A Preliminary Study on the Position of Clitics in Old Sardinian[*]

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1. Introduction

In the Romance languages, weak complements and adverbial pronouns do not receive stress, but attach phonologically to the neighboring stressed word, i.e., to their hosts. Such pronouns are defined as clitics (Cf. Spencer and Luís 2012: 74)[17].

As is well known, the position of clitics in Old Romance languages, including Sardinian, has been traditionally explained by Tobler-Mussafia's Law (henceforth, TM's Law). However, in Old Sardinian, the position of some clitics cannot be explained by the traditional TM's Law, which is based on a phonological constraint. In this study, using a "revised version" of TM's Law —which takes into account the syntactic and informational structure— we attempt to provide a systematic description of the position of clitics in finite clauses, including relative and subordinate clauses, in Old Sardinian. Furthermore, we find that some clitics in Old Sardinian appear in the same position as in Modern Sardinian, and that these clitics cannot be explained even by TM's Law based on the syntactic and informational structure. As for these exceptional cases, assuming that the demise of TM's Law has already begun, we give preliminary consideration to the diachronic change of the clitic position. More precisely, we claim that the change of the clitic position can be explained by the rule change, i.e., substitution of the "verb based" rule for the "enclisis to P1" rule, and by the expansion of the conditions under which procliticization is allowed.

2. Aspects of the Old Sardinian clitic

2.1 Morphology of pronominal and adverbial clitics in Old Sardinian

Broadly speaking, the Sardinian language is classified into two dialects, Logudorese and

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Campidanese. Logudorese is spoken in the northern and central part and Campidanese in the southern part of the island, including Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, in the extreme southern part of the island (see Map)[1]. In Old Sardinian, the difference between the two variants can be already observed. In this paper, we limit the subject of research to clitics in Old Logudorese.

Before beginning the discussion, we need to examine the Old Sardinian clitic morphology and Old Sardinian documents that we use. Table below lists pronominal clitics in Old Logudorese.

Table : *Pronominal clitics*

	SG.		PL.	
	DAT.	ACC.	DAT.	ACC.
1.	mi, me	me	nos	nos
2.	ti, te	ti, te	bos, vos, uos	bos, vos, uos
3.	li	(M.) llu, lu	lis	(M.) los
		(F.) lla, la		(F.) las

Map: Dialects of Sardinia
(Blasco Ferrer 1984: 349)[2]

As shown below, in Old Sardinian, there are three types of adverbial clitics of different etymology, used mainly for locative reference. According to Jones (2003: 248)[7], Modern Sardinian adverbial clitics are often used pleonastically. Furthermore, Old Sardinian has this usage.

inde / ince / ibi, ivi, iui, bi, vi, ui

In this study, we use the following Old Sardinian documents, all in Old Logudorese; their date of origin and edition are also indicated.

Condaghe[2] *di San Pietro di Silki* (CSPSi) : 1150-1180, Delogu (1997)[5]

Condaghe di San Nicola di Trullas (CSNT) : 1225-the second half of 13th century, Merci (2001)[10]

Condaghe di Santa Maria di Bonarcado (CSMB) : 12th century, Virdis (2002a)[18]

Condaghe di San Pietro di Sorres (CSPSo) : 15th century, Sanna (1957)[16]

2.2 Characteristics of clitics and TM's Law in the traditional view

As previously mentioned, clitics in the Romance languages do not receive stress, and attach phonologically to the neighboring stressed word[3]. The position of clitics in Old Romance, including Sardinian, has been traditionally explained by TM's Law: "Clitics cannot appear in the sentence-initial position, but in the second position, and they are encliticized to the immediately preceding stressed word" (Cf. Dardel and Kok 1996: 18-19[4] , Tobler 1875[4], Mussafia 1886[5]). Dardel and Kok (1996) discussed the clitic position in Old Sardinian from the phonological viewpoint, i.e., the traditional TM's Law approach. In what follows, we examine how the clitic position in Old Sardinian is explained by the traditional TM's Law approach.

In (1), the finite verb *posit(i)* appears in the sentence-initial position. In this case, the clitic *lu* occupies the second position and is encliticized to the preceding *posit(i)*. This clitic placement conforms completely to TM's Law.

(1) *Positi**lu**   Comita de Baragai su pede   de   Gosantine Cucusole* (CSPSi: 299)
    give.PF.3SG.-CL.   C.   the quarter   of   G.

   "Comita de Bagari gave a quarter of the slavery of Gosantine Cucusole"

In (2) and (3), constituents other than the verb [nominal subject in (2) and direct object in (3)] are found in the sentence-initial position. In each sentence, the clitic occupies the second position and is preposed to the finite verb[6].

(2) *et   iudice Comida **la** deit   a   donnu[7] Piciellu de Seco cun tota sa*
    and Iudice C.   CL. give.PF.3SG. ACC[8]. d.   P.   with all   the

   pertenencia sua (CSMB: 161)
   property   his

   "And Iudice Comida gave donnu Piciellu de Seco all his properties"

(3) | Custu | bene | **bi** | fatho | | | ad | su | muristere | de | santa |
|-------|------|------|-------|--|--|-----|-----|-----------|----|-------|
| this | donation | CL. | make.IND.PRES.1SG. | | | to | the | monastery | of | St. |

Julia de Kitarone	pro	deu	innanti (CSPSi: 4)
J.	for	God	front

"I make this donation to the monastery of St. Julia de Kitarone before God"

As we notice from these examples, a clitic cannot occupy the sentence-initial position. Such a clitic placement is motivated by a phonological constraint. That is, TM's Law is based on the phonological principle that a sentence cannot begin with an unstressed word.

In subordinate (4) and relative clauses (5), a clitic follows the subordinate conjunctive *kerra* and the relative pronoun *ki*, respectively, occupyng the clause-initial position.

(4) | Testes | homines | de | corona | ki | vi | furun | kerra | **mi** | kertarun | | et |
|--------|---------|----|--------|-----|------|-------|-------|--------|----------|--|-----|
| testimonies | men | of | court | REL. | CL. | be.PF.3PL. | when | CL. | litigate.PF.3PL. | | and |

kera	vinki (CSNT: 328)
when	win.PF.1SG.

"Testimonies; men of the court who presented there when they litigated to me and when I won"

(5) | Et | appus | custa | binchitura | ki | **lis** | feki, | bennerun | issos ad |
|----|-------|-------|-----------|-----|--------|-------|----------|----------|
| and | after | this | win | REL. | CL. | do.PF.1SG. | come.PF.3PL. | they to |

mimi (CSPSi: 9)
me

"And after this win that I did to them, they came to me"

In (6), the coordinate conjunctive *et* occupies the sentence-initial position. In this case, the clitic is not encliticized to *et*, but to the constituent immediately after *et*. If we assume that such a clitic placement conforms to TM's Law, the coordinate conjunctive is not treated as the sentence-initial word, as Salvi (1990: 188)[14] points out.

(6) | et | appretharuni**la** | a | .xv. sollos. (CSPSi: 325) |
|----|--------------------|---|---------------------------|
| and | value.PF.3PL.-CL. | by | 15 soldo[9] |

"And they valued it by 15 soldo"

The reason the clitic cannot be encliticized to the coordinate conjunctive is explained by the phonological point of view. As mentioned above, clitics do not have their own stress and depend phonologically on the neighboring stressed word. According to de Dardel and Kok (1996: 19), coordinate conjunctives do not have stress, and thus cannot be a clitic host.

As we have seen so far, the traditional TM's Law plausibly explains clitic placement in examples (1)-(6).

3. TM's law revisited from the syntactic and informational structure perspective

The previous section demonstrated that the clitic position could be explained by traditional TM's Law, based on the phonological perspective. However, in Old Sardinian, some clitics do not obey the phonological constraint stipulated by traditional TM's Law. In this section, following the studies such as Ledgeway (2011)[9] and Benincà (2006)[1], we claim that such clitics can be explained easily by taking into account the syntactic and informational structure[10].

In (7), the direct object *a lLukia* appears in the sentence-initial position. According to traditional TM's Law, the clitic *la* would appear after *a lLukia*; however, practically, it encliticizes to the finite verb *deit(i)*. Such a clitic placement is obviously a counterexample to TM's Law in the traditional sense.

(7) *et*   *a*   *lLukia*   *deitila*   *a*   *sSimione de Cuniatu.* (CSPSi: 42)
    and   ACC.   L.   give.PF.3SG.-CL.   to   S.

   "And he gave Lukia to Simione de Cuniatu"

As mentioned in Section 2.2, TM's Law in the traditional sense rests upon the phonological perspective. This law stipulates that clitics should attach to the sentence-initial word whenever it receives the stress. That is, the syntactic and informational status of the constituent before the clitic is not taken into consideration. In what follows, we overview some basic issues about the syntactic and informational structure in Old Romance.

On the basis of some evidence[11], it is widely accepted that in Old Romance, the finite verb in the main clause moves from VP (verb phrase) to IP (inflectional phrase), and finally lands at the head of CP (complement phrase), i.e., C[0] (Cf. Ledgeway 2011: 418-432). Furthermore, a topic element and a focus element in the sentence move to the specifier position of CP by left dislocation. The positions to which a topic element and a focus element move are called TopP

and FocP, respectively (Cf. Rizzi 1997)[12]. Besides, it is assumed that subordinate conjunctives and relative pronouns occupy ForceP, which stands for force of the sentence (Benincà 2006: 55). In such a way, elements of various kinds occupy CP domain. In recent studies such as Rizzi (1997) and Benincà (2006), to explain this richly articulated CP domain, a multiple CP structure is proposed. Putting it very informally, the relative constituent order in CP can be schematized as in (8).

(8) [ForceP] [TopP] [FocP] [C^0][12]

According to Ledgeway (2011: 430), a constituent in TopP is extra-sentencial and cannot be a host to which a clitic is encliticized. On the other hand, a constituent in FocP is intra-sentencial, so it can occupy the sentence-initial position. Therefore, if a constituent occupies FocP, the clitic is preposed to the finite verb. In contrast, if there is no constituent in FocP, the sentence-initial element is the finite verb in C^0, and the clitic is encliticized to it. From these observations, we can summarize the rule of the clitic position in the main clause as a "revised version" of TM's Law:

Rule of the clitic position (main clause) (Cf. Benincà 2006) :
- (i) If the finite verb is in C^0, and a constituent is in FocP, the clitic is encliticized to the constituent in FocP.
- (ii) If the finite verb is in C^0, and no constituent is in FocP, the clitic is encliticized to the finite verb.
- (iii) If the finite verb is in sentence-initial position, the clitic is encliticized to the finite verb.

In subordinate and relative clauses, the subordinate conjunctive and the relative pronoun occupy the clause-initial position. In this case, the clitic is never encliticized to the finite verb, but preposed to it.

Rule of the clitic position (subordinate and relative clauses) :
    Clitic is obligatorily preposed to the finite verb.

In subordinate and relative clauses, the finite verb does not move to C^0, but remains in IP domain (Benincà 2006: 77). As evidence of this assumption, so-called *pro-drop asymmetry*

can be taken. This asymmetry refers to the fact that while in the main clause a subject can be omitted, in subordinate clause it cannot. Put differently, in the main clause, the finite verb moves to C^0 and licenses *pro*; however, in subordinate and relative clauses the finite verb cannot license *pro*, because it does not move to C^0. Therefore, an overt subject is obligatory in subordinate and relative clauses.

By a revised version of TM's Law, which takes into account the syntactic and informational structure, we can give a plausible explanation as to the clitic position in (7), repeated in (9).

(9) *et a lLukia deiti**la** a sSimione de Cuniatu.* (CSPSi: 42)

In (9), if we suppose that *a lLukia* occupies TopP, and FocP is empty, then the clitic *la* is encliticized to the finite verb *deit(i)*. The syntactic structure of (9) is schematized as in (9').

(9') $[_{TopP}$ *a lLukia*$]$ $[_{FocP}$ $\phi$$]$ $[_{C0}$ *deitila*$]$

In (3), repeated in (10), if we consider that *custu bene* is the focus element, then the adverbial clitic *bi* is preposed to the finite verb *fatho*. The syntactic structure of (10) is schematized as in (10').

(10) *Custu bene **bi** fatho ad su muristere de santa Julia de Kitarone pro deu innanti* (CSPSi: 4)

(10') $[_{TopP}$ $\phi$$]$ $[_{FocP}$ *custu bene*$]$ $[_{C0}$ **bi** *fatho*$]$

Although the direct object *a lLukia* is repeated by a resumptive pronoun *la* in (9), *custu bene*, which is equally the direct object, the same is not true in (10). According to Ledgeway (2011: 430), a topic element should be repeated by a resumptive pronoun, but a focus element is not. We can use a resumptive pronoun as a criterion to distinguish whether the sentence-initial constituent is the topic or the focus element.

In subordinate and relative clauses such as (5), repeated in (11), the clitic is obligatorily preposed to the finite verb. Benincà (2006: 77) gives a syntactic account of such a clitic placement. As mentioned, in subordinate and relative clauses, the finite verb does not move to C^0, but remains IP. She claims that obligatory preposing in these constructions is linked to

the fact that the finite verb is in IP, i.e., a lower position within the syntactic structure. The syntactic structure of (11) is shown in (11').

(11) *Et appus custa binchitura ki **lis** feki, bennerun issos ad mimi* (CSPSi: 9)

(11') [$_{ForceP}$ ki] [$_{C0}$ ϕ] [$_{IP}$ **lis feki**]

Taking into account the syntactic and informational structure, we can also give a unified explanation for the clitic position in sentences that begin with a coordinate conjunction. As the topic element, *et* is an extra-sentencial element (Salvi 1990: 188). Thus, as in (12), the clitic *la* is not attached to *et* but to the element immediately after *et*. However, in (13), the clitic appears immediately after *et*.

(12) | *Conporaili* | *a* | *Gosantine de Jana...* | *sa* | *parte...* | *et* | *appretharunila* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| buy.PF.1SG.-CL. | from | G. | the | land | and | value.PF.3PL.-CL. |

a	*xv.*	*sollos.* (CSPSi 325)
by	15	soldo

"I bought the land from Gosantine de Jana... and they valued it by 15 soldo"

(13) | *Testes* | *ki* | *ui* | *furun* | *uue* | *conporai* | *et* | ***mi*** | *derun* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| documents | REL. | CL. | be.PF.3PL. | when | buy.PF.1SG. | and | CL. | give.PF.3PL. |

issos (CSPSi: 9)
they

"Documents were made when I bought and they gave me"

Fontana (1996: 74-76)[6] examines the clitics following *et* in Old Spanish. He indicates that the structure *et-clitic-finite verb* is embedded below the CP. In our example, *et mi derun issos* in (13) is embedded below the CP, whose head is the relative pronoun *uue*. In embedded clauses, as already mentioned, the clitic is preposed before finite verb because it remains IP. On the other hand, in (12), since the clause *et appretharunila a xv. sollos* is not embedded below CP, the finite verb has moved to C^0, and the clitic is encliticized to it. The syntactic structure of (13) is schematized as in (13').

(13') *Testes ki ui furun* [$_{C0}$ *uue* [$_{IP}$ *conporai*] *et* [$_{IP}$ **mi derun issos**]]

As discussed so far, from the syntactic and informational structure perspective, we can provide a unified explanation of the clitic position in Old Sardinian.

4. Diachronic change of the position of clitics

4.1 Examples of the change of the clitic position

In Old Sardinian, some clitics appear in the same position as in Modern Sardinian. This fact means that the demise of TM's Law and the change of the clitic position have already begun. In this section, hypothesizing that Wanner's (1996)[20] assumption is correct, we attempt to illustrate the diachronic change of the clitic position from Old to Modern Sardinian.

In most of the Modern Romance languages, including Sardinian, a clitic is always procliticized to the finite verb, and it can occupy the absolute-initial position. Examples are in (14) and (15).

(14) **M'at**   *bidu.*
     CL.-have.IND.PRES.3SG.   see.PPCPL.

     "He saw me"

(15) *Chie*   *l'ischit*   **lu**   *nerzet.* (Pittau 2005: 81)
     who   CL.-know.IND.PRES.3SG.   CL.   say.SUBJ.PRES.3SG.

     "Who knows it would say it"

Let us go back to the discussion of the Old Sardinian clitic position. In (16), since *ad kertu cale minde fekit*, the direct object of *vinchy*, is replicated by the resumptive pronoun *lu*, we understand that this direct object occupies TopP. Therefore, we would expect that the clitic chain *inde lu* should be encliticized to *vinchy*; however, practically, it is preposed to the finite verb. An obligatory preposing (more specifically, procliticization) such as this is the principle in Modern Sardinian.

(16) *Et*   *ad*   *kertu*   *cale*   *minde*   *fekit*   **inde**   **lu**   *vinchy.* (CSPSi: 438)
     and   ACC.   litigation   REL.   CL.-CL.   do.PF.3SG.   CL.   CL.   win.PF.1SG.

     "And as for the litigation that he did to me, I won it"

In (17), the clitic *bos* occupies the absolute-initial position. Such a clitic placement is a general phenomenon in Modern Sardinian, but is exceptional in Old Sardinian.

(17) | *Bos* | *notificamus* | | *cum* | *sas* | *presentes* | *qualmente* | *su* | *fiscu* | *de* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| CL. | notice.IND.PRES.1PL. | | with | the | attendees | equally | the | official | of |

ditu	*episcopadu*	*nos*	*at*		*expostu*	*verbalamente*
mentioned	bishopric	CL.	have.IND.PRES.3SG.		show.PPCPL.	verbally

comente	*li*	*est*		*venidu*	*notisia* (CSPSo: 300)
how	CL.	be.IND.PRES.3SG.		come.PPCPL.	notice

"We inform you equally, with the attendees, that the official of the bishopric has shown us verbally how the news had arrived"

In (16), regardless of the syntactic/informational property of the preceding element, the clitic is preposed to the finite verb. In (17), despite the absence of the preceding element, obligatory procliticization is found. These special cases in Old Sardinian show us that the change of the clitic position has already occurred. In the next section, following Wanner (1996), we illustrate the diachronic change of the clitic position from Old to Modern Sardinian.

4.2 From enclisis to P1 to VB, and generalization of procliticization

Salvi (2011: 364)[15)] assumes that clitics in Old Romance, and those in Latin, were enclitics by nature. In Old Sardinian, encliticization is found even before the finite verb. As their hosts, nouns, relative pronouns, conjunctives, and so on are found. In (18), the clitic host is the subordinate conjunctive *si*. The claim that the clitic *inde* is phonologically encliticized to the preceding word is supported by vowel elision. Since such enclitic is a syntactic argument of the following verb, it is noteworthy that the direction of phonological attachment and that of the syntactic association of the clitic are opposed[13].

(18) | *et* | **s**inde | *kertat* | *alikis* | *pro* | *'llos* (CSPSi: 33) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| and | if-CL. | litigate.IND.PRES.3SG. | someone | for | them |

"And if someone litigates for them"

The clitic in (18) appears immediately after the first constituent of the clause and is encliticized to it. In conformity with Wanner (1996), we call this rule of clitic placement "enclisis

to P1."

In contrast, we also have proclitics before the finite verb, a construction generally found in Modern Sardinian. In (19), the clitic *mi* attaches to the verb *indulsit*. That is, *mi* is proclitic, be it phonologically or syntactically. Following Wanner (1994), we call this clitic placement a "verb based" rule (henceforth, VB).

(19) *et issu atteru sollo **m'indulsit** pro sa anima sua.* (CSNT: 47)
    and the another soldo CL.-give.PF.3SG. for the will his
    "And he gave me the another soldo by his will"

In this study, clitics that appear before the finite verb are divided into two types. We call the type of clitic in (17) a preverbal enclitic and that in (18) a preverbal proclitic.

Wanner (1996: 544) claims that Old Romance was in the intermediate stage of the change from enclisis to P1 to VB. As mentioned in Section 3, in Old Romance, the finite verb moves from IP to C^0, and a focus and topic element precedes the finite verb by left dislocation. Consequently, the finite verb occupies the second position in the sentence. As is well known, the verb second (V2) structure is a general word order in Old Romance. When the finite verb occupies the second position, the clitic that attaches to the sentence-initial constituent by means of enclisis to P1 appears at the same time immediately before the finite verb. In this circumstance, according to Wanner (1996), a reinterpretation of the rule of clitic placement occurred. That is, VB was substituted for enclisis to P1. In consequence of this reinterpretation, the direction of phonological attachment came to coincide with that of syntactic association. Because of the emergence of VB, enclisis to P1, which became a redundant rule, disappeared. At this stage, preverbal enclitics changed to preverbal proclitics.

By the generalization of preverbal proclitic, procliticization came to be allowed, regardless of the syntactic and informational property of the sentence-initial element. For example, in (16), a proclitic is observed even though the initial constituent is in TopP.

As a final step, Wanner (1996: 544) assumed that procliticization also came to be allowed in absolute-initial position as in (17). Through this change, the rule of the clitic position in Modern Sardinian was established. The entire process of the change illustrated above can be summarized as follows:

Process Ⅰ : Substitution of VB for enclisis to P1 (X_{p1}=cl V_{p2} Cf. (18) > X_{p1} cl=V_{p2} Cf. (19))

Process Ⅱ : Generalization of proclisis after the sentence initial constituent ($[_{TopP} X_{p1}]$ cl=V_{p2} Cf. (16))

Process Ⅲ : Generalization of proclisis in absolute-initial position (# cl=V_{p1} Cf. (17))

Generalization of proclisis may be linked to the disappearance of the movement rule of the finite verb from IP to C^0 in the transition from Old to Modern Romance (Cf. Roberts 2007: 64)[13]. The correlation between the two phenomena is supported by two pieces of syntactic evidence in Old Sardinian. First, as in (13), in coordinate construction embedded below the CP, the clitic is preposed to the finite verb. This was because the finite verb did not move to C^0, but remained IP domain. The second piece of evidence comes from subordinate and relative clauses. In these structures, the finite verb does not move to C^0, but remains IP, and procliticization is obligatory, as observed in (11).

5. A tentative conclusion

There has been no systematic description of the clitic position in Old Sardinian. Under such a circumstance, we have observed that a revised version of TM's Law, which involves syntactic and informational standpoint, was valid to explain the clitic position. Moreover, we examined the diachronic change of the clitic position from Old to Modern Sardinian, employing Wanner's (1996) argument. On the basis of this preliminary study, we need to investigate further the morphosyntactic properties of clitics, including the clitic position in non-finite clauses (infinitives and gerundives). Through such investigation, a more complete picture of Old Sardinian clitics will emerge.

Abbreviations

ACC.=accusative, CL.=clitic, DAT.=dative, F.=femminine, IND.=indicative, M.=masculine, PF.=perfect, PL.=plural, PPCPL.=past participle, PRES.=present, REL.=relative pronoun, SG.=singular, SUBJ.=subjunctive.

Notes

1 . In northern Sardinia, Gallurese and Sassarese are spoken. These two variants are formed by language contact with Italian (Kanazawa 2011: 11-14)[8]

2 . *Condaghe* means an administrative document in Sardinia between the 11th and 13th centuries. It was compiled to record acts of donation to churches or monasteries, inheritances, purchases, donations, transactions, litigations, etc.

3 . In contrast to weak pronouns, there are strong (stressed) pronouns. In Sardinian, the subject pronouns and those governed by preposition fall under the category of strong pronoun (Pittau 2005: 77)[11].

4 . Tobler, Adolf (1875) : "Review of J. Le Coultrre, De l'ordre des mots dan Chrétien de Troyes." In: *Vermischte Beiträge zur Französische Grammatik.* Leipzig: S. Hirzl. (not read)

5 . Mussafia, Adolfo (1886) : "Una particolarità sintattica della lingua italiana dei primi secoli." In A. Daniele and Renzi, L. (eds.) *Adolfo Mussafia. Scritti di filologia e linguistica.* pp.291–301. Padua: Antenore. (not read)

6 . In these examples, it is difficult to assert that the clitic is encliticized because it is phonologically or orthographically separated from the preceding word (i.e., it may be procliticized to the following verb) . At the moment, we consider that these clitics are neither encliticized nor procliticized, but are simply preposed to the finite verb.

7 . *donnu* is a title used for the family of Iudice (king).

8 . Preposition *a* is also used to mark a direct object. In this study, we gloss *a* of this kind as ACC.

9 . *Soldo* is the currency used in Medieval Sardinia.

10. Virdis (2002b)[19] discusses the clitic position in *Carte Volgari* (1070–1226), one of the Old Sardinian documents written in Campidanese. His analysis adopts the syntactic and informational viewpoint, but is old-fashioned to a certain degree.

11. For example, the word order between finite verb and adverb is taken (Ledgeway 2011: 424).

12. For more detailed CP structure, see Rizzi (1997) and Benincà (2006).

13. Such kind of clitics is defined as "ditropic clitic" by Cysouw (2005)[3] and Spencer and Luís (2012: 65–67).

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和 文 要 約

　古ロマンス諸語では，クリティックの出現位置は Tobler-Mussafia の法則（以下 TM の法則）によって説明が試みられてきた。しかしながら，伝統的な立場における TM の法則は音韻的な制約に基づいたものであり，古サルデーニャ語におけるいくつかのクリティックの出現位置について説明を与えることができない。本稿ではまず，統語的観点および情報構造の観点を導入した TM の法則の「改訂版」によって，古サルデーニャ語の定動詞節のクリティック位置の体系的な記述を試みる。さらに，古サルデーニャ語では現代サルデーニャ語と同じ位置に現れるクリティックがあることを示す。本稿ではこのようなケースに対して，古サルデーニャ語では，TM の法則の消失がすでに開始していたと考え，クリティックの位置の通時的変化について基礎的な考察を加える。具体的には，クリティック位置の規則は Wanner（1996）の主張するように，"enclisis to P1" から "verb based" への変化，そしてプロクリティックが許容される環境の拡大によって説明できることを指摘する。