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Author(s): Yolanda Rivera-Castillo

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Enclitic Pronouns in Caribbean Spanish

Yolanda Rivera-Castillo
University of California at Davis

1.1 Presentation of the problem

I will propose that pronominal enclitics in Caribbean Spanish are suffixes, not clitics. Most of the evidence support the claim that enclitics accommodate to word-internal rules of stress and other requirements on phonemic sequences in words. Data from Caribbean, Peninsular, and New Mexican Spanish will be used to sustain these claims.

Our research describes prosodic and syntactic phenomena characteristic of monosyllabic unstressed oblique/reflexive pronouns (i.e., pronominal clitics), which in Spanish seem to satisfy, on their own, subcategorization requirements of verbs (see Ojeda (1989) for detailed description of the paradigm)

I will argue that each of these clitics has a twofold representation in the grammar: a clitic form, and an affixal form. Moreover, affixal forms appear in a fixed position in the word, to the right of the verbal stem (or root), or as they have been called: enclitic. Clitic forms precede the verb (proclitic) and usually -using the criteria that every word should have primary stress assigned- constitute a word with it. Examples from Caribbean Spanish for both kinds are shown in (1). The enclitic case occurs in paroxitonic commands (1) and in proparoxitonic commands (2):

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | proclitic:
<u>me #</u> <u>dé</u> <u>+n</u>
procl-dat V-give -pl2nd
"You (plural) give me..." | enclitic:
<u>dé</u> <u>+ me</u> <u>+n</u>
V-comm encl-dat pl2nd
"Give (you) me!" |
| (2) | proclitic:
<u>le #</u> <u>tráiga</u> <u>+n</u>
procl-dat V-bring -pl2nd
"You (plural) bring to him/her..." | enclitic:
<u>tráiga</u> <u>+ le</u> <u>+n</u>
V-comm encl-dat -pl2nd
"Bring it to him/her!" |

Evidence for the status of enclitics as affixes comes from command + pronoun "sequences." Generally, Modern Spanish allows pronominal clitics only to precede finite forms of the verb (proclisis), or only to follow non-finite forms (enclisis), as seen in (3):

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (3) | a) <u>me</u> <u>lo</u> <u>puede traer</u>
me-dat it-acc. can bring-inf.
"He/she/you can bring it to me". | b) <u>puede traer</u> <u>-me</u> <u>-lo</u>
can bring-inf- me-dat it-acc.
"He/she/you can bring it to me". |
|-----|---|---|

The only morphologically finite forms that require enclisis are commands.

Unstressed pronouns with commands behave differently according to dialect.¹ Evidence for the suffixal status of enclitics in Caribbean Spanish does not come from normal phonological (and phonetic) rearrangements across word boundaries,

such as resyllabification; or from contraction of the second element in a phonosyntactic unit -postlexical phonology- as seen in Old Spanish cases such as:

- (4) nol < no le
 no-adv him-dat
 "Don't X to him."

Our evidence relies mainly on word-internal and morpheme boundary phonology.

Wanner (1987: 462) and Zwicky (1980) have proposed criteria to distinguish affixes from words. According to these criteria, pronominal enclitics and inflectional affixes are similar or even identical in many respects. Proclitics have only some of these characteristics, while enclitics have most of them. They differ from enclitics because they: a) do not have a fixed location (there is room for stylistic reorderings--> proclitic to finite forms, enclitic to adverbs; and "enclitic" to other pronouns with which they cluster); b) are not subject to specific morphological conditions on distribution, including template restrictions (at least, not templatic conditions related to verbal morphology).²

Proclitics are probably "bound words," according to Nevis' (1986) taxonomy for Finnish particles. These have parallel behavior to that of full words, except for their distribution in the sentence; and that they attach to their host word by a phonological liaison process.

2.1. *Syntactic evidence for the affixal status of pronominal enclitics with Commands:*

Cases of "conjunction reduction" in Caribbean Spanish show different syntactic behavior of enclitics (5 b) vs. proclitics (5 a):

- (5) a) Yo lo envuelvo y traigo a casa hoy.
 I it-acc wrap-I and bring-I to home today
 "I'll wrap it and bring it home today".
- b) *Trae a casa hoy y envuélvelo.
 Bring-comm to home today and wrap-comm-it.
 "Wrap (it) and bring it home today".
- c) Lo traes y envuelves rápido.
 It-acc bring-you and wrap-you fast
 "You bring it and wrap it".
- d) *Envuelve y tráelo rápido.
 Wrap-comm and bring-comm-it. fast
 "Wrap (it) and bring it fast".

In (5 a), lo can be absent from the second conjunct because it is proclitic, but the same situation with a command and "enclitic" pronoun (5 b) disallows the "reduction" in the first clause. If enclitics are suffixes, then syntax has no access to word-internal information and a morpheme cannot be "absent" from a member of a conjoined structure (Figure 2) as with the case of words (Figure 1). This fact follows from assumptions on the independence of grammatical components.

FIGURE 1

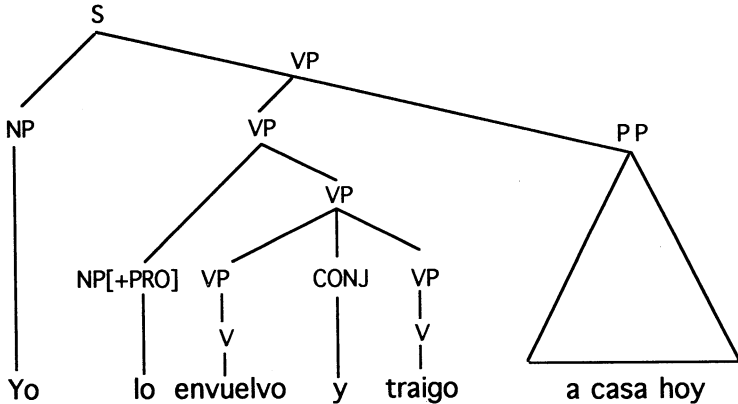
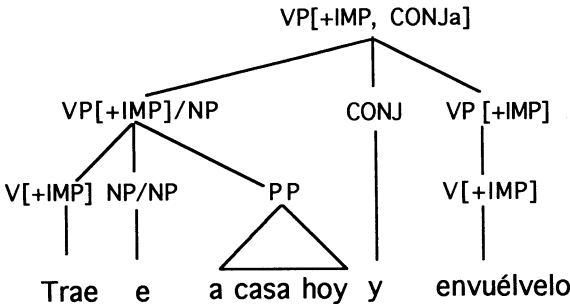


FIGURE 2



It is possible that the explanation is related to the presence of a category which does not fulfill the requirements of the syntactic structure in which it is (SLASH is not in each conjunct of the conjoined structure), or to the presence of a verb whose subcategorisation requirements are not satisfied as in Figure 2. Besides, the proclitic can combine by itself with the conjoined elements as full words, as seen in Figure 1. Example (*infra*, 5 b) would be good if traelo substitutes trae; or if a proclitic lo is used in the first clause (non-command verbs):

- (6) Lo traes a casa hoy y envuélvelo.
 It bring-you to home today and wrap-comm-it.
 "You bring it home today and wrap it".

2.2. *Arguments from morphology*

Some indications from the conformation of enclitics behavior to conditions on the morphological shape of uninflected vs. inflected forms, reveal intriguing differences. Uninflected forms -like infinitives and gerunds- with enclitics, show little of the peculiar phonological behavior of such with commands. The explanation could be that, if no verbal inflection is present, then no case inflection should be present either (for it goes against the morphological nature of uninflected

forms). Nevertheless, there are some attested forms of "inflected" infinitives in some dialects of Spanish (Espinosa 1949: 231):

(7)	<u>ir-</u>	<u>se-</u>	<u>n</u>	(ellos quieren	<u>irse</u>	<u>-n)</u>
	go-inf-	3rdat-	3rdpl	(they want-3rdpl	go-3rddat	-3rdpl)
	"to go (they/you)"			"They want to go".		

Besides, obligatory enclitic forms in Spanish are exceptional: if unstressed pronouns are all clitics; and if inflected forms require proclisis, what can justify the presence of enclitics with morphologically inflected forms of a defective paradigm such as the imperative?

On the other hand, it is a characteristic of clitics to be ordered outside inflectional morphemes. In fact, affixes cannot attach to bases containing clitics in English (Bauer 1988: 100). Spanish pronominal "enclitics" to command forms would be an exception if they are treated as clitics.

Besides, Spanish inflection goes to the right of the root or stem. This is significant, since verbal inflection is not an exception to this rule. In Caribbean Spanish, enclitics occur to the right of the verb, outside the thematic vowel sometimes; outside the root of monosyllabic verbs in other cases; but inside third person plural endings in many instances (*infra* (1) and (2)). Our hypothesis is that their precedence to personal endings is conditioned by phonological as well as morphological rules.

3.1. Evidence from syllabification (phonology) in paroxitones

Syllabic structure in Caribbean Spanish allows very few consonants as codas: /s/, /n/, /r/, and /l/.³ All are alveolars, and [+anterior, -dent, +coronal]. Some oxitonic commands have these consonants as codas in their stressed syllable. Except for the second person singular pronoun, unstressed pronouns that "attach" to these commands have /n/, /m/, /l/, and /s/ as onset consonants, which all are [+anterior, -dent, -instantaneous] consonants. The following set of commands with stress in their last (or unique) syllable (oxitones) will be part of the discussion:

- (8) a) second person singular cases:
hás pón vén tén sál
 "do" "put" "come" "have" "get out"
- b) monosyllabic second person plural:
dé-n
 "give"
- c) bisyllabic second person plural
esté-n
 "be"

The command + the "enclitic", form a paroxitonic word. In "Standard" Spanish (SS), if an affix-pronoun attaches to a base ending in a stressed syllable with a coda [+anterior] nasal consonant, the pronoun that follows can have an onset [+anterior] nasal consonant. In Caribbean Spanish, such sequence of nasals after a stressed vocoid is not allowed.

	Caribbean Sp.			"Standard" Sp.		
(9)	$\frac{p\acute{o}N+}{V-comm}$	$\frac{e}{encl}$	$+Me$	$\frac{p\acute{o}N}{V-comm}$	$+Me$	$encl$
	"Put X for me"					
(10)	$\frac{d\acute{e}+}{V-comm}$	$\frac{Me}{encl-}$	$\frac{+N}{pl2nd}$	$\frac{d\acute{e}}{V-commpl}$	$+N$	$\frac{+Me}{-pl2nd -encl}$
	"Give-me (pl)."					

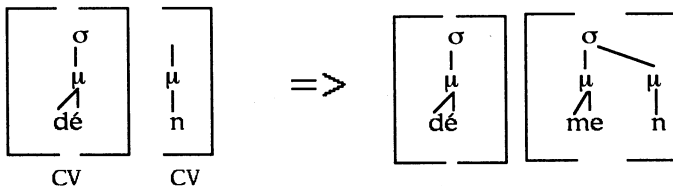
Except for commands+enclitics, contiguous nasal sequences cannot be found in Standard Spanish after a stressed vocoid. In fact, all SS cases in which this sequence appears (after an unstressed vocoid), are "created" by affixation; no roots have such sequence⁴. In CS, syllabification rules that produce examples like (9) and (10) indicate that clitics after a stressed syllable (primary stress) count as another syllable in the prosodic structure of the word. The word-internal rule that seems to be operating is: no nasal sequences after a stressed vocoid.

Also, the phenomenon in (9) above occurs with other cases of [+anterior, -dental] coda consonants followed by an [+anterior, -dental] onset of the suffix pronoun (given that they don't have identical melodic specification, and that no problems with harmonic vowels arise). The rule will extend to cases in which the affix pronoun begins with /t/ (second person singular cases).

In (9) and (10), morphological rules operate, and new sequences of phonemes result from new morpheme boundaries. Word-internal configuration must follow certain rules (which are phonological as well as syllabification rules); rules that are sensitive to the morphological structure of the word. Caribbean Spanish rules on affixation of pronominal suffixes to commands respect more general rules on word-internal phonemic sequences. Compared to SS, CS has:

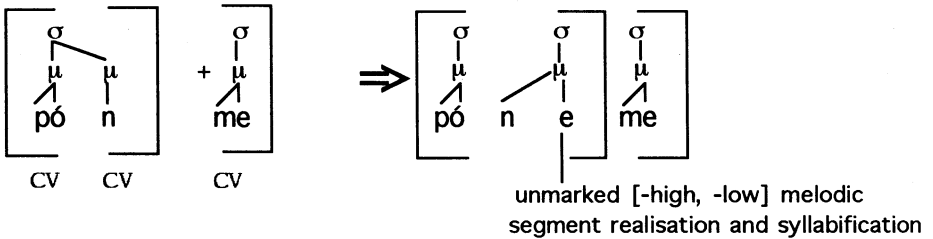
- I. Order of morphemes: Different order of morpheme sequences with respect to SS to accommodate to rules on adjacency of slots associated to [-syllabic] melodic segments with identical [+nasal, +anterior] or [+anterior, -dental] specification after a stressed vocoid. A similar generalization has been proposed for identical morpheme-internal adjacent elements (Obligatory Contour Principle): at the melodic level, adjacent identical elements are prohibited (Goldsmith 1990: 313-315) -tier conflation (**Figure 3**):

FIGURE 3



- II. Arrangements in the phonological shape of syllables: Rules of phonological realisation of a [-high, -low] unmarked vocoid to fulfill syllable structure requirements, to associate a skeletal unattached V slot (insertion or epenthesis is the traditional name) (see **Figure 4**):

FIGURE 4



These rules are sensitive to the morphological structure of the word; since they cannot be applied arbitrarily:

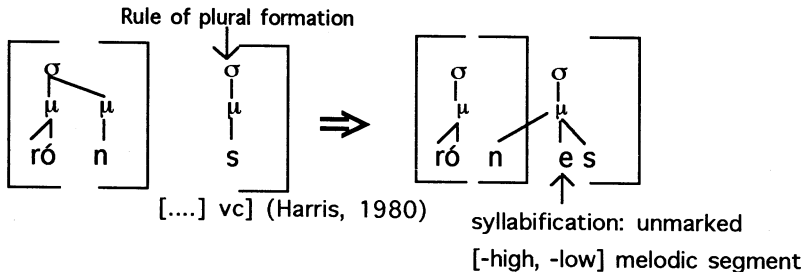
(11) *déneme

(12) *pómen

The differences between these cases result from the fact that **-n** is a plural morpheme in den and simply a coda consonant in pon. It is also true that the minimal word, the base to which the pronominal morpheme attaches, is different in each case; so different rules apply. Syllabification by realisation of an /e/ (epenthesis) in (11) would make the inflectional affix impossible to recognize as a verbal ending.

Word-internal behavior similar to example (*supra*, 9), can be found in Spanish plural formation: "epenthesis" of /e/ is necessary when the stem/root last syllable has an onset consonant (it is heavy) (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5



It also occurs in French: faqueteur vs. facteur, "mailman" (Vendryes 1951: 59), with the "insertion" of a mute /e/. The explanation follows from the presence of a [+syllabic] slot in the tier that lacks melodic specification associated to it. Harris (1980) suggests that all plural adjectives and nouns fulfil the requirements of a constraint on their prosodic template:

Spanish Plural Formation Constraint: [[.....] VC]_a where a = noun or adjective.

Syllabic rearrangements of this sort cannot occur when there is a word boundary, when resyllabification occurs.

Other cases of phenomena similar to that of (10) in Caribbean Spanish, occur inside words (with a prefix) with historical metathesis or conflation: conmesal > comensal, "table companion"; conmesalía > commensalía, "fellowship of house and table"; commilitón > comilitón, "great eater". Though these are not sequences after stressed syllables, the syllables are heavy and [-syllabic] melodic segments with almost identical melodic specification are adjacent.

Historical evidence suggests that a more general principle is operating regarding the basic syllabic structure of Spanish. The coda consonant of a monosyllabic command (stressed syllable) with a [+instantaneous] feature and the onset consonant of the next syllable historically reordered (metathetical) in Old Spanish (like buscálde, "find him"):

- (13) $\frac{dá \quad \quad \quad +d \quad +le}{\text{Give-comm.} \quad \quad \quad \text{2nd-pl him-dat-pro}} > \underline{dálde}$
 "Give (you-plur) X to him/her."

This phenomena occurred word-internally in the evolution from Latin words into Spanish: SPATULA > spad la > espálda, "back". It was probably because Spanish through its history generally allows only codas that are sonorants and/or [-instantaneous] consonants (CVV or CVC_S). This can be linked to other facts, like the dominance of light syllables (CV sequences); the unmarkedness in Spanish of open syllables.

3.2. Evidence from syllabification (phonology) in proparoxitones:

Primary stress in Spanish has been traditionally thought as having been assigned by counting syllables from right to left such that most words have primary stress in the second syllable (Figure 6). But many exceptions to this rule show that another way of assigning stress is operating in the language. Two sets of exceptions occur: a) those stressed in the first syllable (from right to left) (Figure 7); b) and those stressed in the third (Figure 8).

FIGURE 6

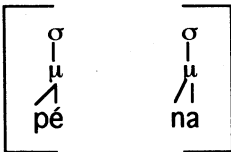


FIGURE 7

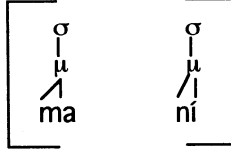
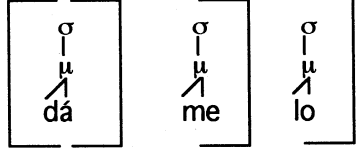


FIGURE 8



Most words in this last and smaller group are Command+pron suffixes phonological words, with a single primary stress assigned. But non-inflected items in the latter group (proparoxitones-most of which are learned words or derived forms) share one characteristic (Harris 1983: 88): they never have a second heavy syllable (counting from the end). That is, words as the following do not exist in Spanish: *tá car do. Harris (1983: 88) gives the example of: *atápamba. Apparently, stress placement is sensitive to weight in the penultimate syllable. But

this generalization seems to have exceptions among inflected forms of Commands+pron suffixes in "Standard" Spanish: bús **quen lo**, "find him."

Standard Spanish Commands+Clitic "words" do not share this important characteristic with proparoxitones. When pronominal clitics attach to a paroxitonic command, it becomes trisyllabic and proparoxitonic. Caribbean Spanish has a different configuration for these forms (14); and it is stress placement, not the number of syllables, that conditions it (15):

- (14) a) tráiga +me +N --> tráigameN
 bring- me- 2nd pl
 "Bring X to me"
 b) búsque+lo +N
 find- it-acc- 2nd pl
 c) dé +me +lo +N (vs. déNmelo & démeNlo)
 give- me-dat it-acc 2ndpl
 "Give it/him to me."
 (15) estén +se (Standard Spanish) <--> estéseN (Caribbean Spanish)
 stay-you you-reflex
 "Stay!"

Dialectal variation in these cases probably responds to differences in the domain of application of the rule: verbal vs. nominal forms (which in SS apply to words like público, "public"; but not to cases like bús **quen lo**).

Cases in which the coda consonant of the penultimate syllable is not a morpheme, undergo a different solution to fit the syllabic structure requirements on proparoxitones. Commands with primary stress in penultimate position fail to phonologically generate their extrametrical consonant under clitic attachment, even in Standard Spanish.

- (16) vámoS <--> nos vámoS (proc) <--> vámonos ("enclitic")
 go-comm-1rstpl 1rstpl-us go go-comm-1rstpl-us-reflex
 "Let's go!"
 (17) sentémonos
 sit-comm-1rstpl-us-refl
 "Let's sit down."

In both cases, the key element is stress placement in the word.

These commands, even when they are not stressed in their last syllable, show parallel behavior to those analyzed in section 3.1 (oxitones):

- I. Order of morphemes: Different order of morpheme/phoneme sequences with respect to "Standard Spanish" to accommodate requirements on syllable structure of proparoxitones (template requirements):

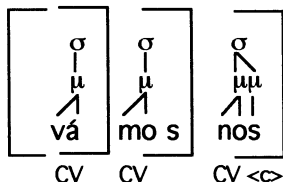
Rule of proparoxitones: W ---> $\sigma'_x \sigma_\mu \sigma_y$; x, y ---> μ or $\mu\mu$

An ungrammatical sequence would be: * $[\sigma'_\mu \sigma_\mu \mu \sigma_\mu]$

- II. Arrangements in the phonological shape of syllables: Null realisation of a coda segment (a consonant) that cannot be associated

to any position in the syllabic structure (though the phoneme is part of the melodic tier of the personal ending morpheme for the first person plural) (Linkage Condition) (**Figure 9**).

FIGURE 9



Finally, there is a clear analogy between the case of póneme and vámonos: the solutions respond to the fact that the problematic coda consonants are parts of a morpheme, not morphemes by themselves. The difference between the cases of póneme and vámonos is that the "insertion" occurs after a stressed syllable; but the null realisation of /s/ occurs a syllable to the right of the stressed syllable (both related to stress position). In both cases, a basic CV syllabic structure is the result (if assumed that word final consonants are extrametrical). In the cases of démen and dálde and traígamen, the dialectally reordered elements are inflectional morphemes.⁵ In these, the same CV basic syllabic structure is obtained or a CVC_s results in case that other solutions would keep a [+instantaneous] consonant in coda position (dadle --> *daled)

4.2. *New Mexican Spanish:*

Evidence of "alternations" between verbal personal inflection and "enclitics" when a proparoxitonic word results from inflection, are available from New Mexican Spanish. The first person plural verbal ending in General Spanish is **-mos**; and the unstressed pronominal form is **-nos**. New Mexican Spanish (NM) cases suggest that stress rules are sensitive to the presence of any first person plural morpheme independently of its agreement status. It is possible to say that in NM only alveolar nasals are realised in a first person plural morpheme that attaches to a paroxitonic base. It must be presupposed that the nasal specification in the melodic tier (Morpheme Tier Hypothesis) of each morpheme (the personal ending (18 b) and the case ending (18 a)) is underspecified⁶ for "point of articulation."

- (18) a) trabajábanos (New Mexican Spanish⁷)
- b) trabajábamos (General Spanish)
- (19) a) fbanos
- b) estábanos
- (20) *esténos (estemos)
- (21) pásenos (<pasémos)

This explanation for NM cases could only work on the presumption that "enclitics" are actually suffixes. In fact, this stress related conditions on the phonological make-up of morphemes should not operate across word boundaries (unless a very weak position is assumed on modularity). Example (21) is particularly significant since, to fit the word-internal prosodic structure to the requirements for the attachment of the clitic, there is a difference in stress position

compared to all other dialects of Spanish. On the other hand, it is meaningful that through its history Spanish has shown other cases of this alternation: Unstressed proclitic pronoun--> NOS / MOS (10th and 11th century Castillian)

6. *Conclusions:*

One consequence of this analysis is that it simplifies the explanation of cases like *démen* (*supra*, 1); because, if pronominal enclitics are neither words nor clitics, no conflicts arise to explain why they switch positions with verbal inflection in different dialects. The analysis also simplifies the representation of command+clitic sequences at a morphological level. Furthermore, we can explain dialectal data from Argentinian and Peninsular Spanish command+ clitic words stressed in the "clitic" (*dimeló, buscaló,...*), by saying that stress is assigned at a word level.

It can be concluded that two sets of oblique pronouns coexist in Spanish: clitics (proclitics) and suffixes ("enclitics"). A particular phenomenon (a sequence of two nasals cannot follow a stressed syllable in Spanish) has created dialectal differences that support this claim. Both syllabification by generation of /e/ or displacement of a coda consonant after a stressed syllable are conditioned by the fact that the consonant constitutes or not a morpheme by itself (e.g., *dádle, démen*).

Finally, the reason why oblique pronouns have evolved as affixes, particularly in sequences with commands, can be traced to the possibility that in early Romance they were only "Wakernagel clitics" that followed the first stressed word. Since commands did not generally allow a subject, the command was always the first word in the VP.

¹Anderson (1984) indicates that marking differences in the phonological behavior of enclitics and proclitics is possible in other languages, such as Buryat and Middle English (with evolution of proclitic *ne*-): *no*lde > *didn't want to*, *na*t > *didn't know*, *ni*s > *isn't*

²Zwicky describes some common types for clitics on the assumption that clitic's properties are a combination of properties of words and properties of affixes. Nevertheless, some have recognized that clitics themselves have properties different from any property of either affixes or words; as in Spanish: ungrammatical phonological sequences for clitics, not words (**lelo* (selo) vs. *paralelo*); and the ability of Pron clitics to cluster (CS: *nolas* vs. SS: *nosla*)).

³/l/ and /r/ are [l] in that position, /n/ becomes a velar, and /s/ becomes an aspirated /h/.

⁴Apparent exceptions to the *nm* and *nl* sequence are those words with the prefixes *con-*, *en-*, or *in-*: *enmendár*, *enlodár*, *inmúndo*, *enloquecér*, ect. These are only apparent because the syllable is unstressed.

⁵In another Caribbean Spanish dialect- Papiamento-, there is a reassignment of stress when an unstressed pronoun is enclitic to a verb: [*dún*'a] + [*mi*] = [*dun*'ámi]; *dun*'am'i `un b`uki = ('give me a book).

⁶Nasals in coda position, when there is no adjacent melodic segment to whose point of articulation they can associate (becoming homorganic), are generated as alveolars or velars (according to dialect); but they don't have any distinctive value. It is more difficult to state such possibility with nasals in an onset position, since this feature is distinctive in this case. Nevertheless, cases from Caribbean Spanish phonological "reductions" of words indicate that the following vowel (in this case

[+high]) can affect the nasal "point of articulation": nudo -> ñu; Eugenio -> Geño. Also, variation occurs with derivation: año vs. anual.

⁷Similar cases have been attested for Caribbean Spanish.

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