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PRONOMINAL CLITIC REARRANGEMENT
(SE ME → ME SE) IN JUDEO-SPANISH NON-ACTIVE
CONSTRUCTIONS AS BALKAN INFLUENCE

Iskra Manolova Dobрева
independent researcher, Sofia, Bulgaria

Abstract. The paper presents a change in Judeo-Spanish pronominal clitic sequence (dative and reflexive *se me* → *me se*) resulting from Balkan influence. Based on three Sephardic dramas from early XXth century, restructuring within the pronominal clitic cluster is detected: in contrast to reflexive initial clitic sequence (*se me* in Standard Spanish), Judeo-Spanish changed to dative initial (*me se*) in non-active constructions (non-selected arguments). On first sight, this change coincides with pronominal clitic sequences in Vernacular Spanish, but further detailed contrasts revealed distancing from Vernacular Spanish and approximation to Balkan languages. However, this rearrangement is found in 1 and 2 pers. pronominal dative clitics, while the 3 person remains unaffected (*se le*).

Key words: Judeo-Spanish, pronominal clitics

The pronominal clitic sequence in Judeo-Spanish (JS) formed by the dative personal pronominal (*me*, *te*, *le*) and the reflexive clitic *se* rearranged from Reflexive initial order, as in Ibero-Romance languages (*se* +Dat), to Dat-initial, as in Balkan languages.

The clitic sequence in non-active constructions (NCs) (where non-selected arguments are found) varies across European languages, but the Balkan pattern is typically Dat-initial:

Mi s-au stricat ochelarii (Romanian)
Schupiha mi se ochilata (Bulgarian)
“My glasses were broken.”

Despite the non-active voice morphology (reflexive particle within the verb), Greek and Albanian also place their Dative personal pronouns at initial position, prior to the verb:

Μου φαίνεται ότι θα βρέξει. (Greek) “It appears to me that it will rain”
Mua më pihet një kafe. (Albanian) “I feel like having a coffee.”

By the morphological loss of the middle (non-active) voice in several modern languages, its grammatical charge has been taken by the reflexive clitic, as well as by the non-lexical personal pronominal dative clitic, indicating the indirectly concerned logical subject who may be the possessor, benefactive/malefactive, attitude holder, affected experiencer, subject co-referential pronoun (Bosse et al. 2012: 1226), expressing impersonality and inalienable possession, interest and affection, spontaneous events, etc. Seen cross-linguistically, NCs present the same syntax pattern, where the logical subject is referred to indirectly by a personal pronoun in oblique case, mainly dative, and the ‘non-action’ is expressed by a verb in third person with a reflexive marker (affix, inflection, particle, pronoun, etc.) NCs attracted considerable amount of linguistic interest, mainly due to their non-lexical datives (possessive dative, dative of interest, ethical dative, etc.) (Lamiroy 2003), and non-active voice (Rivero 2004) or non-selected arguments (Bosse et al. 2012).

Non-active constructions contain:

- Personal pronominal Dative clitic (the logical subject concerned by the action)
- Reflexive marker (within the verb or reflexive pronoun)
- Verb (in third person) concordant with the definite object (the logical object, if available)

Stanciu (2013) finds out that non-syntactic reflexive clitics “appear in many relatively similar syntactic and semantic structures in both languages [Romanian and Slovenian], differentiating themselves as a whole in the following major types of constructions: intrinsic or inherent reflexives, reciprocal reflexives, impersonal and passive impersonal reflexives, and causatives” (Stanciu 2013: 227). This finding is valid to a large extent to the pronominal clitic chain (*se me*) in Ibero-Romance and Balkan languages, based on the changes produced in JS.

In several Modern European languages, NCs contain the personal pronominal clitic referring only indirectly to the logical subject, or only reflexive clitic, or both, forming the clitic cluster indicating the spontaneous event, affectedness, concern, interest. Depending on the specific language, the verb is in middle, medio-passive, impersonal, etc. voice and concords with the definite object. Moreover, the non-selected argument does not alter the logic of the utterance.

This paper aims to study the rearrangement of the linear sequence from *se me* to *me se* in JS as a result of Balkan influence by contrasting Ibero-Romance (IR), Romance and Balkan Sprachbund (BS) clitic sequences.

NCs are frequent and productive in many European languages (and not only), IR and BS languages are not exception. Inalienable possessive constructions are especially productive in these languages, possessums ranging from body, mind and soul, kinship terms, private space, to all kinds of belongings. Some patterns coincide and others differ in BS and IR languages. The structural change produced in NCs in JS in Balkan areal surrounding may reveal important typological characteristics of NCs.

2. Judeo-Spanish pronominal clitic rearrangement in NCs. After joining the BS, JS aligned its pronominal clitic sequence in NCs by inverting the sequence of dative and reflexive clitics: *se me* → *me se*. However, this change in JS did not attract much linguistic interest, because it is regarded as typical Hispanic and Romance feature.

Indeed, this pronominal clitic inversion did not cross the limits of its IR and Romance nature. Moreover, Dat. initial pronominal order is the typical Indo-European NC pattern.

At logical plan, the inverted clitic order does not alter the sense of the phrase: in Spanish, it gives only a slight rural, vernacular connotation (Se me quemó la pizza (Standard Spanish) = Me se quemó la pizza (Vernacular Spanish (VS) both meaning “I burnt my pizza”.

3. Primary JS sources and analysis.

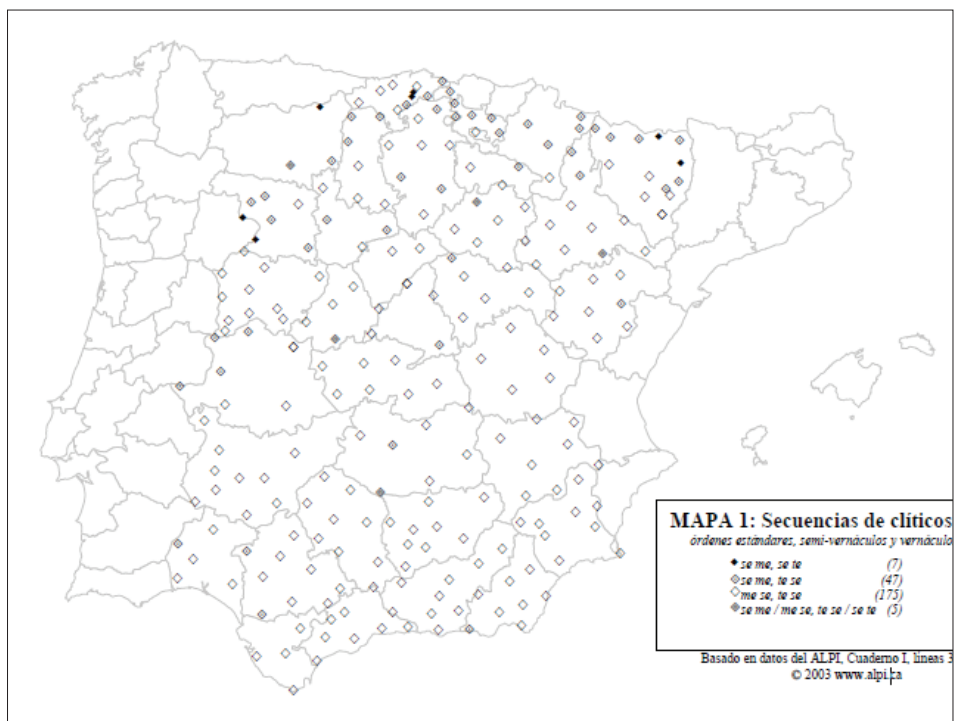
The analyzed texts are three Sephardic dramas, as well as proverbs and songs in JS composed in the first half of the XXth c. in various Balkan towns: Shoumen, Sarajevo, Thessaloniki, Istanbul, Rhodes.

A total of 50 pronominal clitic sequences have been detected: 49 Dat. initial cases versus one single case of Refl. initial (*se me*), showing the stable prevalence of Dat. initial pattern in JS. This is in line with the data obtained from the corpus of Modern JS (LadinoKomunita ‘LK’).

Source:	Dat + se,	se + Dat number	Total	% se + Dat
JS, early XX c.	49	1	50	98%
JS, early XXI c. LK	131	28	159	82%

Table 1. Pronominal dat + refl. clitic sequences in JS, XX and XXI c.

These numbers clearly contrast not only with the fixed order in IR (Perlmutter 1971), but also with the data presented by Heap (2006) and (2008), where diachronical variation is traced (based on searches in www.corpusdelespanol.org), showing that the Dative initial pattern ranges between 0.04 and 5.94% in Old Spanish (XII and XIX c.). In Modern Spanish, the rate of Dative-initial (*me se*, *te se*) pattern is marginal, found in informal speech, and according to the data presented by Heap (2006) from the corpus COSER, in some Spanish provinces Dative initial sequences reach 33% (*me se*) and 57% (*te se*), but no specific region from the Iberian Peninsula may be defined as the source of this variation. To sum up, Dat. initial clitic order has been infrequent, but always present in Spanish from Middle Age to present day, while the following map (based on data from the linguistic atlas ALPI) shows no specific regional epicenter, the change is found all over Spain (the white diamonds):



Heap (2008: 64).

Within the analyzed JS texts, the highest number accounts for the inalienable possessive constructions 21 cases or 42%, occurring both with parts of body, mind and soul as possessums, as well as with kinship terms. Another 16 cases are impersonal constructions or 32 %, and 13 cases correspond to ethical datives and intrinsic or inherent reflexives, causatives, spontaneous events. The verbs hosting the clitic cluster are dynamic (perfective) verbs, indicating change of state examples follow:

- (1) *Mos se* fue la gana de komer, uf! (Galante)
I lost my appetite, uf!
- (2) El mundo *me se* esta arodeando...(Galante)
The world turns around me/I am up to faint.
- (3) *Vos se* hueron los mejores anjos de la vida en fumo.(Papo)
The best years of yours have gone like smoke.
- (4) Que *te se* quemen las manos en la loubri.(Farin)
May your hands be burned in the fire.
- (5) La vecina pario, a mi *me se* apego. (Kayserling)
The neighbor gave birth, I have been beaten.

In respect to plural (1 and 2 pers.) datives, Heap noticed that:

speakers who have the nonstandard orders as in 4 rarely if ever accept the plural equivalents (*nos se, *os se)’ Heap (2008: 50), and in a footnote to the same statement, Heap refers to “Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (p.c.) cites a few isolated cases of nos se in the COSER database, and one unconfirmed report of os se, but these challenging and rare data fall outside the scope of this paper. Heap (2008:50).

Clitic sequ-ence	JS, early XX c. drama, proverbs, songs		JS, early XXI c. LK forum		VS, XX-XXI c. (Heap 2008) COSER Cantabria, País Vasco, Navarra		VS, XX-XXI c. (Heap 2008) COSER Burgos, La Rioja, León, Palencia, Soria, Valladolid, Zamora		VS, XX-XXI c. (Heap 2008) COSER Ávila, Salamanca, Segovia, Madrid, Teruel, Toledo		VS, XX-XXI c. (Heap 2008) COSER Badajoz, Cáceres, Ciudad Real Jaén	
	num-ber	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Dat 1 pers. Sg me se	30	60	86	54	1	3.4	7	13.5	9		3	33
se me	1	2	26	16	28	96	45		81		6	
Dat 2 pers Sg te se	4	8	18	11	1	5.6	7	38.9	11	21.6	4	57
se te	0	0	2	1.3	17		11		40		3	
Dat 1 pers Pl (nos/mos se)	11	22	24	15								
se mos/nos	0	0	0	0								
Dat 2 nd pers. Pl (os/vos se)	4	8	3	1.9								
se os/vos	0	0	0	0	0	0						
Dat 3 pers. Sg & Pl (se le/se les)	apr. 100%											
(le se/les se) never	0 % Not found in any Hispanic language											

Table 2. Number of the personal pronoun (Sg or Pl) dative in the clitic chain (Dat+se/se+Dat)

Based on the data in Table 2, an important similarity between Standard Spanish, JS and VS is the absence of inverted clitic chains in the 3rd person, i.e. the reflexive clitic *se* always precedes the personal pronominal dative clitics 3rd Sg and Pl. JS preserved its IR pattern and failed to adopt the Balkan pattern. The reasons for these similarities may be searched in phonetic, semantic and areal factors. Another important contrast appeared: while Vernacular Spanish (VS) applies the inverted clitic order only in Sg, JS uses both Sg and Pl personal pronominal dative clitics: *me se*, *te se*, *mos se*, *vos se*, in contrast to Sg only in VS (*me se*, *te se*).

JS shows a relatively high rate of dative plurals preceding the reflexive clitic: 15 cases, out of the total 50 or 30% correspond to Dative 1 and 2 pers. Plural forms *mos* and *vos*: 22 % and 8 %, respectively. This trend was confirmed by the data obtained from LK, 27 out of the total 159 or 17% (24 *mos se* or 15%) and 3 *vos se* or 1.9%) of the total, which is significant compared to its absence in VS. Some examples from LK:

(6) En el shofar los ojos **mos se** mojaron un poko.
'While looking at the shofar, our eyes filled with tears'

(7) Ke **vos se** aga todo liviano
'May everything you make be easy'.

However, plural datives preceding the reflexive *se* occur in cases when the logical subject is a collective person, e.g. parents or family members, fellow-citizens, etc. who are equally concerned from the situation, yet, whether collective or individual, the logical subject is one single entity. Taking into account the limited volume of the studied corpus, this percentage rate should be taken only as a preliminary finding. Three of the cases of *vos se* address a single individual in order to show respect (polite plural), and two cases of *mos se* also refer to one individual, the father-in-law uses the Pl dative to refer to himself while speaking to his daughter-in-law (majestic plural).

Among the reasons preventing the use of Plural Dative initial clitic sequences in NCs in VS, merely phonetic reasons may be pointed out, as combinations like '*nosse' and '*osse' may be misleading in communication, as combinations like *nos se* resemble closely the possessive *nuestro*, *nuestra*, and its allomorphs *nossa* and *nosso*, and confuse communication.

Moreover, Dative personal pronominal forms in Romance languages (except Balkan Romance) have one syncretic form for both genders (*le* m,f Sg and *les* m,f Pl), while BS languages have two different forms in Sg: one for masculine and neutral gender and another for the feminine:

Balkan language	Dat 3 pers. Sg pron. m,n / f	Dat 3 pers. Pl m, f, n
Albanian	i tij/ e saj	tyre
Bulgarian	му/ ѝ	им
Greek (Gen/Dat syncretism)	του / της	τους
Romanian	îi, -i	le, li

Table 3. Personal pronouns Dative clitics in Balkan languages

This Balkan polymorphism of Dative personal pronouns also prevented JS (having a single Dative form both for masculine and feminine genders of short personal pronouns *le/li*) from adopting and expanding the Balkan pattern in 3rd person datives.

Apart from phonological ambiguity, this mismatch between IR and BS may be seen as an inhibitor for the replication of the Balkan pattern to the 3rd personal pronominal dative and reflexive clitic order within the pronominal clitic cluster hosted by non-active verbs in JS. Therefore, the change in question failed to spread to the 3rd per. datives and JS preserved the Hispanic *se*-initial pattern, thus resembling Standard and Vernacular IR.

Likewise, the fact that 1 and 2 persons are marked as participants in the conversation, and 3 person is unmarked, should also be taken into consideration for this absence.

4. Conclusions. Based on the dependencies between persons and clitic order formulated by Perlmutter (1971: 45) about Standard Spanish:

se	2	1	3
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Heap (2008: 53) adapted the same dependency about Vernacular Spanish:

2 sg	1 sg	Se	2pl	1pl	3
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and the same dependency may be drawn here about Judeo-Spanish:

2	1	se	3
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which resembles the Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance clitic orders, except for the 3rd person:

2	1	3	se/si
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Judeo-Spanish pronominal clitic clusters in non-active constructions are characterized by the initial position of 1 and 2nd Sg and Pl Dat personal pronominal clitics (*me, te, nos/mos, vos*) (the logical subject) followed by the reflexive clitic *se*, the verb in 3rd pers. concordant with the definite object.

This change clearly distinguishes Judeo-Spanish from Standard Spanish and the spread of this change to Dative Plural clitics distances Judeo-Spanish from Vernacular Spanish and approximates it more to Balkan languages. Yet, the change in question did not affect 3rd pers Dat. clitics which always preserve their post-reflexive position in JS, not only because the Spanish system disallows it, but also because of the different forms for 3rd personal pronominal dative for masculine and neutral gender on one hand, and feminine gender, on the other. This formal mismatch prevented the replication of the Balkan pattern to the 3rd pers. Dat clitics and they maintained their post-reflexive position (*se le*).

Although Albanian and Greek reflexive particle is morphological (within the verb) their dative pronominal clitics are initial which may be regarded as a

contributing factor for the stable (dative initial) position in Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance languages, which is also adopted in Judeo-Spanish as a result of its presence in the Balkan Linguistic Area.

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