Mesocliticization and Clitic Climbing in Old Romance
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0. This paper will show how a comparative perspective and the additional data of Old Catalan shed a different light at mesocliticization and clitic climbing in Old Romance, and at the change of these phenomena with respect to Modern Romance.

1. Mesocliticization and clitic climbing are generally taken as evidence in favour of the Tobler-Mussafia law and thus on the ban of clitic first orders in Old Romance. Authors working on mesocliticization have interpreted it as a straightforward evidence for the ban on initial clitics, arguing that since the ban on clitic-first orders was no longer active at the beginning of the 16th century, no more last-resort movement of the infinitive was needed in order to protect clitics from appearing in first position; thus mesocliticization was not longer available from the 16th century onwards (Barbosa 1993; Roberts 1993; Silva-Villar 1995; Lema and Rivero 1990). The same constraint has been held responsible for the obligatory clitic climbing out of the infinitival clause in Old French (Martineau 1988; Pearce 1990): since the presence of a weak pronoun in the initial position of the subordinate clause was forbidden, the clitic needed to climb out of this clause. As soon as the ban on clitic first orders disappeared clitic climbing in French stopped, and clitics are now forced to stay with the infinitive. With respect to the other Old Romance languages it is claimed that those languages that still allow for clitic climbing in the modern languages allowed for clitic climbing already in the medieval period: “Patterns such as Yo quiero comerlo and Yo lo quiero comer (I want to eat it) are attested from the earliest documents” (Rivero 1991: 241). The optional clitic climbing out of the subordinate phrase during the medieval period is explained by the phrasal character of the clitic pronoun and clitic climbing in the medieval period is analysed comparable to the scrambling analyses proposed for the weak pronouns of the Germanic languages.

2. Old Catalan contradicts the existing analyses. With respect to mesocliticization I found examples in which the infinitive is preceded by another constituent (1), and also examples with the order Infinitive – Cl – Aux in subordinate sentences (2). A last resort movement of the verb in order to protect the clitic to appear in initial position is clearly not necessary in these sentences. Furthermore, the difference between the two types of future construction should not be explained by the ban on clitic first orders since the verb that is constructed synthetically is also attested to precede - and thus protect - the clitic (3).

With respect to clitic climbing I found in all medieval texts of my corpus in all causative and control configurations that all clitic elements have climbed out of the infinitival clause. (4) is an examples of an control verb, (5) of a causative configuration. My data leads to the conclusion that Old Catalan clitic climbing has to be seen as being obligatory rather than as being optional, even though clitic climbing is optional in Modern Catalan. However, it cannot be the constraint on clitic-first orders that Martineau (1988) holds responsible for the obligatory clitic climbing in Old French either. In Old and Modern French the clitic precedes the infinitive, but Old Catalan belongs to those Romance languages in which the clitic always follows the infinitive, hence, the clitic is not initial in subordinate clauses. An analysis comparable to the scrambling analysis doesn’t seem appropriate either since Old Catalan clitics cannot be
analysed as phrases: they never appear separated from the verb and never left of the negation (Fischer 2002).

3. The additional data of Catalan forces us to rethink the existing analyses and clarifies our understanding of clitic climbing and mesocliticization and the change of these phenomena with respect to Modern Romance. I will argue that neither mesocliticization nor clitic climbing can be traced back to the ban on clitic initial orders or to the phrasal character of the clitics. Instead I propose that these phenomena are purely epiphenomenal and need to be explained independently of each other. With respect to clitic climbing I will propose and present evidence that the verbs allowing clitic climbing in Old Romance should be analysed as auxiliary verbs that take VP complements, similar to English modal verbs. And with respect to mesocliticization I will propose and present evidence that the meaning of the analytical future is different from the meaning of the syntactical future.

(1) *e tot jorn aparellar-li han bé de menjar*,
and all daz prepare-him have.3pl good to eat
‘and all day long they will prepare him something to eat’ (14b/146)

(2) *car ma gallina menjar-la m’ he io*
since my chicken eat-her me have I eat myself
‘because mz chicken I shall at myself’ (14b/147)

(3) *e yo vendré a vos e tot celadament amenar-vos he al castel e metré-us en la cambra,*
and I sell.fut.1sg to you and all secretly to take-you have.1sg to.the castle and put.fut.1sg-you in the bedroom
‘and I shall sell you and I shall take you secretly to the castle and there I shall lock you in the bedroom.’ (13b/230)

(4) *e null home no y poch abitar;*
and no man not there can live
‘and no man could live there;’ (13a/202)

(5) *e sia plaer de Déu que ls vos ja comensar,*  
and is.3sg pleasure of God that they you make.3sg to begin
‘and it is God's pleasure that makes you begin,’ (13b/401)

References
Lema, J. & Maria Luisa Rivero, (1990), Types of verbal movement in Old Spanish, modals, futures and perfects, Ms, University of Ottowa.