appear 'close' to the V (i.e. in subcategorized position), but this proximity cannot be attributed to the affix-like characteristics of these phrases.

In Fig. 7, the clitic is unambiguously in A-position, and the definite NP counts as the non-A phrase. Doubling examples like 2, repeated here as 38a, are open to the two analyses 38b–c:

- (38) a. *Que la_i quemén a la vieja_i ranciosa.*
 that her they.burn the old.woman rancorous
 'Let them burn the nasty old woman.' (Cor. 200)
- b. [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{NP_i} *la*] *quemén*] [_{NP_i} *a la vieja ranciosa*]]
- c. [_{VP} [_{NP_i} *la*] [_{VP} *quemén* [_{NP_i} *a la vieja ranciosa*]]]

Neither analysis conflicts with the hypothesis that clitics are NP's in syntax, and enclitic elements in PF. However, if doubling structures are topic or focus configurations, as I propose, then an additional principle intervenes in 38a (and similar cases) to select 38b as the appropriate analysis. The relationship between the topic node and the resumptive phrase does not fall under Binding Theory, but their coindexing is not free of restrictions. The TOP may contain a pronoun or a non-pronoun, but the resumptive phrase must be a pronominal (or an epithet), as in Mod.Sp.:

- (39) a. {Él_i/Juan_i}, *me dijeron que hablaron con él_i*.
 {John/him} me they.told that they.spoke with him
 b. *Él_i, *me dijeron que hablaron con Juan_i*.
- (40) a. *Francia_i, creen que vivieron allí_i*.
 France they.think that they.lived there
 b. *Allí_i, *creen que vivieron en Francia_i*.

The topic is a non-A binder or syntactic operator, while the resumptive phrase is the variable-like item which it binds. Thus the topic must c-command the resumptive phrase, and this phrase must be of an appropriate category to be treated as a variable-like element. In particular, it cannot be a definite NP functioning as a name, but it can be a pronominal. For OSp., I will argue in §3.2 that certain topics or adjuncts function as operators, while others function as the subject of a predication. In each case, the resumptive phrase must be pronominal to be treated either as a bound variable or as a variable of predication; and it must be c-commanded by the operator or the subject of the predication. In 37, then, the clitic/pronominal must be the A-phrase, while the definite NP is the non-A phrase which c-commands it. Thus 38a is open to only one analysis, namely 38b.

When pronominal clitics like *hi* 'in it, there' or *en* 'of it' enter into doubling constructions, the same principles apply. In 41, *guardar* 'to protect' subcategorizes for a PP complement. Since *en* and *de descreença* are coindexed as an instance of doubling, *en* must be assigned the A-position and the non-clitic PP must be the adjunct, in order for the c-command relationship to obtain:

- (41) a. *Las que prenden penjtença bien sse-n_i*
 those who take penitence well themselves-from.it
guarden [de descreença]_i.
 protect from disbelief
 'Let those who take penitence protect themselves carefully from disbelief.' (SME 35-6)
- b. [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{V'} [_{NP} *se*] [_{PP} *en*] [_V *guarden*]]] [_{PP} *de descreença*]]]

OSp. clitics are NP's or PP's, not bound morphemes with inflectional characteristics; in doubling, they are closely related to the V because they are pronominal. In contrast, Mod.Sp. clitics are attached to V's because they are their morphological dependents; thus the closeness of clitic and verb cannot necessarily be construed as evidence that the doubling phrase is a dislocated constituent.

Finally, the need to postulate right VP adjuncts is motivated by examples like this:

- (42) a. *Todavía las_i fallaras las mugeres_i por renconcillos*.
 still them you.will.find the women in corners
 'Still you will find the women in some corner.' (Cor. 169)
- b. [_S [_{VP} [_{V'} [_{NP} *las*] [_{VP} *fallaras*]]] [_{NP} *las mugeres*] [_{PP} *por renconcillos*]]]

Although both *las* 'them' and *las mugeres* are categories that can occupy the A-position in V', *las* must be selected as the resumptive phrase, as before.

Thus *las mugeres* is the adjunct. The PP *por renconillos* is a place complement attached to S, not a subcategorized complement under V'. Therefore *las mugeres* is a right VP adjunct, as in 42b. In such a structure, the adjunct cannot be case-marked by the V; no other element can case-mark this higher NP under lexical government. It is a caseless NP, parallel in this respect to the left adjunct in 35d.

Ex. 42a provides an interesting comparison with clitic doubling in Mod.Sp. It has been argued that Modern Romance clitics absorb case—and that, in clitic-doubling constructions like *Lo_i vi a Pedro_i* 'I saw Peter', the item *a* serves as the case-assigner for the NP in A-position. In many modern dialects, *La_i vi la mesa_i* 'I saw the table' is ungrammatical. Under the case absorption approach, this is because [_{NP}la mesa] is caseless and violates the case filter which requires NP's to be case-marked. With inanimate objects, *a* cannot appear to case-mark the NP; as a result, only animate NP's participate in doubling constructions in many varieties of Mod.Sp. In OSp., *a* is always optional. In doubling, its presence is not required—as seen in 42a, which represents a common pattern for the period. Doubling of inanimates is also frequent:

- (43) *Con su marido, su padre o sus parientes non lo_i sufriera*
 with her husband her father or her relatives not it she.suffer
tal pasar_i.
 such grief
 'She would not suffer such grief with her husband, father, or relatives.' (Cor. 190)

In both Mod.Sp. and OSp. left dislocations, the topic node requires no case-marker; it may contain a bare NP coindexed with a pronominal within a PP, as in *Juan_i, creen que hablaron con él_i* 'John_i, they think that they talked with him_i.' The topic node may contain a P identical to the head of the PP with the resumptive pronominal, as in *Con Juan_i, creen que hablaron con él_i.*

OSp. doubling phrases are syntactic topics, attaching to maximal projections within the X' system. The definite NP's *las mugeres* and *tal pasar* in 42–43 are analysed as adjuncts, while *las/lo* are the A-phrases in V' (as previously discussed). These doubling phrases require no case-markers; they are bare NP's, equivalent to the topics of left dislocation. In §3.2, I will discuss how they are licensed in the grammar. Within my proposals, 42–43 indicate that phrases in A-position are case-marked (i.e. *las/lo*), whether they are tonic or not, while those in non-A position need not be (i.e. *las mugeres*, *tal pasar*).

3.12. S ADJUNCTS (S topics). Adverbial and sentential complements that attach to S must be doubled by S (or higher-level) adjuncts, not by VP adjuncts, if the adjunct as syntactic operator is to c-command the A-phrase as resumptive element.

Consider 44 with the coindexed *hi_i ... en Uilla Algariua_i* 'there_i ... in V.A.' The V does not subcategorize for a place complement; the complement is a sentential modifier. *Hi* is the lower constituent, while *en V.A.* is the c-commanding phrase or S adjunct:

- (44) a. *Ke perdan quanto hi_i lauraren*
 that they.lose all.that there they.would.cultivate
en Uilla Algariua_i
 in V.A.
 'Let them lose everything they cultivated in V.A.' (DLE 261
 [1191])
- b. [_S [_S [_{PP_i} *hi*] [_{V_P} *lauraren*]] [_{PP_i} *en V.A.*]]

Consider further:

- (45) a. *Dixo: Le_i yo dare a esta villana_i los tornos.*
 he.said her I will.give to this lowly.woman the run-around
 'He said: I will give this lowly woman the run-around.' (Cor.
 264)
- b. [_{S'} [_S *Dixo* [_S *le_i* [_S *yo* [_{V'} *daré a esta villana_i los tornos*]]]]]]

Le is coindexed with *a esta villana*. The latter is an epithet, and adjacent to the V; thus it occupies a subcategorized position within V'. The dative clitic precedes the preverbal subject; so it can be analysed as a left S adjunct, in view of previous assumptions. How does the clitic comply with prohibition 28? In direct speech, as in 45, the verb of saying can be followed by a sentence with an initial clitic, and counts as the first element. I assume that the verb takes a bare S complement, and that *le* is not initial in the more encompassing S' structure. These factors motivate the analysis in 45b, and lead to the postulation of S adjunct positions which can be filled by clitic pronominals. Doubling is not reserved for clitics, and there are adjunct positions which c-command the subject. Thus the doubling of subject pronominals and demonstratives is predicted:

- (46) a. [*Todas las animalias*]_i; *ellas_i se gobiernan que no*
 all the animals they themselves govern that not
an mester que ninguno ge-lo aparege.
 they.have need that no.one for.them-it organize
 'All the animals, they govern themselves in a way that they need
 no organizer.' (Luc. 318)
- b. *Tovieron que iudios_i, esa falsa mesnada, ellos_i avian la*
 they.thought that Jews that false crowd they had the
carne de don Christo furtada.
 flesh of Lord Christ stolen
 'They thought that the Jews, that false crowd, they had stolen
 Christ's body.' (Gessner 1893:19)
- (47) a. [*Lo que Dios faze*]_i; *esto_i es lo mejor.*
 what God does that is the best
 'What God does, that is best.' (Luc. 21)
- b. *Essa_i sano a ambas [la que todo mal sana]_i.*
 that.one healed both the.one who all pain heals
 'That one healed both of them, the one who heals all pain.'
 (B.Mil. 783c)

The analysis for 46a is as in 48a; and 47b corresponds to 48b, given all previous assumptions:

- (48) a. [_S [_{NP_i} *todas las animalias*] [_S [_{NP_i} *ellas*] [_{VP} *se gobiernan*]]]
 b. [_S [_S [_{NP_i} *essa*] [_{VP} *sano a ambas*]] [_{NP_i} *la que todo mal sana*]]

Todas las animalias and *la que todo mal sana* could be treated as topic nodes under *S'* with no ill effects (see §3.14); however, as I show now, the grammar must provide adjuncts that necessarily attach lower than *S'*; thus the option is also available for 46a and 47b.

In this connection, consider 49a; I will demonstrate that its doubling phrase *por la montanya* cannot be attached to *S''*, but must attach to a lower node:

- (49) a. [*Por la montanya*]_i *se-n_i metio*.
 through the mountain herself-in.it she.put
 'She traveled across the mountain.' (SME 1414)
 b. [_S [_S [_{PP_i} *Por la montanya*] [_S [_{NP} *e*] [_{VP} [_{V'} *se* [_{PP_i} *en*] *metio*]]]]]]]

The initial PP and the preverbal clitic *en* are coindexed. Since the clitics are preverbal, the only element that precedes them, the PP, must be the first constituent inside the *S'*. If the PP were outside *S'*, the position of the clitics would violate filter 28 in PF. If we assume that the COMP position is reserved for phrases with the WH-feature (Chomsky 1981:115, Kayne 1983:110), then the PP in 49a cannot be attached higher than *S*, as indicated.

3.13. *S'* ADJUNCTS (the COMP position). Constructions containing an overt WH-phrase and a coindexed lexical phrase, under the so-called resumptive pronoun strategy, are common in OSp. To provide a detailed treatment of the strategy is beyond the scope of this paper, and I will leave unmentioned many recent proposals in this area. I will show only that resumptive pronoun constructions are doubling configurations from the viewpoint of their syntax. I have already demonstrated that clitics and tonic pronominals are equivalent in categorial specification in OSp.; so I assume no distinction between resumptive clitic and resumptive pronoun strategies at this point.

If the resumptive pronoun/clitic constructions are a subset of the doubling configurations, then their WH-phrases must be base-generated in situ in non-A position; this I label COMP, without further discussion. As we shall see, the coindexing between the WH-phrase and the resumptive item is not sensitive to Subjacency (Bounding Theory). If Subjacency is a property of 'Move α ' in syntax, this shows that the WH-phrase is base-generated in situ in Deep Structure. The resumptive phrase is not the spell-out of a trace, but a base-generated clitic/non-clitic pronominal, or an epithet (see Gessner 1894:461 for examples)—coindexed with the adjunct WH-phrase at LF (non-A binding); cf. §3.2. As I show, the WH-phrase exhibits the characteristics of other adjuncts. In particular, it can be a bare NP coindexed with a resumptive phrase with morphological case, or contained in a PP; it can also be a PP coindexed with an identical PP as resumptive phrase, or a WH-phrase with the same morphological case as the resumptive item.

The resumptive pronoun strategy is a central aspect of the syntax of OSp., because it is one of the results of the regular system of X' principles for the base generation of adjuncts. In recent discussions (cf. Chao & Sells 1983), a distinction is made between languages which use resumptive pronouns marginally, to avoid island violations, and those which use them generally. OSp. clearly belongs to the second category, as shown by examination of the examples in this section. Why should a language have a resumptive pronoun strategy as central? In OSp., the productive aspect of the strategy follows from the independently required system of doubling at different levels of X', and from its syntactic properties. If no special stipulations are added to the resumptive pronoun strategy in connection with WH-phrases, we expect resumptive pronouns in questions (50) and relatives (51), in positions which are accessible to movement. (Resumptive pronouns are also used when movement is disallowed; see 53):

- (50) *Que cate ... que merescimientos et que servicio ha*
 that he.consider what merits and what services he.has
fecho et quales_i los_i puede fazer de alli en
 performed and which.ones them he.can perform from there in
adelante.
 advance
 'Let him consider ... what merits and services he has performed
 and which ones he will be able to perform in the future.' (Lib.Est.
 156.27)
- (51) a. *las cosas [en que]_i non se podria y_i poner consejo*
 the things in which not one could there put advice
ninguno
 none
 'the things where one could not put any advice (there)' (Gessner
 1893:20)
- b. *muchos caballos [de los cuales]_i los señores dellos_i yacian*
 many horses of the which the owners of.them lay
muertos en el campo
 dead on the field
 'many horses whose owners lay dead on the battlefield' (Gessner
 1894:456)

In 50, the question word *quales* is coindexed with the complement of *fazer*, i.e. *los*. In 51a, *en que* relates to the place complement of *poner*. In 51b, the PP *de los cuales* is coindexed with a possessive complement; the structure complies with Subjacency if NP and S' are bounding nodes, but S is not: [_S [_{COMP} *de los cuales*]_i] [_S [_{NP} *los señores dellos*]_i] ...] (see 53, however).

In the previous section, it was seen that subject pronominals can be doubled. Many languages seem to have prohibitions in relation to subjects and the resumptive strategy. Since I assume that, in OSp., the resumptive strategy is a subcase of doubling, constructions like 52, to be compared with 46, motivate the proposed parallelism:

- (52) *la cual_i luego que salieron aquellos caballeros, ella_i quiso*
 who after that left those gentlemen she wanted
entrar
 to. enter

'who wanted to go in, after those gentlemen left' (Gessner 1893:19)

Examples of relative clauses with *que* 'that' in the COMP, and overt subject pronouns as resumptive items, are also attested.

Resumptive phrases are not subject to island conditions in OSp., as seen in 53. The relative *el qui* 'who' is followed by a structure with no vacant extraction site. Instead, the sentence contains a possessive *su* 'his' which must be co-indexed with the relative; this is the resumptive strategy. Two NP nodes, which are bounding, intervene between the possessive and the COMP. I assume that the resumptive phrase and the WH-phrase are both base-generated in situ; since the doubling-resumptive strategy does not involve 'Move α ', it is not sensitive to Subjacency as a condition on movement rules.⁴

- (53) a. *Es el qui ouiere en la rayz de su nacencia*
 he.is the.one who there.would.be in the root of his birth
la Luna.
 the moon

'He is the person who the Moon would be in the root of his birth.' (Lib.Con. 187B)

- b. [_S [_{COMP} [_{NP} *qui_i*]] [_S *ouiere en* [_{NP} *la rayz de* [_{NP} *su_i nacencia*]]
la Luna]]]

Chomsky 1982 proposes that resumptive pronouns are coindexed with an operator phrase at LF; they are then interpreted as bound variables, and escape island conditions. I assume that this treatment—which I label the operator/resumptive strategy—is applicable to OSp. For Chomsky, gaps which are the result of 'Move α ' in syntax are to be distinguished from resumptive pronouns, since they are subject to island conditions.⁵ This dichotomy is questioned in some recent discussions of the resumptive strategy (cf. Zaenen et al. 1981,

⁴ I interpret 53 as 'the one_i such that the Moon would be in the root of his_i birth', and this is crucial for the argument. The OSp. verb *aver* (i.e. *ouiere* in 53) has two uses. As an impersonal, it is equivalent to modern *haber* as in *Hay dos niños* 'There are two children', with *dos niños* as object. As a personal verb, it correlates with active possession, or an activity leading to possession, in the sense of 'obtain'. *Tener* 'to have' is used for the passive, for permanent possession, and for states. In 53, *ouiere* is impersonal, since the sentence refers to the situation or state under which an individual is born. In other words, the example does not contain a null personal subject of *ouiere* coindexed with *qui* in COMP. Under such an analysis, the interpretation would be 'the one who would have the Moon in the root of his birth', and Subjacency would not be violated.

⁵ Chomsky 1982 also suggests that resumptive strategies may relate to predication, rather than quantification. When no overt WH-phrase as operator is present in COMP, the antecedent and the relative clause may be treated as a subject-predicate structure, with the resumptive phrase as the variable of predication. This second treatment, which I label the predication/resumptive strategy, may perhaps be required for OSp. relatives, in addition to the one discussed in the text. Consider (a) below; if this structure contains no WH-phrase in COMP, but the complementizer *que*, then it is not a doubling construction in our sense:

Georgopoulos 1984); the suggestion is that the binding of resumptive pronouns and of gaps results from similar operations.

I have not studied the properties of different EC's or gaps in OSp. However, in extensive studies of relative clauses with gaps (Rivero 1984, 1986), I found no violations of Subjacency. As a consequence, I tentatively conclude that OSp. WH-constructions—and, in particular, relatives and questions—are formed by two familiar strategies: (a) movement in syntax, as proposed in Rivero 1984 for the structures discussed there; and (b) a non-movement strategy with resumptive phrases, interpreted as an operator-variable relationship at LF, as discussed in this paper. This last strategy is doubling from a syntactic perspective.⁶

Adjuncts may be caseless, or may mirror the morphological case of the A-phrase with which they are coindexed. WH-adjuncts share this property, as seen in the contrast between 54 and 55. In addition, 55 doubles a demonstrative subject pronoun:

- (54) a. *Aquella yente qui_i en aquel signo es su_i acedent o su_i
 those people who in that sign is their ascendant or their
decima casa seran uencidos.
 tenth house will.be defeated
 'Those people whose ascendant or tenth house are in that sign
 will be defeated.' (Cruz 66B)*
- b. [NP [NP *aquella yente*] [S' [COMP [NP *qui_i*]] [S *en aquel signo es su_i
 acedent*]]]
- (55) a. *Iudga que aquel cuyo_i so_i significador fuere
 consider that that.one whose his signifier would.be
entrando al ascendente del otro, aquel guerreara.
 entering the ascendant of.the other that.one will.fight
 'Concerning the one whose signifier would be entering the as-
 cendant of the other, think that he will fight.' (Lib.Con. 112B)*
- b. [NP [NP *aquel*] [S' [COMP *cuyo_i*] [S *so_i significador fuere ...*]]]

The previous examples contain overt relatives in COMP, no gap in the relative

-
- (a) *Algunos avie d'ellos que_i les_i pesava d'esto.*
 some there.were of-them that to.them it.pained of-it
 'There were some of them whom this pained.' (B.S.Dom. 90d)

I return in the next section to the distinction between the operator/resumptive strategy and the predication/resumptive strategy, but not in relation to relatives.

⁶ Further motivation for this proposal would require research in areas beyond the scope of this paper, such as across-the-board phenomena and parasitic gaps. In this respect, the examples cited in the traditional bibliography are inconclusive, and seem to point toward opposite results.

Across-the-board violations are attested; e.g., there are relatives with a gap in one conjunct, and a resumptive phrase in the other. In view of a similar situation in Swedish, Zaenen et al. have proposed a parallel treatment of resumptive pronouns and gaps.

Chomsky 1982 proposes that traces of 'Move α ' be treated differently from resumptive pronouns, because the first license parasitic gaps, while the second do not. Although Gessner cites examples with parasitic gaps in OSp., he does not seem to have found resumptive pronouns licensing parasitic gaps. Since I have not examined the properties of OSp. EC's outside WH-constructions, I cannot evaluate these phenomena.

clause, and resumptive possessives. In 54, the relative is a bare NP *qui* 'who', which I consider caseless. The form is not in the genitive, and in this respect differs morphologically with the possessive *so* 'his' with which it is coindexed; thus there is no case transmission or case inheritance between the resumptive phrase and the WH-phrase. The relative is next to its antecedent NP; but since N's are not case-assigners, *qui* could not be case-marked across the S' boundary.⁷ Then 54 is equivalent to 35b–d, 37b, 42, 46, and 47 in offering a caseless adjunct coindexed with a phrase occupying a position receiving lexical case.

In 55, the relative is a genitive form, and mirrors the morphological case of the resumptive item. A WH-adjunct mirroring the PP structure of the resumptive phrase was given in 51b. These WH-constructions are then equivalent to 31, 35a–b, 36, 38, 41, 44, 45, and 49.

The resumptive strategy is productive. It is not restricted to relatives without overt WH-phrases in COMP, but applies to all types of relatives and to questions. Among other positions, it applies to subjects. The strategy is not sensitive to Bounding Theory, and is not restricted to positions where movement is disallowed. WH-phrases connected with resumptive items can be caseless, or can mirror the case of the resumptive phrase, like other base adjuncts. In my view, this shows that the general characteristics of doubling constructions are found, with no restriction, in the resumptive clitic/pronoun strategy. The specific properties of the resumptive strategy vis-à-vis other doubling constructions do not derive from its syntax, but from LF properties—and from the distinction between adjuncts which are operators and those which are not, as seen in §3.2.

A brief comparison of WH-constructions with clitics, and their current treatment in Mod.Sp., will highlight some of the differences between the two periods. Consider this much debated example:

- (56) ¿A *quién*_i *lo*_i *vió*?
 who him he.saw 'Whom did he see?'

Jaeggli judges this deviant. He considers it a violation of the E[mpty] C[ategory] P[rinciple]; the clitic *lo* absorbs the government feature of the verb *vió*, leaving the postverbal complement position ungoverned. WH-extraction is impossible because the empty element left behind is not properly governed—and the ECP stipulates that it MUST be. Borer (1981:258 ff.) correlates the ungrammaticality of 56 with the lack of case agreement between the EC left in the extraction site and the clitic, rather than to a prohibition on extraction. In her account, the clitic is a proper governor for the EC. She assumes that *a* assigns dative case; when the object WH-phrase is extracted, it leaves a dative trace properly governed by an accusative clitic. Coindexed governors must agree in case with the empty elements which they properly govern; so 56 is ill-formed. For Aoun

⁷ Also, I have found no evidence that a V can assign objective case across a single S-type boundary in OSp.—contrary to what Kayne 1981 proposes for French examples such as *Quel garçon crois-tu être le plus intelligent de tous?* 'Which boy do you believe to be the most intelligent of all?' In this respect, OSp. appears identical to Mod.Sp. in lacking the phenomenon. Therefore I assume that the question word *quales* in 50 is caseless too; in particular, it is not case-marked by the transitive verb *cate* 'consider', across the S'-boundary.

1981, an accusative clitic absorbs θ -role, and 'demotes' the basic position occupied by the doubled phrase from A to non-A status. Movement out of a non-A position is prohibited, so the postverbal position in 56 is inaccessible to 'Move α '. These three approaches concentrate on the effect of the non-A clitic on the empty A-position, and omit discussion of non-movement analyses. If my proposals are correct, the above options are not available in OSp. During that period, 56 contains no EC to be treated as an extraction site. Rather, I approach 56 from the perspective of the resumptive strategy as non-movement. If this strategy is available for questions, the unattested 56 should nevertheless count as grammatical in the Middle Ages. We have reason to believe that this would be a correct conclusion, in view of the attested example in 50.

Hurtado 1985, among others, judges sentences like 56 to be grammatical. He proposes that *a quién* is base-generated in situ, not extracted; the clitic is coindexed with an EC in the complement position. This non-movement approach raises the issue of the parallelism/difference of resumptive vs. doubling clitics—a topic which has not been explicitly discussed. In my view, these different judgments and treatments indicate that the relationship between doubling and resumptive constructions in Mod.Sp. may be quite tenuous, and open to various analyses: it depends on the connection between the lexical phrase in non-A position, the non-A clitic, and the EC in A-position. These distinctions are not possible in OSp., since the constructions involve a pronoun in A-position, not an EC partially defined by a linking clitic in non-A position.

Quantified NP's in doubling constructions raise similar issues. In this area, too, grammaticality judgments are insecure in Mod.Sp.; in part, this could be the result of the interplay of factors mentioned for WH-constructions. Jaeggli (p. 47) judges the following to be ungrammatical in the variety he discusses:

- (57) *Las_i vi a [todas las chicas]_i.*
 them I.saw all the girls 'I saw all the girls.'

He proposes that Quantifier Raising applies to the quantifier phrase in complement position; this leaves an ungoverned EC ruled out by the ECP, applying at LF. Also assuming that the sentence is deviant, Aoun proposes that the clitic absorbs θ -role, demoting the complement position to non-A status, and making it inaccessible to extraction. Hurtado 1985 finds 57 well-formed, and assumes that the doubling phrase *todas las chicas* is the subject of the structure [*las_i vi e_j*] taken as predicate. Since, in the predication relation, subjects must be referential, only the subset of quantifiers which are amenable to a 'referential' treatment can appear in doubling.

Let us consider the following OSp. examples from these different perspectives:

- (58) a. *Los_i mando punir a todos aquellos_i que fornicio*
 them he.ordered punished all those who fornication
cometian.
 committed
 'He ordered someone to punish all of those who fornicated.'
 (Cor. 47)

- b. *Querria dezir que non lo; avia ninguno; tan*
 he.would.want to.say that not him there.was anybody so
osado.
 daring

'He probably meant that there was no one so daring.' (Cor. 220)

Example 58a is similar to 57 in the relevant aspect. In my analysis, *a todos aquellos* occupies a non-A position. If we assume, with Aoun, that non-A positions are inaccessible to extraction,⁸ then Quantifier Raising cannot apply to this quantifier phrase in OSp. either. However, in the proposed system, scope properties can be derived from the surface position of the doubling phrase, with no need to S-adjoin the QP in LF. Hence this characteristic need not cause ungrammaticality; *todos aquellos* can be a VP, S, or S'' adjunct. Thus it can be assumed that a doubling QP is freely generated in any adjunct position within the X' system. Since scope is derived from SS position, certain adjunctions are filtered out at LF, and disallowed in the grammar. Evidence in favor of this proposal is provided by the clitic-V order in sentences with left-doubling QP's like 59—a very frequent pattern:

(59) a. *A todos; los; solto.*

all them he.freed

'He freed them all.' (Cid 2164)

b. [S/VP [NP, *a todos*] [S/VP [V' [NP, *los*] [V *solto*]]]

In 59a, the clitic precedes the V. This order implies that *a todos* must be inside the S' structure—since, as we have seen, there is a PF prohibition against a clitic being S'-initial. If the COMP is reserved for WH-phrases, then the QP is attached to S or to VP (see 59b). Thus we have evidence that, at a level of representation which feeds PF, OSp. QP's in doubling constructions occupy positions appropriate for LF scope. I conclude that these doubling phrases do not undergo movement in LF; thus ECP considerations and the prohibition against extraction play no role.

Let us turn to 58b. Although its modern equivalent is ungrammatical for me (*No había ninguno tan osado* vs. **No lo había ninguno tan osado*), the structure appears unexceptional in the OSp. grammar, since it combines characteristics already discussed. First, *ninguno* is in non-A position, but need not undergo QR. Second, since adjuncts can be caseless, *ninguno* can be a doubling phrase from this perspective, even though it is a bare NP. Third, OSp. has a widespread operator/resumptive strategy, escaping the requirement that the doubling phrase be referential. For instance, I assume that 50 shows a (non-referential) operator-bound variable relationship, and that *quales* is not linked to the following S by the rule of predication. Sentence 50 is then equivalent to 58b. Both structures have operators in base positions which are appropriate for scope

⁸ See also Huang 1982 on the impossibility of extraction out of positions which are not properly governed. Since adjuncts are ungoverned, extractions out of them should also be barred. Alternatively, if movement applies blindly, a trace left in non-A position cannot function as a variable (Chomsky 1981). Thus an adjunct QP must be coindexed with an A-position to avoid vacuous quantification.

later in LF; those operators are bare NP's (i.e. caseless), and cannot be considered referential (i.e., the structure does not involve predication, but quantification).

3.14. S'' ADJUNCTS (the TOP adjunct). These adjuncts occupy the topic node in the familiar left (or right) dislocation construction. There are two types of evidence to postulate adjuncts higher than S' (i.e. the TOP node under S'' in Chomsky 1977; cf. Rivero 1980 for Mod.Sp.)

First consider 60. The complementizer *que*, intervening between the doubling phrase *estas costellaciones* 'these constellations' and the following clause, indicates that these left adjuncts are higher than S', as in 60b:

- (60) a. *Digo que estas costellaciones_i; que estos omnes dizen que*
 I.say that these constellations, that these men say that
les_i deuemos parar mientes.
 to.them we.must stop minds
 'I say: these constellations which these men mention, we must pay attention to them.' (Cruz 10B)
- b. *Digo* [S' [COMP *que*] [S'' [TOP *estas costellaciones*] [S' [COMP *que*] [S *estos omnes dizen ...*]]]]

Second, in left dislocations, a clitic is usually postverbal, if no material intervenes between topic and V':

- (61) [*Mi cuerpo i mj alma*]_i *acomjendo-lo_i a ti.*
 my body and my soul I.entrust-it to you
 'I entrust my body and my soul to you.' (SME 1325)

The position of *lo* here suggests that the doubling phrase is in S'', i.e. outside the S' boundary; this forces the clitic to appear after the V *acomjendo*, which is the first constituent in S', complying with 28.

As before, there are no restrictions on the doubling of overt subjects, even when the topic is quantificational:

- (62) a. *Et siempre tiene verdaderamente en su talante que*
 and always he.has truly in his mind that
[qualquier cosa que yo haga]_i; que aquello_i es lo mejor.
 any thing that I do that that is the best
 'He truly thinks that whatever I do, that is the best thing.' (Luc. 174)
- b. [S' [COMP *que*] [S'' [TOP *qualquier cosa_i ...*] [S' [COMP *que*] [S *aquello_i es lo mejor*]]]]
- c. *Ca bien cred que [quantos a este trebejo se*
 because well believe that all.who to this enterprise themselves
meten con los moros]_i; que son ellos_i en grant peligro.
 put with the Moors that are they in great danger
 'Because you should realize that all those who undertake this enterprise with the Moors, they are in great danger.' (Lib.Est. 150)

TOP adjuncts require no Case; this is seen in 60, 62, and in 63 below. In 60 and 62, the topic is protected from the matrix transitive V by the S' and S'' boundaries, so no Case-marking from this upper position applies (cf. fn. 7). In relation to the lower structure, the TOP occupies an ungoverned position:

- (63) *E ella_i que le_i plogo de lo faser.*
 and she that to.her it.pleased of it to.do
 'And she, it pleased her to do it.' (Cor. 80)

Here the bare topic *ella* is coindexed with the dative form *le* 'to her'. These characteristics of topics are shared by all other adjuncts, as we have seen.

3.2. THE LICENSING OF DOUBLING NP'S. In doubling constructions in OSp., a lexical phrase with pronominal features is base-generated in A-position, and receives Case and θ -role under lexical government. The doubling phrase occupies an ungoverned adjunct position, so it cannot receive Case or θ -role under government.

The relationship between a doubling phrase and a pronominal is not subject to Subjacency; the two phrases are coindexed at the level of LF, and escape island conditions. The coindexing relates non-A phrases, without an index, to A-positions (as proposed by Chomsky 1981). The doubling NP is the non-A binder; and it c-commands the resumptive element—in the shape of a clitic or a tonic pronominal—as the A-bindee. Under this analysis, no special indexing mechanism, such as co-superscripting, is reserved for doubling. Also, non-A positions at the different levels, including S'', receive similar treatments.

Chomsky 1984 proposes a principle of Full Interpretation, ensuring that every constituent has a function in the sentence. In LF, each maximal projection must be licensed by some appropriate interpretation; in particular, this can be achieved through subcategorization, predication, or quantification. From this perspective, let us consider how the two coindexed phrases in the OSp. doubling constructions in §3.1 are licensed. I pay particular attention to the mechanisms which allow NP adjuncts to be caseless.

Resumptive phrases—including the clitics or non-tonic pronominals in the so-called clitic doubling constructions—are licensed through subcategorization for unmoved NP's in the standard way. Doubling phrases must be licensed in the same way as focus-like and topic-like constituents in constructions containing no gap, and involving no syntactic movement. In my view, there are two procedures to license such constituents in OSp.: predication and quantification, as determined by the lexical characteristics of the doubling phrase. Both these mechanisms allow a focus or topic-like NP to be caseless; as we have seen, this property is shared by all adjuncts, from the left topic of the usual left-dislocation to the right topic of the usual clitic doubling construction.

First, if the doubling phrase or topic contains a referential expression, e.g. a definite NP or a proper name, it is treated as the subject of a predication (cf. Williams). The procedure is suggested by Chomsky 1977 (and later work) to license the topic of a left dislocation; it is used by Hurtado 1985 (and related work) for clitic doubling in Mod.Sp. I use 'referential' in the same sense as

Guéron (153): 'interpretable as denoting an individual whose existence in the world of the discourse is independent of the truth value of the sentential predicate'.

Under the assumptions which follow, the subject of a predication need not be case-marked. Chomsky 1981 (and later work), adopting an idea originally proposed by Aoun, assumes that an element is visible for θ -marking only if it is assigned Case. This Visibility Condition eliminates the case filter as an independent principle, and reduces it to the θ -criterion. As Chomsky points out (1984:131), the Visibility Condition does not require case assignment to an NP that is not θ -marked. Under this perspective, the two bracketed NP's in [*John*], *I consider him [a fine mathematician]* need not be assigned Case. The first one functions as the subject of the following S, taken as predicate; the second is itself a predicate. Thus it must be assumed that predication does not necessarily involve θ -role assignment. In particular, the semantic relationship between the topic *John* and the following S' is not a θ -relation. It is often suggested that an antecedent and a relative clause are related by predication; again, this connection does not appear to establish a θ -relation in the usual sense. Also, θ -roles are assigned to A-positions; since the topic node is a non-A position, predication in these types of structures does not involve θ -marking. If we adopt these different assumptions, it is not necessary for *John* to receive Case derivatively from the resumptive *him*; in other words, *John* is not licensed as the head of the chain which is assigned a θ -role through the visible foot containing *him*. As Chomsky points out, Visibility would then be required for θ -marking, but not (just) for predication.

John counts as an expression with semantic content: an argument. Therefore, arguments which are base-generated in positions which are not θ -marked can be licensed through predication, even though they do not comply with the θ -criterion.

Let us now turn to the OSp. constructions in §3.1. If the predication mechanism applies to referential doubling phrases, regardless of the maximal projection to which they attach, similar consequences follow. In my analysis, ex. 43 (partially repeated here as 64) and ex. 63 are parallel to the English example just discussed:

- (64) *non lo_i sufriera [tal pasar]_i*
 'she would not suffer it, such grief' (Cor. 180)

Tal pasar in 43 and *ella* in 63 are topics equivalent to *John*; so they need not be assigned Case. *Lo* in 43 and *le* in 63 are equivalent to *him*; they carry Case and θ -role.

This treatment implies that OSp. demonstrative and personal pronouns (whether clitics or tonic forms) receive a unitary classification as lexical items: they are treated as arguments, in the absolute sense of the term, not as expletives or non-arguments.

When pronominals occupy an A-position in constructions with no doubling, the evidence is quite clear. For instance, OSp. has no lexical category for expletive positions such as the French non-argument *il* in *Il semble que Jean*

soit là 'It seems that John is here' (see Kayne 1983 for relevant discussion). In complement position, OSp. clitics do not form a chain with an EC in A-position, as argued in §2. Thus there can be no vacillation as to whether the clitic or the EC is the expression computed as the argument in the chain. The clitic is the argument in the (one-member) chain, much like tonic pronominals and demonstratives.

For doubling constructions, I advocate an analysis which preserves unchanged the argumental nature of pronominals. When the doubling phrase is a tonic pronominal (as in 63 or a clitic (as in the various examples in §3.1), then it counts as a referential NP—an argument—and is licensed through predication, as discussed for other referential topics. The resumptive phrases (including clitics) are pronominals which function as arguments too. In brief, if my proposals are correct, lexical pronouns are never expletive (i.e. non-arguments) in OSp.

In previous sections, we saw that OSp. doubling phrases and other topics can be, but need not be, referential expressions (i.e. arguments). Since predication is a licensing mechanism for this type of expression only, another device is at work for non-referential doubles. The question word *quales* 'which ones' in 50 and the negative quantifier *ninguno* 'no one, nobody' in 58 do not enter into the predication relation with the maximal projection to which they are attached. Rather, these doubling phrases are interpreted as operators at LF; the resumptive phrase is the variable which they bind, and it occupies the position where Case and θ -role are assigned. The so-called resumptive pronoun strategy cuts across left dislocations, focus constructions, and WH-constructions, as we have already seen. I have adopted the proposal that the Case Filter is a condition on θ -marking. A doubling NP, interpreted as operator, then requires no Case assignment or Case transmission. Visibility is not required for quantification, but only for θ -marking.

The two treatments which I have outlined are based on the observed lack of restrictions on the referential or non-referential nature of doubling phrases and other topics in OSp. They receive independent motivation from an additional characteristic which distinguishes the two. If adjunct positions are freely generated for maximal projections, then multiple doubling phrases are predicted. In fact, constructions in which several adjuncts are coindexed with one A-phrase, as in 65, are common. Here the infinitival clause and *esto* 'this' are the two adjuncts coindexed with *lo* in A-position:

- (65) *En [amar onbres de poca manera]_i fazen-lo_i esto_i por una de*
in [to.love men of little manner] they.do-it this in one of
dos maneras.
 two ways

'To love men little, they do this in one of two ways.' (Cor. 81)

The adjuncts cannot be of the operator type in multiple doubling. In contrast with 65, cases with several interrogative or relative WH-phrases as adjuncts coindexed with a unique A-phrase, or resumptive item, are not attested. I propose that the prohibition against vacuous operators at LF (Chomsky 1982)

is behind this difference. The principle forbidding vacuous quantification implies that, in LF, each operator must bind a distinct variable. If two or more WH-adjuncts were coindexed with the same A-phrase, there would be vacuous quantification. In view of 65, I suppose that no equivalent principle applies to predication; several subjects may relate to the same variable of predication (i.e. *lo* in 65).

4. CONCLUSION. OSp. and Modern Romance clitics have very different syntactic properties. In OSp., non-tonic pronouns are pronominals in the lexicon and the syntax; as such, they have the properties of heads of maximal projections. In particular, no positions are reserved for 'clitics' in PS, and no movement rules cater to them exclusively. Non-tonic pronouns are CLITICS in the PF component, and are restricted in their distribution because of their lack of tonicity at that level.

In doubling constructions, clitics have the same properties as other pronouns in syntax and LF. The common characteristics of tonic and non-tonic pronouns and demonstratives is captured by an analysis that treats the clitic, tonic pronoun, or demonstrative as a phrase in A-position, and the doubling phrase as a topic or focus constituent licensed through predication or quantification.

With this analysis, I return to the comparison of Old and Modern Spanish, and the differences in the determination of what I have labeled the clitic parameter. In OSp., the parameter is defined by the existence of a rule of clisis which makes a non-tonic pronoun phonologically dependent on an immediately adjacent item, regardless of its syntactic/morphological category.⁹ The rule is based on tonicity, not on lexical features; and it must apply after syntactic and stylistic rules exclusively. This type of cliticization is unrelated to word formation in morphology; it lacks the properties of compounding, derivation, or affixation. Also, OSp. clitics correspond to both subcategorized and non-subcategorized complements, and do not necessarily mirror material specified in the lexical frames of V's.

Mod.Sp. has no clisis rule which is blind to syntactic or morphological categorial information, but sensitive to tonic factors. Borer (1984:15–27) views present-day clitics from the perspective of inflectional relations in the morphological system.¹⁰ The clitic parameter is defined by the existence of a rule of word formation which involves the transfer of the lexical feature Case from the V to the clitic. The rule is based on material present in the entry of the V, and cannot alter lexical specifications; thus it resembles more traditional inflectional rules. If we contrast Borer's proposals with the present analysis of OSp., then the differences follow from the phonological rule which makes clitics into dependents of a host element in the old period, and from the inflectional

⁹ OSp. clitics share the properties of Nghanhcara and Kwakwala enclitics (see Klavans 1985: 104–7).

¹⁰ Some analyses of Modern Romance clitic constructions appear incompatible with this assumption. For instance, if clitics are arguments in non-A position in a syntactic chain (cf. Rizzi), they must be syntactic items, unless the outer layers of morphological structure are transparent for certain syntactic principles.

rule which treats those clitics as morphological dependents of a verb in the present period.

CITATIONS

Alex. (strophe, verse)	El libro de Alexandre (Willis 1965)
Apo. (strophe, verse)	El libro de Apollonio (Marden 1965)
B.Mil. (strophe, verse)	Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora (Dutton 1971)
B.S.Dom. (strophe, verse)	La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos (Dutton 1978)
B.S.Or. (strophe, verse)	La vida de Santa Oria (Marden 1928)
Cid (line)	Cantar de Mio Cid (Menéndez Pidal 1964)
Cor. (page)	Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho (González Muela 1970)
Cruz (page, column)	Libro de las cruces (Kasten & Kiddle 1961)
DLE (number, [year])	Documentos lingüísticos de España (Menéndez Pidal 1966)
Lib.Con. (page, column)	Libro conplido (Hilthy 1954)
Lib.Est. (page, line)	Libro de los estados (Tate & Macpherson 1974)
Luc. (page)	El Conde Lucanor (Blecuca 1984)
Por. (page)	Poridadat de los Poridades (Kasten 1957)
SME (line)	La vida de Santa María Egipcíaca (Andrés Castellanos 1964)

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