

# The Incidence of Interpolation on the Word Order of Romance Languages\*

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Received: December 22th 1994

Accepted: March 3rd 1995

## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a syntactic account of interpolation structures in Romance. In the introduction you are presented with a general approach: definition, scope within the Indo-European languages and prosodic aspects of this linguistic phenomenon. In section 2, the distributive properties of clitic object pronouns with respect to the verb are examined in detail and they are exemplified with Old Spanish, Old Catalan, Modern Portuguese and Modern Galician data. This section is concluded with a hypothesis that regards interpolation as a kind of stylistic construction related to a syntactic projection that occurs between CP and IP (namely, FocusP). The existence of this maximal projection not only allows us to account for the syntactic distribution of clitic object pronouns in embedded sentences but also for the prosodic aspects involved. Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of periphrastic perfects and passives and the intervention of several linguistic items between either *haber* or *ser* and the past participle, which have generally been considered interpolation structures (cf. Andrés-Suárez (1994)). In our opinion, these constructions must be given a different analysis and, therefore, cannot be regarded as interpolation structures.

**Key words:** diachrony, syntax, word order, clitic second.

**Resum.** *La incidència de la interpolació en l'ordre dels mots de les llengües romàniques*

L'objectiu d'aquest treball és donar una explicació sintàctica al problema de les estructures d'interpolació en les llengües romàniques. Primerament, a la introducció, es presenta una visió general d'aquest fenomen lingüístic: definició del concepte d'interpolació, el seu abast en les diferents llengües indoeuropees, i els aspectes prosòdics relacionats amb aquesta construcció. A la segona part, s'estudien amb detall les propietats

\* Financed by PB92-0599-B (Institution: UAB) and PB93-08-0893-C04-03 (Institution: UdG).

distribucionals dels pronoms clítics d'objecte tenint en compte la seva relació amb el verb. Els exemples presentats provenen tant de l'espanyol i el català medievals, com del portuguès i el galleg moderns. Després d'examinar totes les dades obtingudes, es postula la següent hipòtesi: la interpolació és una classe de construcció estilística relacionada amb una projecció sintàctica que apareix entre el SComp i el SFlex (anomenada SFocus). L'existència d'aquesta projecció màxima no només ens permet d'explicar la distribució sintàctica dels pronoms clítics d'objecte a les oracions subordinades, sinó també els aspectes prosòdics que es relacionen amb aquest procés. Finalment, la tercera part d'aquest article es dedica a l'anàlisi de la interposició de certs elements lingüístics entre els verbs «haber» o «ser», i els participi de passat en les construccions perifràstiques de perfet i de passiva, les quals han estat considerades, en general, com a estructures d'interpolació (cf. Andrés-Suárez (1994)). Segons la nostra opinió, aquestes construccions han de rebre una anàlisi diferent i, per tant, no es poden incloure dintre de les estructures d'interpolació.

**Paraules clau:** diacronia, sintaxi, ordre de mots, clíctic en segona posició.

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## 1. Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to explore some types of constructions which display interpolation, not only from a diachronic but also from a synchronic stand point. It has been suggested that cases in which one or more elements occur between the clitic and the verb and also those in which several items can appear between the auxiliary and the participle in periphrastic perfects and passives should be treated as interpolation phenomena. However, we will argue that only the former may be given this analysis.

Interpolation can be defined as a process that inserts one or more items between two linguistic segments that apparently constitute a structural unity, as can be seen in (1):

(1) Clitic — Verb

First, it should be pointed out that interpolation is not restricted to Old Romance languages and some western varieties of the Iberian Peninsula. The Slavic languages (the eastern branch, among which Serbo-Croatian, Russian and Bulgarian are to be included) show the same syntactic behaviour (cf. Rivero (1994)).

The prosodic aspects of interpolation should be traced back to Indo-European. It has been claimed that in Indo-European the first element in main clauses was given prosodic prominence. Therefore, unstressed elements (adverbs, auxiliaries, pronouns and determiners) always had to appear in second position, which is

known as the Wackernagel Law. Some Indo-European descendants such as Latin and western Slavic languages share the same restrictions.

## 2. Asyntactic approach to interpolation

As is well known, Latin lacks determiners so that object pronouns and clitic adverbs (*iam, autem*, etc.) are the only elements that tend to obey the Wackernagel Law. In the following examples the pronouns *mihi* and *se* occur in second position and there is another element intervening between them and the verb.

- (2) a. *ita mihi deos velim propitios*  
 thus to-me gods will-want favourable  
 'thus I will want gods to be favourable to me'  
 [Cicero, «divinatio» in *Caec.* 41 (in Benacchio & Renzi (1987), p. 4)]
- b. *populus se Romanus erexit*  
 people refl.pron. Roman revolted  
 'Roman people revolted'  
 [Cicero *Brutus* 12 (in Benacchio & Renzi (1987), p. 4)]

Vulgar Latin follows the same pattern as Classical Latin: prosodic prominence of the first constituent and agreement to the Wackernagel Law, which was only applied to object pronouns and clitic adverbs in Classical Latin. See examples below:

- (3) a. *Ego te non tamquam amicum habio set tamquam fratrem*  
 I you-obj. not as friend regard but as brother  
*gemellum qui de unum ventrem exiit.*  
 twin who from one womb came  
 'I do not consider you as a friend but as a twin brother who was born from the same womb.'  
 [Cavenaile, p. 304 (*PAPYRUS E*, lin. 111-112)]
- b. *Si tan cito viridia mi non mittes, stati amicitiam tuam*  
 if so soon flower to-me not send-2sg right now friendship yours  
*obliscere debio?*  
 forget must  
 'Shall I forget your friendship if you do not send me a flower?'  
 [Cavenaile, p. 304 (*PAPYRUS E*, lin. 109-110)]

In (3a) the enclitic pronoun *te* is positioned after the first word in the main clause whereas in (3b) the pronoun does not occur in second position, which is to be attributed to the fact that the Wackernagel Law only applies in main clauses and, as can be seen, (3b) is an embedded clause. Note, however, that the negative adverb *non* is located between the clitic pronoun *mi* (which is a contraction of the

dative personal pronoun *mihí*) and the verb *mittes*. Therefore, it should be assumed that in Vulgar Latin interpolation is commonplace and that this can be related to the prosodic accent of the sentence and to the syntactic conditions that restrict the distribution of clitics.

As for the Old Romance languages, it should be taken into account that they inherit the prosodic pattern from Vulgar Latin, which involves the legacy of a somewhat reduced version of the Wackernagel Law that affects the syntactic behaviour of object clitic pronouns. This has come to be known as the Tobler-Mussafia Law (after Tobler (1885, 1889) and Mussafia (1886, 1898)) and states that unstressed object pronouns can neither stand in absolute initial position in the main sentence nor in second position when the first one is occupied by a coordination linker (such as OSp. *e, mas, desí*, etc.). From this viewpoint, we conclude that this restriction must be related to the existence of a syntactic projection which provides a site for the first and most prominent linguistic element of the sentence and gives rise to interpolation structures.

Among all Romance languages, interpolation is common in Old Spanish in which a great variety of different intervening linguistic items can be attested. The most frequent pattern seems to be the one in which a negative adverb is interfering between the clitic and the verb. See the examples in (4):

- (4) a. que ge lo *non* ventassen de Burgos omne nado  
 that to-him it not discover-PastSubj-3pl from B. man born  
 'that nobody from Burgos revealed it to him'  
 [*Cid*, v. 151]
- b. púsolo en porfazo porque lo *non* pagava;  
 put-him in wrong because it not paidteach  
 'he spoke ill of him because he did not pay it'  
 [*Milagros*, v. 685b]
- c. nin de abivar lo que se *non* abiva, nin de castigar  
 neither of rekindle that which refl.pron not rekindle nor of advise  
 nin de enseñar al que se *non* castiga;  
 nor of teach that who refl.pron not let-advise  
 'neither should that which does not rekindle be rekindled, nor should that  
 who does not accept being advised be advised or taught'  
 [*Calila*, p. 171]

It should be pointed out that this kind of interpolation is frequent and spread over different Old Spanish periods (from the XIIth to the XVth century). Thus, (4a) to (4c) above belong to the first half of the Medieval period, whereas (4d) to (4g) below correspond to the second half.

- (4) d. semejava al rey que lo *non* podía sufrir nin conplir.  
 seemed to-the king that it not could stand nor accomplish  
 'the king considered that he could neither stand nor accomplish it'  
 [*Zifar*, p. 60]

- (4) e. las dos son chançonetas, la otra de trotalla; de la que  
 the two are «chançonetas»<sup>1</sup> the other of «trotalla»<sup>2</sup> of the which  
 te non pagares, veyla e ríe e calla.  
 to-you not please-PastSubj.2sg see-it and laugh and keep-silent  
 'both are the «chançonetas», the other is a «trotalla»; in case there is one  
 which you do not like, see it, laugh and shut up'  
 [*Buen Amor*, vv. 1021c-d]
- f. E él creyendo la muger, pensando que le non engañaría  
 and he crediting the woman thinking that to-him not deceive-would  
 'And he believed what the woman said, thinking that she was not going  
 to deceive him'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 80]
- g. Si me vos prometéys ... de lo no descubrir ... yo os lo diré.  
 if to-me you promise of it not reveal I to-yo it tell-will  
 'If you promise me not to give it away ... I will tell you it.'  
 [*Amadís*, I, p. 15]

The negative marker, though, is not the only adverb that can occur in this position. Compare the examples given in (5) and (6) below. In (5) the intervening element is the modal-aspectual adverb *bien* which behaves as an intensifier.

- (5) a. Por esso vos la do que la bien curiedes vos.  
 for this to-you it-Fem. give that it-Fem. well care-PresSubj.2pl you  
 'The reason why I give it to you is that I want you to really take care of  
 it.'  
 [*Cid*, v. 3196]
- b. si vos lo bien sopiésedes cuál es e quán preçiado.  
 if you it well know-PastSubj.2pl which is and how praiseworthy  
 'if you really knew, who he is and how praiseworthy he is'  
 [*Buen Amor*, v. 732c]
- c. que la muger le byen quisyese.  
 that the woman to-him well love-PastSubj.3sg.  
 'that the woman really loved him'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 81]
- d. quien te bien llorase, quien te conosciese,  
 who for-you well cry-PastSubj.3sg who to-you know-PastSubj.3sg  
 'who really cried for you, who knew you'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 118]

1. The «chançonetas» are poetic compositions commonly used for satirical purposes (cf. French: *chansonnette*).
2. The «trotalla» or «cantiga de trotar» is a poetic form especially thought to be sung by those who are striding out or marching.

Nevertheless, as can be seen in (6), it is not difficult to find other types of adverbs. In (6a) a pronominal locative expressing space intervenes between the clitic object pronoun and the verb:

- (6) a. que non fueran verdaderas las cosas que se y  
 that not were true the things that refl.pron. there  
 contienen,  
 contain-PresInd.3pl  
 'that the things which are enclosed there were not real'  
 [Zifar, p. 59]

In (6b) and (6c) the linguistic items which intervene are quantity adverbs:

- (6) b. los más nobles presenta la dueña que s' más  
 the most delicious [cakes] offers the lady who refl.pron more  
 preçia:  
 praises  
 'the lady who praises herself most offers the most delightful cakes'  
 [Buen Amor, v. 1338c]

- c. El que la mucho sigue, el que la mucho usa, en el  
 the that to-her much follows the that to-her much uses in the  
 coraçon l'tiene, maguer se le escusa.  
 heart (he)-to-her-has although refl.pron. to-him ignores  
 'The man who keeps seeing and keeps treating a woman, loves her  
 although he ignores it.'  
 [Buen Amor, vv. 519a-b]

(6d) and (6e) show the interpolation of time adverbs. Notice that in the main clause of (6d) the time adverb *cras* cannot intervene between the clitic object pronoun *te* and the verb *dará*. A sentence such as \**te cras dará la puerta* would be considered ungrammatical because the object clitic pronoun would occupy the first position in the sentence and, therefore, it would violate the Tobler-Mussafia Law.

- (6) d. cras te dará la puerta quien te oy çierra  
 tomorrow to-you offer-will the door who to-you today prevents  
 el postigo; la que te oy desama cras te  
 the entrance the that to-you today disdains tomorrow to-you  
 querrá amigo;  
 want-will friend  
 'the one who locks her up today will open the door for you tomorrow; the  
 one that despises you today will desire your friendship tomorrow'  
 [Buen Amor, vv. 573b-c]

- (6) e. —Assí me Dios ayude — dixo ella—, no sé que  
 so to-me God help-PresSubj.3sg said she not know that  
 le nunca vi que me miembre.  
 to-him never saw that refl.pron remember  
 ‘—I wish God helped me —she said—, I cannot remember having seen  
 him.’  
 [*Amadís*, I, p. 117]

Since Nominal Phrases can be documented interfering between the clitic and the verb, it should be claimed that this position is not restricted to adverbials. Examples in (7) below show the occurrence of pronominal NPs with different syntactic functions. Although the most frequent pattern is that in which the intervening stressed personal pronoun functions as the subject of the sentence [cf. (7a), (7b), (7d) and (7f)], stressed oblic object pronouns, as in (7e), and direct object demonstrative pronouns, as in (7c), can also be registered.

- (7) a. Çid, beso vuestra mano en don que la yo aya.  
 Ç. (I)-kiss your hand in gift that it-Fem. I have  
 ‘Çid, I beg you to give it to me as a gift.’  
 [*Cid*, v. 179]
- b. lo que lis él dizié, faziégelo provar,  
 it that to-them he said made-him-it prove  
 ‘he made him prove what he said to them’  
 [*Milagros*, v. 770(725)c]
- c. E quando les esto dixieres, creer te  
 and when to-them that say-FutSubj.2sg believe to-you  
 an e creer me edes estonces tu  
 have-Aux.3pl and believe to-me have-Aux.2pl then you  
 et ellos, e diles que assi gelo mando Yo;  
 and they, and tell-them that so to-him-it order I  
 ‘And when you tell them this, they will believe you and, then, you all  
 will believe me, and tell them that I order it that way.’  
 [*Gral. Est.*, p. 324]
- d. —Si me tú quisieres honrar, déxame en estos canpos  
 if to-me you want-FutSubj.2sg honour let-me in these fields  
 seguro,  
 safe  
 ‘—If you want to honour me, let me stay safely in these fields’  
 [*Calila*, p. 308]

- (7) e. non sé fuerte nin reçio, que se contigo tope,  
 neither know strong nor tough who refl.pron into-you runs,  
 'Neither do I know a strong man nor a tough one who dare run into you'  
 [*Buen Amor*, v. 187c]
- f. creyóla e tomó una soga que le ella enbió.  
 (he)-believed-her and took one rope that to-him she sent  
 'He believed her and took a rope that she sent to him.'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 80]

Examples in (8) illustrate the interpolation of full NPs.

- (8) a. Si me lo la tu gracia quisiesse condonar, Sennor,  
 if to-me it the your mercy want-PastSubj.3sg forgive Lord  
 aqui querria de mi grado finar,  
 here want-would of my pleasure die  
 'If you could forgive me, Lord, I would not mind dying here'  
 [*San Millán*, 60c]

As for full NPs, in spite of the fact that there appears to be few lexical variation (see below: *Dios* 'God' and *omne* 'man', the latter with generic interpretation), it is interesting to remark that they admit a complex determiner as shown in (8a) above: *la tu gracia* (Definite article + Possessive + Noun).

- (8) b. Et acaesçe así como a los cabellos que, quando los  
 and happens this-way as to the hair-pl that when them  
*omne* tiene en la cabeça, péinalos et úntalos con  
 man has on the head combs-them and anoints-them with  
 las mejores unturas ...  
 the best unguents  
 'And then the same happens as with the hair, so that, when somebody has it, he combs it and anoints it with the best unguents...'  
 [*Calila*, p. 107]
- c. —Assí me *Dios* ayude —dixo ella—, no sé que  
 so to-me God help-PresSubj.3sg said she not know that  
 le nunca vi que me miembro.  
 to-him never saw that refl.pron remember  
 '—I wish God helped me —she said—, I cannot remember having seen him.'  
 [*Amadís*, I, p. 117]



Finally, there are some examples which display the interpolation of several linguistic elements between the clitic and the verb [cf. (9)]:

- (9) a. Et esto que te Yo agora mostrare aqui e dire, ten  
and this that to-you I now show-wil here and say-will have  
tu por sennal que te Yo enuio.  
you as sign that to-you I send  
'And you can take this that I will show and tell you here now as a sign that I send to you.'  
[*Gral. Est.*, p. 324]
- b. Quanto uos omne non podrie dezir nen cuntar,  
as-much-as to-you man neither can-would say nor tell  
'As much as nobody could tell and report ...'  
[*Alexandre*, v. 2130d]
- c. et aun los que lo tan bien non entendieren, non  
and yet the that it so well not understand-FutSubj.3pl not  
podrán escusar que, en leyendo el libro ...  
can-will excuse that in reading the book  
'Even those who could not understand it completely, will not deny that, when reading the book ...'  
[*Lucanor*, p. 51]
- d. —Y si la yo no otorgasse —dixo ella—, ¿no yríades allá?  
and if it-fem I notallowed said she not go-would.2sg there  
'—Would you go there if I did not allow you to do it? —said she.'  
[*Amadís*, I, p. 44]

In such cases of multiple interpolation two linguistic items<sup>3</sup> appear simultaneously and can be attributed to different phrases taking into account that they fulfil different syntactic functions. Actually, it is a combination of two of the patterns studied above: a negative adverb and a subject NP, either pronoun, as in (d), or a full NP, as in (b); a modal Adverbial Phrase and a negative adverb, as in (c); or a subject personal pronoun and a pronominal locative time adverb, as in (a). In addition, one of the most relevant aspects to consider is the fact that in multiple interpolation patterns more than one stressed linguistic item can intervene between the clitic and the verb, which proves that the accentual relation between the verb and the clitic is not really pertinent.

According to Uriagereka (1992, p. 3), interpolation is frequent in the Western area of the Iberian Peninsula (Portuguese-Galician, Leonese, etc.). An analogous

3. Maybe more, although we do not have examples of the sort.

behaviour can be attested in Portuguese-Galician examples given under (10) to (14). The usual interpolation patterns of these linguistic varieties are the same as those found in Old Spanish. The negative adverb *non / não* between the unstressed personal pronoun and the verb is also the most frequent. See the sentences in (10):

- (10) a. Se che *non* gustan fágoche outras.  
if to-you not like make-you others  
'If you do not like them, I will make you more.'
- b. Mire que eu lle *non* podo.  
see that I to-him not can  
'Take into account that I can't overpower him'
- c. Eu ben sei a quen dixeches / queme *non* querías ver.  
I well know to whom said that-to-me not wanted see  
'I really know to whom you said you did not want to see me.'
- d. uma lucta que o *não* deixou repousar.  
a struggle that him not let rest  
'A struggle which left him with no peace of mind'  
[Diniz, *Pup.* 162]
- e. habito que se ganha de pequeno e se *não* perde mais  
habit which refl.pron gains of little and refl.pronnot loses more  
'a habit one acquires as a child and never loses'  
[Diniz, *Pup.* 41]

Moreover, other adverbs or Prepositional Phrases functioning as adjuncts can also be interpolated, as shown in (11a) and (11b) respectively:

- (11) a. quem me *alí* pillara  
who me there catch-past.subjunctive.3sg  
'whoever should catch me there'
- b. Traes o chapeo de lado/ coma se foses alguen/ e inda non  
wear the hat of side as if were someone and yet not  
podes pagar/ a quen te *na casa* ten.  
can pay to whom to-you at-the house has  
'You wear your hat slanted, as if you were a someone, and yet you cannot pay who lodges you in his house.'

Additionally, subject NPs can be positioned between the clitic and the verb, too. See the examples given in (12):

- (12) a. Fai o que che *eu* digo.  
do the that to-you I say  
'Do what I tell you to do.'

- (12) b. Trigo que lle *a palla* doura/ logo está  
 wheat that to-it the stalk golden-gets immediately is  
 para o fouciño.  
 for the sickle  
 'When the wheat has ripened, it is ready for harvest.'
- c. Eu caseime e suxeteime/ nunca me  
 I married-refl.pron and tied-refl.pron never refl.pron  
*eu suxeitara.*  
 I tied-past.subj.3sg.  
 'I married and tied myself. I wish I had never tied myself.'
- d. lo fillo que lhes *Deus* dara  
 the son that to-them God give-will  
 'the son God will give them'  
 [*Aleixo* I, 13]
- e. todas tristezas que lle *os teus servos* faziam.  
 all sorrows that to-him the your servants caused  
 'all the sorrows that your vassals caused him'  
 [*Aleixo* 6, 23]
- f. moitas cousas lle *eu* dixera!  
 many things to-him I said-past.subj.3sg  
 'I would tell him many things.'

Whether they are pronominal, as in (12a, c and f) or full forms, as in (12b, d and e), subject NPs follow the same pattern as Old Spanish subject NPs.

On the other hand, it is also possible to find stressed personal pronouns introduced by a preposition displaying different syntactic behaviours, as in (13):

- (13) a. Moito gusto me *a min* dan/ as nenas do pelo roxo  
 much pleasure me to me give the maidens of-the hair red  
 'I find great pleasure in girls with red head.'
- b. sei cantar e sei bailar/ sei face-lo que  
 know-I sing and know-I dance know do-the that  
 quixer/ tamén sei face-la risa/ e quen  
 want-fut.subj.1sg also know make-the laugh and who  
 a *de min* fixer.  
 the of me make-fut.subj.3p.  
 'I can sing and dance and do whatever I want to, I can also make people laugh and who can laugh at me.'

Finally, multiple interpolation, which displays the same characteristics as the Old Spanish one, is also commonplace in these linguistic varieties. This can be seen in (14):

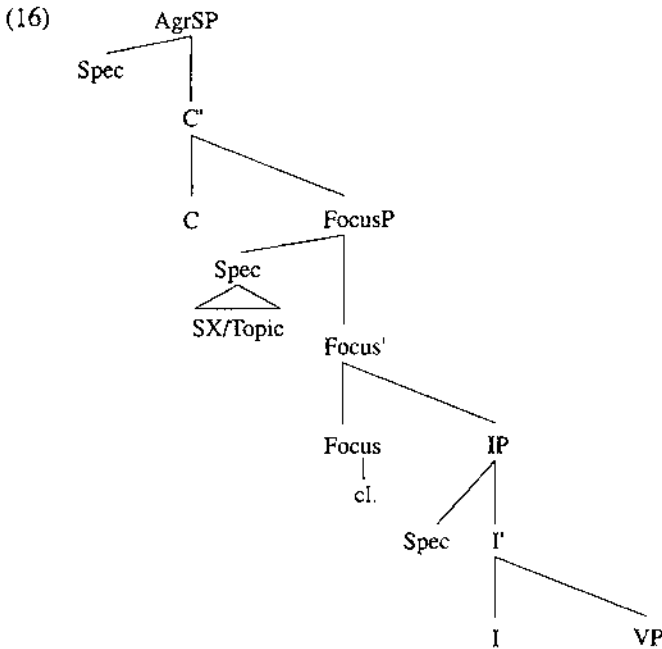
- (14) a. Agora xa se un non fía.  
 now already refl.pron one not trust  
 'Now you cannot trust anyone.'
- b. Chámanme o pito do Cairo/ porque nacín en xaneiro/  
 call-me «o pito do Cairo» because was-born in Janeiro  
 se me o raposo non come/ hei de ir  
 if to-me-superfluous.dative the fox not eat have to go  
 cantar ó poleiro  
 sing the «poleiro».  
 'They call me «o pito do Cairo» because I was born in Janeiro. If the fox does not eat me, I have to go and sing the «poleiro».'

The combination of a negative adverb and a full subject NP which can express different degrees of determination [cf. (b) and (a) respectively] can also be documented.

Examples in (15) are illformed and show that present day Portuguese displays Tobler-Mussafia restrictions yet (which is proved by the current existence of periphrastic futures):

- (15) a. \**Me non gusta.*  
 to-me not pleases  
 'It does not please me.'
- b. \**Se non vía o camiño.*  
 refl.pron. not saw the path  
 'One could not see the right way.'
- c. \**E me non dixo que quería.*  
 and to-me not said what wanted  
 'And he did not tell me what he wanted.'

From this standpoint, we assume that in the languages that display interpolation patterns and the Tobler-Mussafia Law the first phrase in the sentence corresponds to a Focus Phrase syntactic projection preceded, of course, by the CP projection which provides a site for the linker or subordinating nexus in embedded clauses (as suggested in Uriagereka (1992a)). Therefore, we attribute the structure in (16) to these languages:



Notice that the interaction of syntax and prosody gives rise to the possible occurrence of the interpolation patterns we have been studying, the existence of which basically depends on whether a stylistic strategy is adopted or not.

Yet, it must be added that the fact that a language displays a particular prosodic pattern which involves the effects of the Tobler-Mussafia Law in the distribution of clitics is not the only factor to take into account. Although this prosodic property holds in Old Catalan, Provençal, Old French and Old Italian, these languages do not seem to permit interpolation. Therefore, this stylistic strategy allows us to establish a division between the Ibero-Romance languages (in which interpolation is possible) and the Gallo-Romance languages (in which this phenomenon is absent).

Ramsden (1963) imputes the presence of interpolation in Ibero-Romance languages to the existence of two object-pronoun systems (one which consists of the stressed pronouns and another which includes the unstressed forms) and attributes the nonexistence of this syntactic pattern in Gallo-Romance to the fact that these languages have a single object-pronoun system: the unstressed one. Therefore, he concludes that the interference of linguistic items between the object pronoun and the verb is only possible in the languages which have stressed object pronouns.

In our opinion, however, this explanation is not satisfactory because the hypothesis that a language has two pronominal systems which display the same forms and differ only in their syntactic distribution is not economic enough.

In our view, Old Spanish object pronouns are always unstressed since interpolation mainly takes place in embedded clauses in which the Tobler-Mussafia

Law applies optionally. In matrix clauses there is always an initial constituent preceding the clitic pronoun [cf. Meyer-Lübke (1897) and Chenery (1905)].

On the other hand, the existence of a syntactic projection such as FP (Focus Phrase)<sup>4</sup> licenses a wide variety of syntactic structures in matrix clauses: periphrastic futures and conditionals [cf. (17)]; synthetic futures and conditionals [cf. (18)]; interpolation constructions preceded by an initial constituent [cf. (8c)<sup>5</sup>]; and participle preposing such as *fecho lo he*. Likewise, FP provides a satisfactory explanation for interpolation phenomena and participle preposing in embedded clauses (e.g.: *que acabado non as*).

In future and conditional constructions the Aux(iliary) must be characterized as a clitic element which follows the infinitive in all cases. Notice the use of contracted forms such as *he, has, ha, hemos, hedes, han* in the future tense and *ía, ías, ía, íamos, íades, ían* (or the alternative forms *íe, íé*, etc.) in the conditional tense. The clitic pronoun is the only element which can occur between the infinitive and the auxiliary. Thus, in matrix clauses, the clitic pronoun can precede the auxiliary in Old Spanish [cf. (17a) to (17f)]:

- (17) a. aún çerca o tarde el rrey querer *me ha* por amigo,  
 yet sooner or later the king want to-me have-AUX as friend  
 'yet sooner or later the king will accept me as his friend'  
 [*Cid*, v. 76]
- b. A cabo de iij . dias sacarte a pharaon de la carcel  
 after 3 days release-you have-AUX pharaoh from the prison  
 e to[r]nar te as en to serviçio,  
 and return you have-AUX in your labour  
 'Within three days the pharaoh will release you from prison and you will  
 retake your labour.'  
 [*Fazienda*, p. 53]
- c. et si las dexare al paxarero, conpratlas  
 and if them leave-FutSubj.1sg to-the birdman buy-them  
*ha* otro para comer et matarlas *ha*.  
 have-AUX another to eat and kill-them have-AUX  
 'and if I leave them, another person will buy them to eat and will kill  
 them'  
 [*Calila*, p. 335]
4. Other authors have commented on the existence of an additional position in order to account for these facts. Fontana (1993) argues that the pronouns which admit incorporation are more closely oriented to CP than to the verb. According to that he postulates that clitics join to SPEC IP. Alternatively, Rivero (1994) proposes two additional positions (WP-Wackernagel Phrase - and TM-P - Tobler-Mussafia Phrase -) to account for the behaviour of clitics in Old Spanish, Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian.
5. In (10c) *habito QUE se ganha de pequeno e se não perde mais*, the relative occurs in C° and is followed by a coordination of two FPs.

- (17) d. e catadlo do yaze en ese barranco, e fallarlo *hedes*  
 and see-him where lies in this precipice and find-him have-AUX  
 muerto.  
 dead.  
 'and spot him in this precipice where he lies, and you will find him  
 dead.'  
 [Zifar, p. 85]
- e. Diz: «Yo t' levaré a casa, demostrarte *he*  
 said I to-you take-have-AUX to home show-to-you have-AUX  
 el camino,  
 the path  
 'He said: «I will take you home and will show you the right way».'  
 [Buen Amor, vv. 965a-b]
- f. E en esta manera Dios, que es todopoderoso, anpararle  
 and in this way God that is almighty protect-him  
*ha e darle ha su gracia e bendición.*  
 have-AUX and give-to-him have-AUX his favour and blessing  
 'And thus God, who is the Almighty, will protect, favour and bless him.'  
 [Corbacho, p. 205]

Old Catalan, as mentioned above, does not allow interpolation, but its object clitics are also subject to Tobler-Mussafia restrictions and, therefore, they can intervene between the infinitive and the auxiliary in periphrastic futures and conditionals. Thus, in (17g) the reflexive pronoun *s'* occurs between the infinitive and *hia*:

- (17) g. lo cavaller qui (...) no usa (...) d' aquelles virtuts qui pertanyen  
 the knight who not uses of those virtues which belong  
 a cavalleria; car si ho era, seguir *s'hia*  
 to chivalry because if it were follow refl.pron-have-AUX  
 que lo cors e cavalleria fossen ensem contraris a  
 that the body and chivalry were at-a-time opposite to  
 l'ànima e a ses virtuts,  
 the-soul and to its virtues,  
 'the knight who does not practise those virtues that belong to chivalry;  
 because if this were so, it would follow that both body and chivalry would  
 be antithetic with respect to the soul and its virtues'  
 [Ordre Cavaleria, p. 50]

Nonetheless, the clitic object pronoun can also follow the auxiliary in both languages [cf. (18)]:

- (18) a. e *ponedeslas* sobre vuestras hijas e  
 and put-have-AUX-them upon your daughters and  
*toldredeslas* a los Egiptos.  
 remove-have-AUX-them to the Egyptians.  
 'and you will put them upon your daughters and will take them from the Egyptians.'  
 [*Fazienda*, p. 63]
- b. Et puesto qu'el león non me pensase mal,  
 and given that-the lion not to-me think-past.subj.3sg bad  
 usando con él los malos consejeros, *avriálos*  
 using with he the bad advisers have-had-AUX-to-them  
 de escuchar et ...  
 of hear and ...  
 'And given the fact that the lion could be evil-minded about me, paying attention to bad advisers, I would have to listen to them and ...'  
 [*Calila*, p. 162]
- c. E *podríalo* muy bien fazer, ca era muy rica e muy  
 and can-had-AUX-it very well do since was very rich and very  
 abondada e abastada,  
 wealthy and prosperous  
 'And she could do it very well because she was very rich, wealthy and prosperous.'  
 [*Zifar*, p. 329]
- d. Quien menos las practicare, *farále* Dios  
 who less them practise-fut.subj.3sg do-have-AUX-him God  
 merced señalada.  
 mercy remarkable  
 'God will have considerable mercy to the person who visits them least.'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 158]
- e. e per aytal ençercament *porás-lo* atrobar e conexer.  
 and for such inquiry can-have-AUX-it find and know  
 'and you will be able to find it out and know it by means of such an inquiry.'  
 [*Vir. e Pec.*, p. 169]



- (18) f. Si cavalleria fos en força corporal més que en força de  
 if chivalry were in strength bodily more than in strength of  
 coratge, seguiria's que ordre de cavalleria  
 courage follow-had-AUX-refl.pron that order of chivalry  
 se concordàs pus fortment ab lo cors que  
 refl.pron agree-past.subj.3sg more strongly with the body that  
 ab l'ànima,  
 with the-soul

'If chivalry lied more in physical strength than in courage, it would follow that chivalry would be more directly related to the body than to the soul.'

[*Ordre Cavalleria*, p. 50]

The unstressed pronoun occupies the head of the projection which is the most prominent from a prosodic point of view (i. e. Focus<sup>o</sup>)<sup>6</sup>. Besides, when interpolation occurs in matrix clauses, the clitic occurs in F<sup>o</sup> and the linguistic element that bears the prosodic accent, on which the clitic depends for stress, is positioned in the Focus Phrase Spec position. Although in embedded clauses the unstressed pronoun can be located in F<sup>o</sup>, then it is not due to the effect of a prosodic restriction (Tobler-Mussafia Law), but to the use of a stylistic strategy which conveys rhythmic implications. This would explain the high frequency of these construction in poetry.

We conclude, therefore, that these pronouns can easily be supposed to have stressed nature because they occupy the head of a projection whose specifier is accommodates elements with prosodic prominence.

### 3. False interpolation structures

It has been claimed that some Old Spanish periphrastic perfect and passive constructions could be regarded as interpolation structures (cf. Andrés-Suárez (1994)) because there can be one or more elements intervening between the auxiliary *haber*, *ser* or *estar* and the participle (cf. (19)-(22)). The examples in (19) illustrate the interference of an adverb:

- (19) a. La duenna piadosa que fue ante irada fue perdiendo ira e  
 the lady pious that was before raged kept losing rage and  
 fue más amansada; perdonólis la sanna qe lis tenié  
 was more tamed forgave-them the fury that to-them had  
 alzada, toda la malaltía fue luego abadada.  
 raised all the illness was immediately diminished.

'The faithful lady that had been enraged before, calmed down her anger; left aside the fury that she had raised against them and the whole disorder decreased immediately.'

[*Milagros*, v. 395a-d]

6. Cf.: Uriagereka (1992b) p. 25-28.

- b. Aquella enzina (...) *fue cara mientras tenuta*  
 that oak was dear like considered  
 'That oak was dearly appreciated.'  
 [*Fazienda*, p. 46]
- c. nin podríes vedar lo que *es ende ya fecho*  
 nor be-able-would ban it that is for-this already done  
 'nor would you be able to ban what is already done'  
 [*Calila*, p. 149]
- d. Desde *fue y llegado* Don Amor el loçano,  
 from-that was there arrived Squire Love the attractive  
 'When Squire Love, the attractive, arrived there'  
 [*Buen Amor*, v. 1246a]
- e. e yo *he ya comido e bevido*  
 and I have already eaten and drunk  
 'and I have already eaten and drunk'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 193]

Notice that these constructions are not restricted to Old Spanish. They are also productive in Old Catalan, as (19f and g) illustrate below, and in some Modern Romance dialects (e.g. northern Italian dialects).

- (19) f. *aurás atempradament menjat e begut*  
 will-have temperately eaten and drunk  
 'you will have eaten and drunk to a moderate extent'  
 [*Vir. e Pec.*, p. 93]
- g. *no han tan longament entesa, membrada e amada*  
 not have so largely understood remembered and loved  
*castedat con luxuria.*  
 chastity as luxury  
 'they have not understood, reminded and loved chastity as much as luxury.'  
 [*Vir. e Pec.*, p. 39]

In (20) the linguistic element which precedes the past participle, both in Old Spanish and Old Catalan, is the subject of the sentence:

- (20) a. *Del varon cuyos son estos pennos, so yo prennada.*  
 by-the man whose are these tokens am I pregnant  
 'By the man, whose these tokens are, I am pregnant.'  
 [*Fazienda*, p. 52]

- (20) b. Quando el aver *ovo el burgés recibido*  
 when the money had the burgher received  
 'When the burgher had received the money'  
 [*Milagros*, v. 654a]
- c. *Estava aquel mançebo asentado* en los poyos  
 was that youth sat on the stone-benches  
 'That youth was sat on the bench.'  
 [*Calila*, p. 329]
- d. Mio señor, desde *fue su tienda aparejada*, vino dormir a ella ...  
 my lord, from-that was his tent arranged came sleep in it  
 'When his tent was ready, my lord came to sleep in it...'  
 [*Buen Amor*, vv. 1302a-b]
- e. «A ty lo digo, sonbrero: ¿donde me *he yo enpeñado* y  
 to you it tell hat where refl.pron have I pawned and  
*envergonçado* muchas vezes por vos,»  
 embarrassed many times for you.  
 'I tell you, hat: Haven't I contracted debts and become embarrassed many  
 times because of you?'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 132]
- f. *ha Deus creada* prudencia e fe  
 has God created prudence and faith  
 'God has created carefulness and faith'  
 [*Vir. e Pec.*, p. 71]

The examples in (21) show that an object can be positioned before the past participle, too. In (21a) the intervening element is the indirect object:

- (21) a. et ya me *fue a mí dicho* deste falso mintroso  
 and already to-me was to me said about-this false liar  
 'and I was already told about this false liar'  
 [*Calila*, p. 188]

Whereas in (21b) and (21c), it is the direct object:

- (21) b. fasta que *ove nueve años conplidos*  
 until that had nine years accomplished  
 'until I was nine years old'  
 [*Calila*, p. 103]

- (21) c. porque ella non *avía las cartas resçebidas*;  
 because she not had the letters received  
 'because she had not received the letters'  
 [*Buen Amor*, v. 1199a]

However, as can be seen in (21d) and (21f) below, indirect and direct objects are not the only internal arguments which can appear in this position:

- (21) d. Una muger cortó sus verguenças a un onbre enamorado suyo (...)   
 A woman cut his genitals to a man lover hers  
 porque sopo que *era con otra echado*.  
 because knew that was with another lied  
 'A woman cut the genitals to her lover because she knew that he had been with another woman.'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 94]
- e. en el antyguo tiempo los profetas *eran por sabios tenidos*  
 in the ancient times the prophets were for wise had  
 'in the old times the prophets were considered to be intelligent'  
 [*Corbacho*, p. 112]

As for Old Catalan, it would hold the same distribution although we have only chosen one example in which the linguistic item preceding the participle is the direct object:

- (21) f. que Deus *aja* *lo mon creat*  
 that God have-pres.subj.3sg. the world created  
 'that God has created the world'  
 [*Vir. e Pec.*, p. 100]

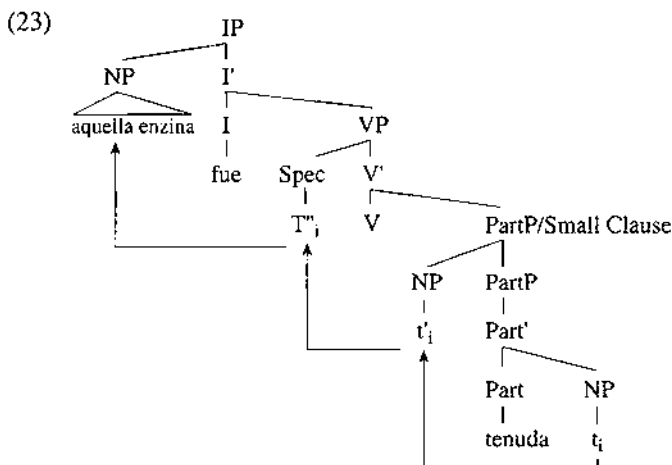
Finally, (22) displays a combination of several elements preceding the past participle:

- (22) a. Sepas que *es tu cosa toda bien acabada*,  
 know that is your thing all well finished  
 'You should know that your affairs are completely finished off.'  
 [*Milagros*, v. 136a]
- b. *Fo con estas menazas el bispo espantado*,  
 was with these threats the bishop scared  
 'The bishop was frightened of these threats'  
 [*Milagros*, v. 232a]

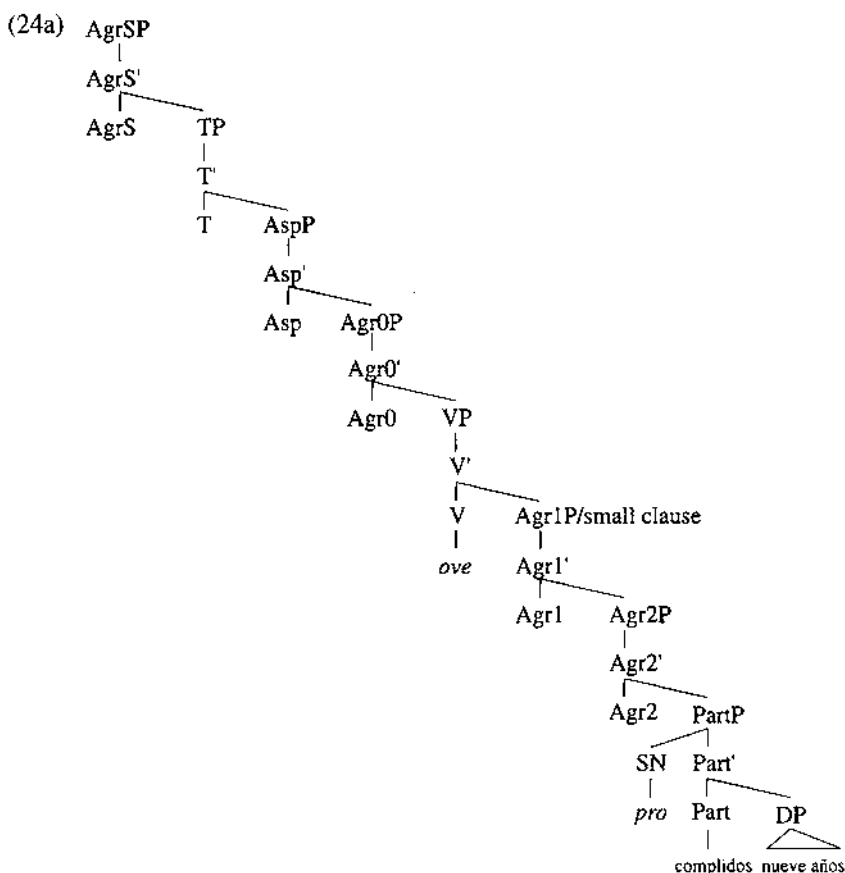
- (22) c. *et fue en esto el mur engañado*  
 and was in this the mouse misled  
 'and the mouse was misled by this'  
 [*Calila*, p.349]

In these examples you find the same kind of intervening elements as in the structures of interpolation between the clitic and the verb. However, a more detailed analysis shows that we face another structural pattern. It could be suggested that in these cases *haber*, *ser* and *estar* are not auxiliaries, but main verbs selecting one single argument: the small clause headed by a participial phrase (PartP).

Small clauses are clausal domains but, in contrast with sentences, they lack inflectional features, so they have to appear in embedded contexts in order to get the appropriate interpretation. There seem to be some semantic restrictions operating in the selection of the small clause by a main verb: *ser* selects passive participial phrases in order to get passive constructions and also participles of ergative and reflexive verbs [cf. (23)]. *Haber* combines with passive participles of transitive verbs and participles of intransitive active verbs [see (24)].

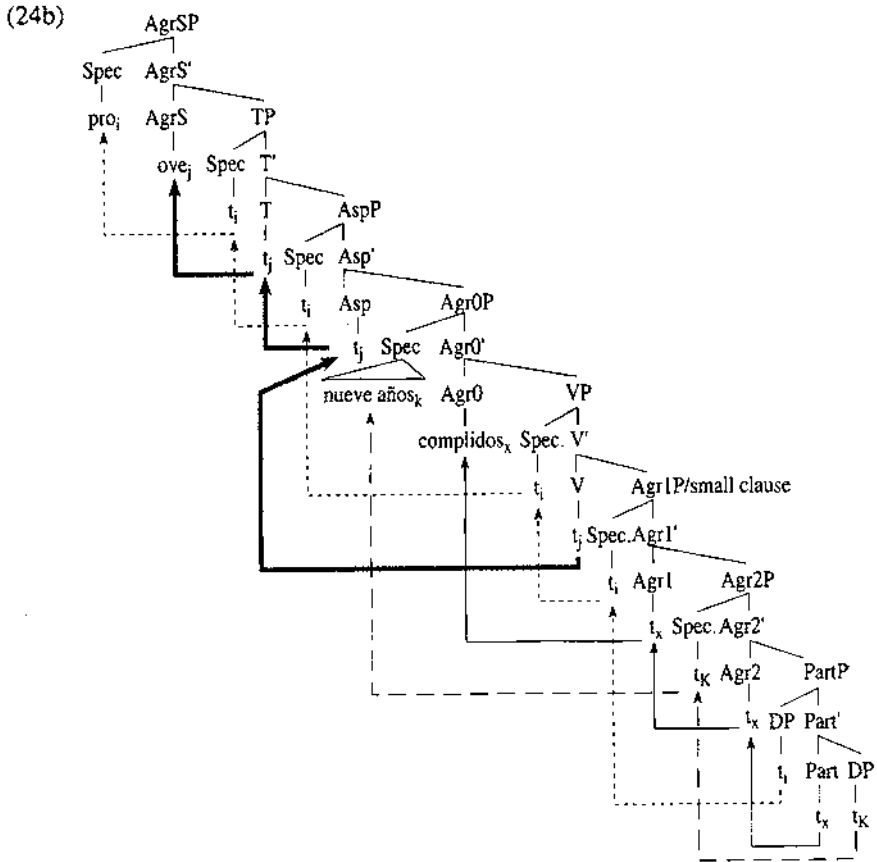


The structure given in (23) illustrates the derivation of the passive sentence (19b) *aquella enzina fue tenuta* (note that irrelevant details have been omitted in the analysis). The NP *aquella enzina* raises from the object position of the past participle *tenuda* to the subject position in order to appear in an adequate agreement configuration with respect to the participle. Next, it raises to the Spec positions of VP and IP while the verb *fue* moves up from V to I. In the last step of the derivation, the NP *aquella enzina* and the V *fue* appear in a Spec-head configuration and they show morphological agreement.



(24a) and (24b) show the initial and the final steps of the syntactic derivation of (21b) (*fasta que*) *ove nueve años cumplidos*. In (24a) the small clause involves a lexical category, the past participle *complid-* that selects a subject *pro* and the object *nueve años*. Both object and subject have to raise to the Spec positions of functional agreement categories related to the small clause in order to appear in an adequate Spec-head configuration with the participial predicate *complid-* which moves up to head positions. We suggest that these functional categories have to be Agr1P for the subject and Agr2P for the object (see (24b)). The DP *nueve años* ends its derivation in the Spec position of AgrOP where accusative case can be assigned.

The null subject *pro* moves cyclically to the Spec position of the higher functional category (AgrSP) while the V *ove* occupies the head position of this category. Once there, they appear in a Spec-head configuration that will permit the subject to get nominative case in an appropriate way.



It should be pointed out that the syntactic pattern above can be found in all Modern Romance languages regardless of the loss or maintenance of interpolation. Therefore, this fact shows that this construction has to be analyzed in a different way.

The development of *haber* from a main verb (with a parallel semantic value to the English verb *have*) to an auxiliary verb appearing in complex tenses, could be explained as an evolution from a construction V + small clause to a periphrastic form as we show in (25):

- (25) Main V [<sub>sc</sub> Subject [<sub>Predicate</sub> Participle ...]]>  
 Auxiliary V [<sub>PartP</sub> Participle...]

The formal evidence of this evolution is the loss of agreement between the subject and the participle [see (26)].

- (26) *fasta que ove nueve años complidos >*  
 until that had nine years accomplished-pastpart.agr
- fasta que ove nueve años cumplido >*  
 until that had nine years accomplished-no.pp.agr.
- hasta que hube cumplido nueve años*  
 until that had accomplishednine years

The evolutive process illustrated above involves a loss of the subject position of the small clause. This fact would explain why examples such as (20) are illformed in modern Spanish. Examples of apparent interpolation of adverbs [cf. (19)] and verbal complements [cf. (21)] can be explained in terms of adjunction to a higher functional category related to the small clause, possibly ASPP. When the participle loses its sentential properties and constitutes a periphrastic form together with the verb, adjunction between these two segments becomes impossible.

#### 4. Conclusion

We have shown that interpolation only appears in the context *clitic* — *V* and that we may relate this phenomenon to the presence of a functional category FocusP. This syntactic position would explain some prosodic effects: main sentences have to obey the Tobler-Mussafia Law, but embedded sentences do not. Furthermore, we have argued that interpolation, from this restrictive point of view, only appears in Ibero-Romance languages. Nevertheless, we think that the subject we have been analyzing up to the present point deserves further investigation.

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