Susann Fischer:
The Catalan Clitic System. A Diachronic Perspective on its Syntax and Phonology.
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The Catalan Clitic System. A Diachronic Perspective on its Syntax and Phonology by Susann Fischer constitutes a new, good introduction to an interesting topic: the history of clitic placement in Catalan and some related languages. Fischer undertakes the quantified analysis of written texts from the 13th to the 20th century, and analyses word order variation of pronominal clitics with respect to finite and non-finite verbs and other elements in the sentence, from which she draws a description of the facts which doesn't always coincide with the standard assumptions; she then goes on to propose an analysis couched in the minimalist program (as in Chomsky, 1995).

This work will undoubtedly become a standard reference for those studying the diachronic syntax of Catalan and Old Romance in general and we regard the proposal as robust, though it still leaves several issues unanswered – in what follow we turn to these.

Chapter 1 sets the goals of the book, the methodology followed and the texts selected as the basis for the study. We are not going to go into foundational issues, but note that the debate between Kroch and Lightfoot takes a new perspective in Lightfoot (1999). The text selection comprises two pieces for each century, and it could be argued that this involves dialectal variation due to the different origin of texts, and also the levelling effect of written language (so that written language, the source of diachronic studies, does not straightforwardly reflect 'a former stage of spoken language', p. 12).[1]

Chapter 2, the most extensive, describes with multiple examples the data starting with Latin and reaches as far as contemporary Romance. Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese, together with Catalan, are examined regarding (i) the possibility of interpolation (i.e. any material intervening between verb and clitic), (ii) clitic climbing, (iii) doubling of pronouns with clitics and availability of pronouns on their own. It is considered whether clitics can appear in preverbal position (Cl – V, X(P) – Cl – V) or postverbal position (V – Cl, X(P) – V – Cl), also taking into account the variable category of the initial element (Complementiser, Negation, etc.). The main conclusion established is that the so called *Tobler Mussafia* law

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[1]   Note that one of the texts selected is *Tirant lo Blanc a Constantinopla*, not the whole work.

according to which clitics must appear in 2nd position cannot be maintained. Yet, Fischer's example (74) [(1) here] arguably is not a counter-example to the *Tobler Mussafia* law; since according to successive works by Lema and Rivero topicalised elements such as those in (74) should be regarded as outside the range of the *Tobler Mussafia* effect, which applies within CP (see Lema / Rivero, 1991; Lema, 1994).

(1) … e io fer-**li** he tota aquella honor que hem serà possible,
     'and I will give him all the honor that will be possible for me,'
                                                     (74) in Fischer, 2002: 50

Second, following the author, that clitics appear both pre- and postverbally in finite clauses holds true of a longer period than usually thought: contemporary Catalan only allows preverbal clitics with finite verbs, but post-verbal clitics were still attested in the 19th century. Interestingly, postverbal clitics with finite verbs are found in contemporary Romance in Portuguese (as expressed on p. 94), but also in Asturian and Leonese varieties, which allow them pre- and postverbally: It would be relevant to find out if the meaning contrast between sentences with different clitic/verb positions holds in these varieties as claimed by Fischer for Old Catalan.

(2) Tol mundu **lo** dicía. Gustába**me** munchu tener un rapazu en cuello
     (…)
     'Everybody said so. I liked very much having a child in my arms'
     Cuándu **lu** traen…? Y dexaré**sme** traelu en cuello?
     'When are they bringing him? And will you let me have him in my
     arms?'   (Asturian: *El duviellu* by M. Josefa Canellada)

Chapters 3 and 4 review former research on the diachronic syntax of Romance. The predictions of the hypotheses presented are not always sufficiently explicit for the non-specialised reader and on occasion do not seem to be made full justice (as for example with Halpern, 1995, which, as far as we understand, makes no predictions as to clitics in medial position, except that they must have a host to their left). An argument held against prosodic accounts is that on occasion the clitic is postverbal when there is another element in initial position, seemingly precluding enclisis to the verb; yet, the first element could be topicalised, in which case enclisis to that first element would not be feasible – such a possibility could be entertained.

Particular analyses are dismissed, such as Martineau's (1991) treatment of clitic climbing in Old French, but no alternative proposal is made to encompass Old French and Catalan. It should also be pointed out that, contrary to Fischer's stances, Old Catalan presented sentences without clitic climbing, such as (3):

(3)   e no **m** cal dar-**hi** fe.   (March, Poema 20.7)

The empirical coverage could also be improved on: regarding the author's assertion (p. 62) that no examples are available for split futures in the 16th century, Keniston (1937: 438–439) provides three examples from the *Dialogo de la lengua* of Juan de Valdés together with some more. Clitic placement in 19th century Romance has been the object of González Ollé (1983), as well as Rini (1990) and Martins (1995) mentioned by Fischer.

Chapters 5 and 6 comprise Fischer's original analysis, according to which clitic placement follows from verb movement to a functional projection Σ(P). Clitics are postverbal when V raises to Σ due to an uninterpretable feature in Σ, and clitics are preverbal when V remains below ΣP, in TP: this happens when Σ is occupied by a lexical element such as negation – hence the desirable prediction that the order (XP) – Neg – Cl – V is the only possible one while (XP) – Neg – V – Cl is unattested.

(4)   Fèlix demanà al ermità hon és Déus, car fort se meravellava com no.**l** veya.
       'Fèlix asked the hermit where God was, because he wondered that he didn't see him.'   (Ramon Llull, *Llibre de Meravelles*, 66,10)

In terms of motivation, what is not clear is why at a certain point, in the 14th–15th century, verb raising should have disappeared in embedded clauses (the semantic reason adduced would seem to preclude verb raising in embedded clauses generally). The feature specification of Σ in Old Catalan is assumed without independent empirical evidence to support it. Having said this, the basic idea of clitic placement as dependent on V raising, and economy principles driving the diachronic process is a simple and elegant solution and fits in with work in other, perhaps related, areas such as acquisition (see Zuckerman, 2001, and Gavarró, 2003, on English and Catalan).

With respect to the phonological aspects, Fischer points out the regularity of the clitic forms (p. 185); however, it is confusing that this should

be termed allomorphy if the pattern can be attributed to vowel insertion (a regular phonological process, rather than a morphological idiosyncrasy), as already established by Wheeler (1979). What's more, the shape the clitic takes varies across dialects (the description of modern dialects on page 71 with e.g. *em* as proclitic and *me* as enclitic is only valid for some dialects; in other varieties *me* is still proclitic). Much of what is assumed to hold for modern Catalan (on the basis of Central Catalan texts) holds only for a subset of Catalan varieties. This is of no consequence for the conclusions reached by the author, but needs qualification. Note also that clitic climbing is obligatory in contemporary Balearic varieties, so optionality is not as pervasive as asserted. Orthographic issues also seem to confuse matters, as when the locative clitic *hi* and its orthographic variants are discussed (p. 32, 65; confusion finally dispelled in footnote 21 of chapter 5).

In the end the reader is left with the wish for a comprehensive account of the phenomena described in the earlier chapters of the book: why interpolation is possible in other Romance varieties but not in Catalan (as already noted in Ramsden, 1963); why doubling emerges in Romance; when interpolation is possible in Romance (see the account of Martins, in press, which regards all Old Romance clitics as heads, not only the Catalan ones, and attributes interpolation to factors other than the head character of the clitic). We hope that Fischer will pursue these issues with the same thrust as she has shown in her thesis. We would also wish for a revised version of the present work, including some more editorial accuracy, even more necessary when this book is due to become a standard reference in the field.

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**Francesc Ruiz i San Pascual, Rosa Sanz i Ribelles,
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Das katalanische *Diccionari de Sociolingüística*, 2001 im Verlag *Enciclopèdia Catalana* erschienen, enthält 1150 Einträge zu Konzepten und Begrifflich-keiten aus verschiedenen kontextuellen Disziplinen, welche als gemein-same Achse die Soziolinguistik haben. Hierzu zählen neben den linguisti-