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Elisabeth Mayer

SPANISH CLITICS ON THE MOVE

VARIATION IN TIME AND SPACE

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE CHANGE

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Spanish Clitics on the Move

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Acknowledgments

This book has evolved from my doctoral thesis about the co-evolution of clitics and differential object marking in non-standardized monolingual and bilingual Peruvian Spanish varieties. Clitics are small words with many functions. They are notoriously difficult to define, complex and often highly confusing. All of these attributes make them an intriguing and fascinating topic, they are worthwhile to work on and never boring. While the core arguments have remained the same, the emphasis has shifted from a mainly synchronic account of the complex relationship clitics exhibit in clitic doubling, to a diachronically-based portrayal of a scalar clitic system, arising from dialect/language contact.

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I dedicate this book to Manu and to our multilingual family.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
AGR	agreeing feature
ANIM	animate
AUX	auxiliary
C	constraining
CL	clitic
CLD	clitic doubling
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative case
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIMIN	diminutive
DO	direct object
DOM	differential object marking
ETHDAT	ethical dative
F	feminine gender
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEND	gender
GF	grammatical function
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IO	indirect object
LA	Latin America
LS	Limeño Standard Spanish
M	masculine gender
N	neuter gender
NP	noun phrase
NUM	number
OBJ	object
OBJ _θ	restricted object

OBL	oblique
OM	objective marker
P	preposition
PARTIC	participle
PAST	past tense
PERF	perfect aspect
PERS	person
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional object
PRED	predicate feature/lexical form
PRO	pronoun
QUANT	quantifier
RECIPR	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RP	River Plate
S	sentence
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SPEC	specific
SUBJ	subject
TOP	topic
TOP2	secondary topic
VP	verb phrase

Table of contents

Acknowledgments — v

List of tables — x

Abbreviations — xii

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Clitics and argument marking — 1
- 1.2 Variability and innovations in argument marking — 5
 - 1.2.1 Differential object marking — 5
 - 1.2.2 Clitic doubling — 6
- 1.3 Variability in clitic systems — 7
- 1.4 The corpus of fieldwork data — 11
- 1.5 Sociohistory — 13
 - 1.5.1 Data background — 14
 - 1.5.2 Migration, contact and bilingualism — 15
- 1.6 Contact and change — 17
- 1.7 Variability in language — 19
- 1.8 Theoretical framework — 22
- 1.9 Organisation of the book — 23

2 The nature of clitics — 25

- 2.1 Background — 25
- 2.2 Romance clitichood: bound or free forms — 28
- 2.3 Dative clitic vs. accusative clitic — 33
- 2.4 Specific *lo* (*la*) environments — 39
 - 2.4.1 *Lo* as propositional anaphoric topic marker — 40
 - 2.4.2 Determiner cliticization — 41
 - 2.4.3 An attempt at accommodating determiner clitics — 43
- 2.5 Clitic placement and alignment constraints — 44
 - 2.5.1 Surface constraints — 45
 - 2.5.2 The Person-Case Constraint — 48
 - 2.5.3 Markedness constraints — 51
- 2.6 Summary — 55

3 Objects, case and clitic doubling — 57

- 3.1 Objects and casemarking — 57
- 3.2 Clitic doubling — 62
 - 3.2.1 Dialectal variability and evolving clitic doubling sections — 63
 - 3.2.2 Agreement and crossreferencing — 66

3.3	Referential categories — 69
3.3.1	Definiteness vs. specificity — 69
3.3.2	Animacy — 71
3.3.3	Differential object marking, specificity and clitic doubling — 76
3.4	A Lexical-Functional Grammar view of clitic doubling — 80
3.4.1	From constituent structure to functional structure — 80
3.4.2	Grammatical functions — 86
3.4.3	Optional PRED PRO — 89
3.5	Summary — 92
4	From syntax to information structure — 93
4.1	The concept of differential object marking — 93
4.2	Two-dimensional differential object marking — 95
4.3	Differential object marking, topicality and clitic doubling — 101
4.3.1	Optionality — 103
4.3.2	Non-specificity — 104
4.3.3	Extended differential object marking — 106
4.4	Clitic evolution by reanalysis — 110
4.4.1	Drivers of change – gender and number — 113
4.4.2	Morphological simplification in Limeño Spanish contact varieties — 114
4.5	Summary of argument thus far — 117
4.6	Differential object marking and information structure — 118
4.7	The notion of secondary topic — 120
4.7.1	Previous accounts for Spanish — 122
4.8	Correlation of case marking and information structure — 124
4.8.1	Topic vs. focus — 126
4.8.2	Topic and secondary topic — 129
4.9	Anaphora and topic/object drop — 136
4.9.1	Morphological blocking — 138
4.10	Summary — 139
5	Variation and continuity in time and space — 141
5.1	Agreement in time and space — 141
5.1.1	Peninsular Spanish <i>léismo</i> , <i>loísmo</i> , <i>laísmo</i> — 142
5.1.2	Limeño Spanish contact varieties — 143
5.1.3	Invariant <i>lo</i> — 144
5.2	<i>Léismo/laísmo</i> doubling — 152
5.2.1	The dative-accusative alternation in contact Spanish — 156
5.3	Floating agreement in clitic clusters — 164

5.3.1	Person-Case Constraint and case syncretism —	166
5.3.2	Clitic clusters variability —	169
5.4	Object drop and anaphoric recoverability —	173
5.4.1	Ecuador —	175
5.4.2	Brazilian Portuguese and Paraguayan Spanish —	178
5.4.3	Basque Spanish —	179
5.5	Summary —	183
6	Contact and change —	187
6.1	Contact in Peruvian Spanish —	187
6.1.1	Comparison with Basque —	188
6.2	Amazonian Spanish —	190
6.2.2	Contact with Brazilian Portuguese —	191
6.2.3	Contact with Ashaninka —	192
6.2.4	Contact with Yagua —	195
6.2.5	Quechua —	196
6.2.6	Andean Spanish —	200
6.3	The pointing effect of <i>lo</i> and <i>(-ta) -qa</i> —	202
6.3.1	Topicality vs. transitivity —	207
6.3.2	Primary object and secondary object marking —	208
6.3.3	Semantic roles —	211
6.3.4	Mapping of thematic roles to grammatical functions —	212
6.3.5	Two primary objects? —	214
6.3.6	Object behaviour —	217
6.4	Object alternations —	219
6.4.1	Disambiguation/Agency —	219
6.4.2	Affectedness —	221
6.4.3	Telicity —	223
6.5	Double object constructions —	225
6.5.1	Dative alternation —	226
6.5.2	Dative vs. oblique —	229
6.5.3	Ethical datives —	233
6.5.4	Ethical datives in passivization —	234
6.6	Summary —	235
7	Conclusion —	237
	References —	242
	Index —	263

List of tables

Table 1.1	Etymological system (Fernández-Ordóñez 2012:78) — 8
Table 1.2	Standard and contact head- and dependent marking — 9
Table 1.3	Limeño Spanish contact varieties scalar clitic system — 10
Table 1.4	Female interviewees by location and education (Lima only) — 13
Table 1.5	Male interviewees by location and education (Lima only) — 13
Figure 1.1	Feature pool (Mufwene 2001, 2002) — 17
Table 2.1	Accusative and dative clitic pronouns in Spanish — 34
Table 2.2	Accusative and dative reflexive pronouns in Latin American Spanish — 35
Table 2.3	Syncretism in the Spanish clitic paradigm — 35
Table 2.4	Clitic morphology and phonology — 36
Table 2.5	Feature representation of third person clitic pronouns — 37
Table 2.6	Demonstratives and elsewhere position of /e/ — 37
Table 2.7	Strong pronouns, definite determiners and accusative clitics — 38
Table 2.8	Definite determiners and dative clitic — 38
Table 2.9	Modified projection/dependence matrix — 43
Table 2.10	Spurious se in the cluster se lo(s)/la(s) — 52
Table 3.1	Spanish objective marking, case, clitic agreement and thematic roles — 61
Figure 3.1	constituent structure → functional structure — 82
Figure 3.2	constituent structure → functional structure — 85
Table 3.2	Grammatical functions (Dalrymple 2009: 5) — 86
Figure 3.3	Clitic morphosyntactic features — 90
Table 4.1	Evolution of differential object marking and clitic doubling — 99
Table 4.2	Differential object marking system in <i>El Cid</i> — 102
Table 4.3	Object marking in Limeño Spanish contact varieties — 108
Table 4.4	Evolution of change (Palacios 2005) — 112
Table 4.5	Anaphoric and grammatical clitic agreement in Limeño Spanish contact varieties and Standard Spanish — 113
Table 4.6	Markedness hierarchies (Aissen 2003: 445) — 119
Table 4.7	Default alignment (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 166) — 120
Table 4.8	Similarities subject and object – Standard Spanish — 125
Figure 4.1	constituent structure → functional structure — 130
Figure 4.2	constituent structure → functional structure — 134
Table 4.9	Marked and unmarked objects in Spanish — 136
Table 6.1	Ashéninka-Perené demonstrative pronouns (Reed and Payne 1986: 330) — 193
Table 6.2	Topicality markers in Quechua and Limeño Spanish contact varieties — 206
Table 6.3	Primary object (PO) properties for the direct object in Spanish varieties — 210

Table 6.5	Feature correlation and mapping on to syntactic functions —	213
Table 6.6	Monotransitive and ditransitive primary and secondary object mapping —	213
Table 6.7	Primary (PO) and secondary object (SO) in contact Spanish —	214
Table 6.7	Syntactic properties of direct object, indirect object and primary object in Spanish —	218

Chapter 1

Introduction

This book is about the genesis of a subset of feature-reduced clitics and their syntactic/pragmatic functions in Limeño Spanish contact varieties of Peruvian Spanish. These clitics, which arise as non-standardized variation embedded in a variety of contact and second language acquisition scenarios, exhibit different grammaticalization stages and extended grammatical functions. The book presents a theoretically oriented description linking the clitic variability and innovation found in these dialects to language change in progress. The argument is then extended to show that these innovations are not restricted geographically but can be found in contact situations across the Spanish-speaking world.

1.1 Clitics and argument marking

Clitic pronouns are morphological markers at the interface of syntax and phonology, morphology, semantics and information structure (Belloro 2007; Ordóñez and Repetti 2006; Spencer and Luís 2012; Zwicky 1985). They are phonologically unstressed bound morphemes and as such dependent on a verbal host. Proclitics as in (1b), occur as single words immediately before the verb, enclitics attach verbfinally as suffixes in (1c). In their morphology, Spanish clitics express the features person, gender, number and case, and play an important role in argument marking (Harris, 1995). As anaphores, feature-agreeing clitics replace propositions or noun phrases as in the feminine clitic *la* in (1b) and (1c) referring to the noun phrase *María* in (1a).

- (1) a. *Ayer* *vi* *a* *María_i*.
yesterday see-PAST-1SG DOM María.FSG
'Yesterday I saw María.'
- b. *Ayer* *la_i* *vi*.
yesterday CL3FSG see-PAST-1SG
'Yesterday I saw her.'
- c. *Quise* *verla_i* *ayer*.
want-PAST-1SG see-INF.CL3FSG yesterday
'I wanted to see her yesterday.'

In object-verb agreement, Spanish shows dependent- and head-marking as in showing case and agreement features in the two core grammatical functions,

namely the indirect object and the direct object (Bresnan 2001c; Nichols 1986). Dependent-marking uses a syncretic form *a* to mark indirect objects with dative case obligatorily and direct objects with accusative case differentially (differential object marking [DOM]). Head-marking obtains through a set of feature-specific clitic pronouns (number, gender and case [dative and accusative]), crossreferencing the object on the verb subject to semantic and pragmatic constraints. The combination of head- and dependent marking strategies is shown in the direct object clitic doubling construction in (2) where two elements, feature-specific clitics (*la* carries feminine gender and *lo* masculine) and differential object marking specify information about one single argument, the lexical direct object.

- (2) *La_i / Lo_j vi a María_i / Juan_j.*
 CL3FSG / CL3MSG see-PAST-1SG DOM María.FSG / Juan.MSG
 'I saw Maria/Juan.'

Co-occurrence of head- and dependent marking also extends to non-argument or discourse structures via word order arrangements such as preposing or left dislocation¹ in (3a) and right dislocation in (3b), marking different grammatical relations and signaling pragmatic functions in particular topicality. Note that in (3), the masculine *lo* agrees in number and gender with its referential noun phrase *al chico*.

(3) Topicalization

- a. *Al chic-o_i María lo_i vio ayer.*
 DOM-DET.MSG boy-MSG María CL3MSG see-PAST-3SG yesterday
 'The boy, Maria saw him yesterday.'
- b. Right dislocation
María lo_i vio ayer al chic-o_i.
 María CL3MSG see-PAST-3SG yesterday DOM-DET.MSG boy-MSG
 'Maria saw him, the boy, yesterday.'

Clitic doubling and topicalization strategies are governed by a complex configuration of morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors, and are subject

¹ These are two slightly different strategies with dislocation involving a pause after the dislocated object. As both phrase structure positions are used to mark a topical, that is a highly salient object, I will not make a distinction here and treat them under the term topicalization. The relationship between casemarking and information structure will be discussed in depth in chapter 4.

to diachronic and synchronic variability across all Spanish varieties. In language contact situations, hybrid/split or new clitic systems may develop.

These new developments in monolingual and bilingual Spanish varieties are the focus of this book. They are illustrated by the following three clitic-doubled structures from two closely related contact varieties, Limeño Spanish contact varieties and Andean Spanish. All examples are considered non-standard or ungrammatical by educated speakers of Spanish across the Spanish speaking world.

Firstly, the emergence of invariant accusative *lo* crossreferencing a plural feminine human object with optional casemarking in (4a) and a feminine inanimate definite object (4b) with case marking.

(4) Limeño Spanish contact varieties (Mayer 2008: 363)

- a. *Lo vi (a) las chicas.*
 CL3MSG see-PAST-1SG DOM DET.FPL girl-FPL
 'I saw the girls.'

Limeño Spanish contact varieties (Mayer 2008: 366)²

- b. *Lo frío a la cebolla.*
 CL3MSG fry-1SG DOM DET.FSG onion.FSG
 'I fry the onion?'

Secondly, invariant accusative *lo* covaries with invariant dative *le* in extended accusative doubling, crossreferencing a feminine/masculine human and a feminine inanimate object with casemarking as shown in (5). The extension of *le* to inanimate objects depends on geographic region and intensity of contact. Note the ambiguous role of the syncretic form *a* as either dative case or differential object marker (accusative case).

(5) Limeño Spanish contact varieties (Mayer FW)

- Le veo a Ana/Pablo/mi carro.*
 CL3SG see-1SG DAT/DOM Ana/Pablo/my car
 'I see Ana/Pablo/my car.'

Thirdly, another function of invariant *lo* is locative doubling. The syncretic form *a* in (6) is a locative preposition.

² This combination is very unusual outside dialect contact regions and considered ungrammatical by educated Spanish speakers. However, per personal communication from native speakers of River Plate in the greater Buenos Aires region – something requiring more evidence – the same variability can be found in River Plate.

(6) Andean Spanish (Cerrón Palomino 2003: 168–170)

Lo llegaron a este pueblo.
 CL3MSG arrive-PAST-3PL LOC DEM.MSG village.MSG
 ‘They arrived at this village.’

Examples (4)–(6) show the complex argument marking system using clitics of non-standardized Spanish. Educated and dialectal norms perform the same functions with feature-specifying clitics and restricting differential object marking to animate, definite and specific noun phrases and determiner phrases.

Before delving deeper into the subject, I introduce some definitions. Throughout this book when I use the term Spanish, I refer to the educated oral and written norm of Spanish spoken around the world as a first and as a second or additional language. Spanish thus refers to the standardized written and oral norm of the Spanish language as laid out and monitored by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (Real Academia Española) in Spain and its 21 affiliated Academies in Latin America, the United States and the Philippines. To cover dialectal variability across all Spanish speaking countries, I specify the broader region, for example Peninsular Spanish or Latin American Spanish, as well as the local region as in River Plate Spanish (or Rioplatense Spanish). Lima Spanish refers to the educated and standardized norm as used in all official documents and spoken by educated speakers in Lima and elsewhere in Peru.³

Limeño Spanish contact varieties are mainly acquisitional varieties on a continuum dependent on varying access to formal education. This is why I refer to those varieties as ‘non-standardized’ in the sense of Bresnan (1998), referring to a dialect continuum exhibiting extensive microvariation embedded in a range of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, among them importantly non-standard input and undereducation as further described in section 1.4.1 below. Andean Spanish is mainly an oral Spanish dialect continuum reaching from the southern tip of Colombia to the northern Santiago de Estero region in the Argentine. Another closely related Spanish dialect continuum is Amazonian Spanish. The main difference between Spanish and non-standardized Spanish is that the latter is mainly oral and characterized by lack of or limited access to formal education. In this book examples from Spanish are of written or oral educated origin; examples from Limeño Spanish contact varieties are naturally occurring oral data collected in fieldwork.

3 Lima as an important viceregal city has had a strong prescriptive influence over the rest of the country until quite recently.