Deficient pronouns and linguistic change in Portuguese and Spanish

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1. Introduction

Different authors addressing linguistic change in Romance have proposed that clitic pronouns evolved from second position clitics (P2) to verbal clitics, correspondingly changing their categorial status (from XP to X₀) and their syntactic distribution – see Rivero (1986, 1991, 1997), Barbosa (1993, 1996), Fontana (1993, 1997), Halpern & Fontana (1994), Halpern (1995), among others. Old Romance clitics, however, differ from typical P2 clitics in two ways: a) Old Romance clitics are not strictly second but may occur in third, fourth, or more rightward positions; b) the possibility of breaking up the linear adjacency between clitic and verb is severely restricted in Old Romance. With respect to the former trait of Old Romance, it has been claimed that leftward sentential adjuncts (or left dislocated phrases in the Specifier of a recursive Top position) are freely allowed in certain Romance languages, such as Old Portuguese and Old Spanish; these constituents would be irrelevant for the computation of the “second position”, being treated for this matter as sentence external¹. As for the strongly preferred linear adjacency between clitic and verb (even in languages like Old Portuguese and Old Spanish which do not strictly adhere to this positional restriction), it has been proposed that Old Romance manifested verb second (V2) properties; because both the clitic and the verb competed for the second position in the sentence, they would tend to occur “clustered”. This situation would have favoured the ulterior reanalysis of the Old Romance P2 clitics as verbal clitics. (Cf. Rivero 1986, 1991; Salvi 1990, 1991, 1993, 1997; Kaiser 1992; Barbosa 1993, 1996; Fontana 1993, 1997; Benincà 1995; Ribeiro 1995a, 1995b; Moraes 1995; Galves 1997, 2001).

¹ Cf. Benincà (1995:336): “an adverbial clause can either be generated as a constituent of the main clause (or a SpecCP occupier) – in which case enclisis is impossible – or as an extra-sentential complement [in SpecTopP] – in which case enclisis is obligatory”.

Cf. Benincà (1995:336): “an adverbial clause can either be generated as a constituent of the main clause (or a SpecCP occupier) – in which case enclisis is impossible – or as an extra-sentential complement [in SpecTopP] – in which case enclisis is obligatory”.
The type of analysis sketched above predicts that in Clitic Left Dislocation constructions, if only the left dislocated constituent precedes the verb, like in (1)-(2) below, clitics would obligatorily be enclitic on the verb in Old Romance (see Salvi 1991, Benincà 1995) – the verb counting as the first sentence internal constituent. This prediction however is contradicted by the empirical data, as sentences (3)-(4) below show. Although exemplifying the same type of syntactic configuration as sentences (1)-(2), sentences (3)-(4) display proclisis. All the sentences – (1) to (4) – belong to the letters written from India to the king of Portugal by Afonso de Albuquerque in the early sixteenth century².

(1) á pessoa que vos tall dise ou espreveo, perguntelhe to-the person that you-DAT such-thing told or wrote, ask-him-DAT vosalteza onde estava syman afomso Your-Highness where was Simam Afomso “Your majesty should ask the person that told you or wrote you such thing where Simam Afomso was” (Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque. Pato 1884:99)

(2) As joyas que a vossalteza manda elrrey de siam, levaas the jewels that to Your-Highness sends the-king of Siam, carries-them-ACC nuno vaz Nuno Vaz “Nuno Vaz is taking you the jewels that the king of Siam offers you” (Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque. Pato 1884:58)

² Afonso de Albuquerque, who was born in the second half of the fifteenth century, was the first portuguese viceroy of India. The pattern of clitic placement represented in his letters from India is the typical pattern of clitic placement found in late Old Portuguese (that is, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a period also referred to as Middle Portuguese). During the thirteenth century and most of the fourteenth century the constraint against placing clitics in sentence initial position known by the name of Tobler-Mussafia excludes clitics not only from the absolute sentential left-periphery but also from the immediate first position after a Left Dislocated constituent, a clausal adjunct (namely an adverbial clause), or a coordinate conjunction. In the fifteenth century, however, the interdiction against placing clitics sentence initially appears to be restricted to the absolute sentence-peripheral position. From the second half of the fourteenth century, clitics can be attested following a coordinate conjunction. In the next century clitics are also found following a left adjoined adverbial clause or a Left Dislocated phrase. Whatever the nature of the Tobler-Mussafia constraint is (be it syntactically or prosodically motivated), I take these facts to show that there was a weakening of this constraint in the fifteenth century, instead of three near simultaneous changes affecting the syntax of coordinate structures, the syntax of complex sentences integrating adverbial clauses, and the syntax of Clitic Left Dislocation structures – but see Benincà (1995) for a different view.
Moreover, Rivero (1993, 1997) and Kaiser (1999) have brought into consideration serious objections to the characterization of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish as V2 languages (of the Germanic type)\(^3\). Their view further challenges the P2 hypothesis for Old Romance clitics since it leaves unexplained why clitics tend to cluster together with the verb.

In this paper I construct an empirical argument against the hypothesized phrasal status of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish clitic pronouns by comparing the syntax of the accusative/dative/se pronouns with the syntax of the oblique pronouns *i* (locative) and *en(de)* (separative, locative, partitive, genitive). Space considerations preclude me from offering in this paper an account of the changes observed in clitic placement in Portuguese and Spanish which is compatible with the view that clitics are heads throughout the history of the Romance languages. Such an account is developed in Martins (in press; forthcoming)\(^4\).

\(^3\) Rivero believes that through the history of the Romance languages clitic pronouns evolved from P2 clitics to verbal clitics. However, in her 1997 work Rivero advocates that Old Spanish was from the earlier documented times undergoing a typological shift, therefore displaying a mixed system with respect to the typology of clitics:

“OSP has the mixed characteristics which derive from the combination of its I- and C-Systems in embedded clauses but seldom in main clauses. In main clauses, OSP shows an overwhelming preference for the I-system [i.e., verbal clitics] that survives in later stages, and exhibits restrictions in its use of the C-system [i.e., P2 clitics], which provides the basis for the diachronic evolution that eliminates it in later periods.” (Rivero 1997:170)

\(^4\) In forthcoming work, I derive synchronic and diachronic variation in clitic placement in Romance from the variable featural make-up of the functional heads Σ and AgrS, namely from the interplay between the 'strengthen' property of Σ (with respect to a V-feature – see Martins 1994a) and the EPP properties of AgrS. Within this kind of account the burden of accounting for diachronic variation in
2. An argument against the “XP to X^0 hypothesis”: Comparing the syntax of the oblique pronouns i and ende with the syntax of the accusative, dative and se pronouns:

The pronominal system of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish included the oblique pronouns i and ende, the cognates of Catalan hi and en, French i and en, Italian vi and ne. In the fifteenth century the partitive/locative ende vanishes whereas i is reanalysed as a locative adverb (cf. Badia Margarit 1947, Teyssier 1981, Wanner 1991, Muidine 2000). In this paper I will not be concerned with explaining why the oblique pronouns i and ende were not preserved as part of the pronominal system of Portuguese and Spanish. My aim will be to compare the syntax of i and ende with the syntax of the accusative, dative and se pronouns, having as background the proposal of a tripartite typology of pronouns built up by Cardinaletti and Starke (1996, 1999). Let me start with enunciating the form of the argument that I will make to support the view that accusative, dative and se pronouns did not change their categorial nature (from XP to X^0) during the history of Romance. Working on the assumption that the tripartite typology of pronouns put forth by Cardinaletti and Starke is correct, a comparative approach to the syntax of the deficient accusative, dative, and se pronouns, on the one hand, and of the deficient oblique pronouns i and ende, on the other, shows that the latter classify as weak pronouns whereas the former classify as clitic pronouns. Under the tripartite typology, weak pronouns are phrasal constituents (XP); clitics are syntactic heads (X^0). The distinct syntactic distribution of the obliques and of the accusative/dative/se pronouns in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish can be straightforwardly derived from their different phrase structure status. This line of reasoning leads us to the conclusion that the accusative, dative and se pronouns are X^0 items from Old Romance through Modern Romance.

critic placement in Romance is not put in the syntax of left dislocation. Thus variation between enclisis and proclisis is not seen, at any stage of the evolutionary path of the Romance languages, as a product of the availability/unavailability of left dislocation. This seems a welcome result in view of the fact that empirical evidence undermines the claim that ‘pure’ configurations of Clitic Left Dislocation would necessarily display an enclitic pattern in Old Romance. Moreover, with regard to Portuguese, the ‘left-dislocation-based’ account of change in clitic placement depends on the assumption that Subjects went from being optionally left dislocated (up to the sixteenth century, when both enclisis and proclisis appear in SV sentences), to being not allowed to be left dislocated (in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, when proclisis is the usual pattern of clitic placement in SV sentences), to being obligatorily left dislocated (giving rise to the invariable enclitic pattern of contemporary Portuguese). This seems a very unlikely path in a language that throughout the historical period under consideration was consistently pro-drop (cf. Barbosa 2000).
In a series of articles published in the nineties, Anna Cardinaletti and Michael Starke demonstrated that the classical bipartite typologies of pronouns (‘stressed’ vs. ‘unstressed’, ‘strong’ vs. ‘weak’, ‘full’ vs. ‘clitic’, etc.) are irredeemably contradicted by cross-linguistic empirical evidence and inadequate on theoretical grounds. Starting with a thorough examination of Germanic and Romance, subsequently extended to other language families, Cardinaletti and Starke came to identify three types of pronominal forms: ‘clitic’ pronouns, ‘weak’ pronouns, and ‘strong’ pronouns. This tripartite typology was the key to solve enduring issues in the linguistics literature such as the (typological) status of the personal pronouns of German or of the Italian dative pronoun loro. Under the tripartite typology of pronouns, Cardinaletti and Starke derive the particular semantic, syntactic and prosodic properties of each class of pronouns from the following features: a) clitics and weak pronouns, in contrast to strong pronouns, are structurally ‘deficient’ – at the sub-lexical level of syntactic structure; b) clitics are syntactic heads (X₀) while weak pronouns and strong pronouns are maximal projections (XP); c) clitics lack word stress, thus being prosodically dependent words; weak pronouns like strong pronouns carry word stress (but differently from strong pronouns can easily undergo prosodic restructuring with an adjacent stressed word). Three kinds of constraint affect clitics and weak pronouns as a result of their ‘deficient’ nature: they cannot introduce new referents in discourse; they cannot be coordinated; they cannot be modified.

5 An anonymous reviewer pointed out the three Old Spanish sentences given below, which were intended as counter-examples with respect to the generalization that deficient pronouns, namely accusative/dative/ase pronouns, cannot be modified. As the translations I give below show, I do not take those sentences to involve (relative) modification of an accusative/dative pronoun. In my interpretation, (i) below displays a complement clause selected by found; (ii) below displays an (object-related) adverbial predication clause; (iii) below displays a sentential adverbial clause, namely a reason clause. With respect to the non accusative clitic lo in (i), see Menéndez-Pidal (1946:§130) and Fernández-Ordóñez (1999). As for the predication clause in (ii), see Brucart (1999:442).

(i) *E el Cavallero Zifar paro mientes en aquel cauallo que auia ganado del cauallero que auia muerto a la porta de la villa, e fallo lo que era bueno e mui enfrenado e mui valiente*  
And the knight Zifar paid attention to the horse that he had won from the knight that he had killed at the entrance of the town and found it that it was good and very well trained and very brave  
(Cf. Wagner 1929:55)

(ii) *Et el dia que llegó a Toledo adereçó luego a casa de dom Yllán et fallólo que estava leyendo en una cámara muy apartada*  
and the day that he-arrived to Toledo he-w ent straight to the-house of Sir Y. and found-him that was reading in a room very retired
In Old Portuguese and Old Spanish both the oblique pronouns *i* and *ende* and the accusative/dative/se pronouns display the incapacity for introducing new referents and for being coordinated, therefore classifying as ‘deficient’ pronouns. In an extensive study of the Old Portuguese oblique pronouns Paul Teyssier (1981) showed beyond doubt that *i* and *ende* cannot dispense with a discourse antecedent; besides, Muidine (2000) brought up evidence showing that the oblique pronouns *i* and *ende* do not allow coordination. Sentences (5) to (7) below, extracted from Old Portuguese legal documents, illustrate the “replacement” of *i* and *ende* by strong forms (i.e., Prep + strong pronoun) when coordination comes into play. Example (7) displays coordinated strong forms occurring in exactly the same kind of discourse/textual context as the (uncoordinated) weak pronouns *i* and *ende* in examples (5)-(6).

(5) *no dito cassall e terras e cassas (...) que daquj en.diante*  
*façom hy como de coussa ssua propria forra*  
(they-can-)do *there* like of thing his own free  
“that from now on they are free to use the lands, the farm and the houses [which they have bought] in any manner that they may wish”  
(year 1483. Martins 2001:526)

(6) *das ditas herdades e quintāa e Casal dela (...) que daqui*  
*a deãte o ouwesse o dito Monsteiro iluremète e ê paz e*  
(on it should-own the above-mentioned monastery freely and in peace and  
*fezesse ende o.que lhj aprouwesse sem êbargo seu nê jûw*  
should-do *of-it* whatever itself wished without constraint of-him none  
“that from now on the monastery owns the lands and the farm with its  
house without any constraints, using them freely in any manner that the  
monastery may wish”  
(year 1339. Martins 2001:198)

“And when he arrived to Toledo he went straight to Sir Yllán's house and he found him (while he was) reading in a retired room”  
(Cf. Blecua 1969:96)

(iii) *e llamote que solias estar muy arredrado de Su voluntad*  
and I-call-you as/since you-used to-be very distant from His will  
(Cf. Ishikawa 1990:115)
Aíam (...) as sobreditas Casas (...) e façã  

own the above-mentioned houses (...) and do of-they-FEM 

e ë ellas todo.Aquello que lhys Aproguer 

and in they-FEM everything that themselves (they-may-)wish 

“they will own the houses and use them in any manner that they may wish” 

(year 1383. Martins 2001:462)

The facts considered above show that the oblique pronouns $i$ and $ende$ qualify as deficient pronouns like the accusative/dative/se pronouns. However the two groups of deficient pronouns diverge from each other in the following aspects:

A - In (finite) subordinate clauses, the accusative/dative/se pronouns are normally preverbal, differing in this way from strong pronouns and DPs in general. In this respect Old Portuguese and Old Spanish are like contemporary Portuguese and Spanish. Oblique pronouns, on the other hand, do not display a “special” placement in subordinate clauses. Thus $i$ and $ende$ are often post-verbal in subordinate clauses$^6$. This fact is in harmony with the hypothesis that Old Romance accusative/dative/se pronouns are “special clitics” (in the terms of Zwicky 1977) in contrast with the oblique pronouns$^7$. Since both the oblique pronouns and the accusative/dative/se pronouns are deficient pronouns, their different placement indicates that while the latter are clitics the former are weak pronouns. The observed distributional contrast between the two sets of pronouns under consideration is highlighted by sentences (8)-(9) below.

$^6$ Like full DPs, oblique pronouns may also occur in preverbal position in subordinate clauses. Old Portuguese and Old Spanish allowed Object IP-scrambling, deriving SOV order in subordinates (as well as in a certain kind of main clauses). See Martins (2002).

$^7$ Some apparent exceptions to the regular proclitic pattern of subordinate clauses can be found in particular contexts. Complement clauses selected by declarative verbs, for example, may allow enclisis (see Martins 1994b:98-102). Torrego & Uriagereka (1993), however, claim on independent grounds that these are instances of *parataxis* not “true” subordination (i. e. *hypotaxis*). On the other hand, enclisis appears to be also attested in coordinate structures within embedded domains – relevant examples are found not only in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish but in other Old Romance languages, as pointed out for Old French by Labelle & Hirschbühler (2002). Since in the medieval texts punctuation does not signal syntactic boundaries in the way it does in contemporary texts, the level at which coordination applies is not always easily identified. But even if we are left with a handful of clear examples of enclisis in clauses involving coordination below CP, the argument in A above still stands. The relevant point is that oblique pronouns occur widespreadly in post-verbal position in subordinate clauses, being not restricted to the particular environments where accusative/dative/se pronouns can also be found.
(8)  *das quaes cousas o dito Martim dominguiz queixada pedyu a*  
    of-the which things the mentioned Martim Dominguiz Queixada asked to  
    mj que lhy desse ende hũu testemoyo  
    me that him I-would-give of-them a written-statement  
    “Martim Dominguiz Queixada asked me to give him a written statement  
    certifying the facts”  
    (Portuguese. year 1294. Martins 2001:365)

(9)  *et moraban cerca de una villa, et un dia que se facía y*  
    and they-lived close to a village and one day that se(-PASSIVE) made there  
    mercado  
    a-market  
    “and they lived close to a village and a certain time when there was a  
    market there”  
    (Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:120)

B - It is a well established generalization about the Romance languages with pre-
verbal negation that only an X₀ element, namely a clitic, is allowed to break the 
linear adjacency between the sentential negative marker and the verb. In Old 
Portuguese and Old Spanish the accusative/dative/se pronouns not only may 
occur between negation and the verb but actually do occur in that position quite 
often (see Fontana 1993, Martins 1994b). In opposition to the 
accusative/dative/se pronouns, the oblique pronouns (with a few exceptions for 
Old Spanish i) cannot intervene between the sentential negative marker and the 
verb; therefore, they do not qualify as clitics whereas the accusative/dative/se 
pronouns do. In negative sentences, either the oblique pronouns are post-verbal⁹ 
or, if preverbal, they precede the string ‘negation-verb’. This scenario is expected 
under the hypothesis that the latter are weak pronouns (i.e., XPs) while the 
former are true clitics (i.e., X₀s). Sentences (10) to (12) exemplify the exclusion

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¹ The Old Spanish oblique i is attested in the string ‘neg-i-V’, especially when V equals haber ‘have’. The fact that Old Spanish i may occur in such position shows that it could be a clitic at least in some dialect of Castillian. This is not that surprising in view of the fact that in the Eastern Iberian Romance languages, namely in Old Aragonese and Old Catalan, the oblique pronouns displayed clitic behavior in tandem with the accusative/dative/se pronouns (cf. Badia Margarit 1947). Nevertheless, in Castillian the clitic variant of the oblique i did not displace the weak non clitic variant. In fact, more often than not Old Spanish i behaves as an XP: it occurs post-verbally in finite negative clauses and in all kinds of subordinate clauses; it may be clause initial; it does not undergo mesoclisis; it is not part of clitic clusters.  
² In this respect as well oblique pronouns contrast with accusative/dative/se pronouns, since the latter are always preverbal in finite negative clauses.
of *i* and *ende* from the ‘inter-negation-and-verb’ position where clitics – like the dative pronoun in (11) and the reflexive in (12) – are permitted.

(10) *E o Monesteiro où Egreia que nô òiuer des Lª Casãaes a Jusu*

and the monastery or church that not owns from fifty farms to more

*nô pouse hj Ricomê*

not stay there man-of-noble-birth

“And if the monastery or church does not own fifty farms or more, no aristocrat is to be hosted there”

(Portuguese. 13th/14th century. Martins 2001:166)

(11) *que lo emiende (...) e naf fagan end ningrin amor*

that it he-corrects (...) and not-him show for-it any fondness

“That he corrects it and nobody should show him any sympathy for that”

(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:94)

(12) *Aves torpes nin roncas hi non se acostavan*

birds injured nor snorty there not themselves would-lie

“Injured birds or snorty birds would not be able to sleep there”

(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:98)

C - Similarly to strong pronouns, the oblique pronouns *i* and *ende* are always post-verbal in configurations where accusative/dative/se pronouns display variation between proclisis and enclisis (that is, in affirmative main clauses without proclisis triggers). In independent work (Martins 1994b, 1995, in press, forthcoming), I take the issue of the variable placement of the accusative/dative/se pronouns in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish. The account proposed ties such variation to the X⁰ character of the accusative/dative/se pronouns. Thus the weak oblique pronouns, being XPs, do not participate in it. Sentences (13)-(14) exemplify the constant post-verbal position of the oblique pronouns in affirmative main clauses (without proclisis triggers nor focusing of the oblique) in contrast to the variable (preverbal or post-verbal) placement of the accusative/dative/se pronouns.

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10 The phrasal constituents which induce proclisis in affirmative main clauses are identified in Martins (1994b, 1995).

11 Old Portuguese and Old Spanish are SVO languages, but the order OV can be derived in main clauses by left-dislocating or focusing the object – the former displacement operation marks a constituent as a topic, the latter as an identificational focus (see Martins 2002). Although rare, sentences with focusing of the oblique pronouns *i, ende* are found in the medieval texts – see (22) and (23) below. With respect to the accusative/dative/se pronouns, variation between preverbal and post-verbal position is independent of focusing (which accusative/dative/se pronouns cannot
and the monastery or church that not owns from fifty farms to more not stay

there man-of noble-birth but do-him of-it service one time in-the year

And if the monastery or church does not own fifty farms or more, no

aristocrats are to be hosted there but the monastery has the obligation to

provide them with its services once a year

(Portuguese. 13th/14th century. Martins 2001:166)

and because he that would-say very often the his friends who were around

dele preguntaron-lhi a quem dezia e ele se maravilhou ende

him asked-him to whom he-was-saying and he himself marveled of-it

much

“and because he would say that very often, his friends who were with him

asked him whom he was talking to and he was very surprised with that

question”


D - As Cardinaletti (1999:40) points out “no Romance language allows for

lexical material to intervene between the verb and an enclitic pronoun”. This is a

very robust generalization about clitics in Romance. It describes the behavior of

the accusative/dative/se pronouns throughout the history of Portuguese and

Spanish. The oblique pronouns i and ende, on the other hand may occur non

adjacent to the verb in post-verbal position. Once more, this distributional

contrast may be derived from the different character of the two relevant sets of

pronouns. The accusative/dative/se pronouns are clitics (X0) from earlier times

requiring an X0 host; the oblique pronouns i and ende are weak pronouns (XP)

which may stay on their own – although they may as well undergo prosodic

restructuring, thus changing a neighbour into a host (See Cardinaletti & Starke

1999:172-173). Sentences (15) to (17) exemplify the permitted discontinuity

undergo). Diachronically viewed, the frequency of preverbal placement makes clear the distinction

between obliques on the one hand and accusative/dative/se pronouns on the other: the preverbal

placement of the oblique pronouns (resulting from focusing) shows stable infrequency throughout the

medieval period; as for the accusative/dative/se pronouns, there is a gradual and steady increase of

the preverbal placement from the 12th/13th century to the end of the medieval period. In late Old

Portuguese and Old Spanish proclisis arises more often than not in affirmative main clauses (without

between the verb and a post-verbal oblique pronoun. Moreover, example (15) highlights the contrast between the placement of the oblique pronoun and the placement of a post-verbal dative pronoun, which as expected surfaces adjacent to the verb.

(15) *Filar* *li illos inde VI casales cū torto*
And stole *him* they *of-it* six farms against the-law
“And they illegally deprived him of six of those farms”

(16) *E o santo homen pois esto ouvio ficou luego ende mui triste*
and the holy man as this he-heard was *immediately of-it* very sad
“And as soon as he heard that, the holy man was very sad”

(17) *& faze a los om[n]es la malazon tan fuerte que muere[n] los omnes ende*
and he-makes to the people the illness so strong that die *the people of-it*
“and he causes people to be so ill, that people die because of it”

E - ‘Mesoclisis’ terms the situation in which a clitic is placed inside a morphological word, namely a verb, surfacing in between the verbal root and the inflectional suffixes (T+Agr). Since morphological words, namely verbs, are X₀ items, only another X₀ can become a segment of the former. The weak oblique pronouns being XPs do not undergo mesoclisis whereas the clitic accusative/dative/se pronouns do. Sentences (18)-(21) below illustrate the relevant distinction.

(18) *E enton dar-lh'-ia Deus lume de seus olhos*
and then give-*him*-CONDITIONAL God light of his eyes
"and then God would give him (some of) the light of his eyes"

12 With futur and conditional forms of the verb, accusative/dative/se pronouns can be either mesoclitic or proclitic/enclitic in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish. Crucially the obliques are never attested in mesoclitic position (independently on whether the oblique cooccurs with an accusative/dative/se pronoun in the same clause).
Roberts (1993) sees the future and conditional markers in Old Spanish as verbal clitics, not as verbal affixes. Even if we were to adopt Robert's view on this matter, the argument in E above, would still stand.
(19) …e gram nojo receberias **ende**
    and great suffering you-get-CONDITIONAL from-it
    …'and that would cause you a great deal of pain'

(20) & venir-te-a **ende** periglo & crebanto
    and come-you-FUTUR from-there danger and ruin
    “and you will receive from it danger and damage”
    (Spanish. Cf. Wanner 1991:355)

(21) dar-**vos**-he y de las nueces
    I-give-you-FUTUR there of the nuts
    "There I will give you some nuts"
    (Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:124)

\textbf{F} - The oblique pronouns escape the Tobler-Mussafia restriction (see Tobler (1875, 1889; Mussafia 1886) which states that clitics are excluded from the absolute left peripheral position in a sentence. The ban against being “first”, which obligatorily affects the accusative/dative/se pronouns, does not necessarily affect the oblique pronouns \textit{i} and \textit{ende}, as sentences (22)-(23) below show. It is not clear what motivates the Tobler-Mussafia restriction (see Benincà 1995, Halpern 1995, Rivero 1997, Fontana 1997 for references and discussion) and I will not deal with the issue in this paper. But I take the fact that \textit{i} and \textit{ende} may escape the Tobler-Mussafia constraint as a further indicator of their (non-clitic) weak character and, conversely, of the clitic character of the accusative/dative/se pronouns. Moreover, following Kayne (1991) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1996, 1999), I take ‘being a clitic’ to mean ‘being an X\textsuperscript{0}’.

(22) \textit{E eu Pedro dominguiz publico tabeliô de Lixbôa rogado das partes}
    and I Pedro Dominguiz public notary of Lisbon requested by-the parts
    de suso ditas à ésto presente floy / \textit{éde} duas cartas partidas
    above mentioned to this(-act) present was / of-it two charters broken
    per a. b. C. cô mha mão propria escreuy
    by ABC with my hand own I-wrote
    “And I, Pedro Dominguiz, notary public of Lisbon, was present at this
    public act at the request of the parts involved in the agreement. I wrote
    myself two documents certifying it”
    (Portuguese. year 1297. Martins 2001:397)
Buscó algún lugar de gran religión:
he-looked-for some place of great mysticism:
– I sóvo escondido haciendo oración
– There (he-)stayed hidden doing prayers
“He looked for some mystical place. He hid there doing his prayers”

G - A characteristic feature of clitics is their clustering together within the same clause. The accusative, dative and se pronouns obligatorily form clitic clusters within the clause, but the oblique pronouns may occur separated from the accusative/dative/se pronouns. This distinct behavior is one more piece of evidence strengthening the case for the different typological status of the oblique pronouns i and ende, on the one hand, and of the accusative/dative/se pronouns on the other13. The latter but not the former behave as clitics, i. e., as X⁰ syntactic entities. The intraclausal positional dissociation between the oblique pronouns and the accusative/dative/se pronouns arises in configurations where the two types of pronouns would be allowed to be contiguous. In sentence (24) below both the accusative la and the oblique hy could be placed before the string ‘negation-verb’; in sentence (25) below both the accusative as and the oblique hj could be either left adjacent to the verb or right adjacent to the complementizer. See also sentences (8), (14) and (15) above.

13 The fact that i and en(de) may be contiguous with the accusative/dative/se pronouns (or with each other) is by itself irrelevant. Contiguity per se does not show whether there is clitic cluster formation. What signals that this is the case is the obligatoriness of contiguity. Moreover, it should be noted that while contracted forms involving two clitics can be found in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese, there are no such contracted forms involving i or en(de). In this respect, Old Spanish and Old Portuguese contrast sharply with Old Catalan where en and i contract together (giving ni, nie, nhi) as well as with the accusative/dative/se pronouns (see Badia Margarit 1947:213-219). An anonymous reviewer suggested that "oblique pronouns probably do not cluster within the same clause because the locative meaning of both i and ende rules out this possibility". Old Catalan contracted forms such as ni undermine this claim. The presence of i and en(de) within the same clause is also attested in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese, as sentence (i) below exemplifies.

(i) E todos aqueles beschos que na horta andavan e as verças comiam partiron-se
and all those animals that in-the garden were and the cabbages ate left-themselves
from-the garden and never of-them there one stayed
"And (all) the animals that used to be in the garden ant eat the cabbages left, not staying there any of them"
(24) *Pora levar el agua a los de iuso, que no la sabien hy nunca*

to carry the water to the-ones of downwards who not it knew there never
placed
“To carry the water to those who were downwards, who did not know it to
be placed there ever”
(Spanish. Cf. Rivero 1991:276)

(25) *e pollo dito escambho todallas vjnhas que o dito*

and for the mentioned exchange all the vineyards that the mentioned

*Moesteiro ha ê Alffornel (...) Assj cõmo os o dito*

monastery owns in Alffornel in-the-way that them the mentioned

*Mosteiro hj a*

monastery there owns

“you will irrestrictedly own all the vineyards that the monastery owns in
Alffornel in exchange for the properties which you agreed on giving to the
monastery”

(Portuguese. year 1372. Martins 2001:451)

The comparative inquiry undertaken in this paper offered for consideration
a set of facts which have not gotten enough attention in the literature on Old
Romance clitics. Under the interpretation of the data that I have argued for,
Rivero’s claim (in 1986, 1991) that the oblique pronouns and the
accusative/dative/se pronouns of Old Romance are syntactic entities of the same
nature, that is, XPs, cannot be maintained. Assuming the tripartite typology of
pronouns proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1996, 1999), I take the facts
described above to show that the set of deficient personal pronouns of Old
Portuguese and Old Spanish splits into two subsets: a group of weak pronouns
that do not survive beyond the 15th century and a group of clitic pronouns which
(as expected under the assumption that clitics are heads) keep their X0
nature unchanged across all the documented lifetime of the Romance languages.

The conclusion that Old Portuguese and Old Spanish accusative/dative/se
pronouns are not weak pronouns, but true clitics, might be reinforced by the
observation that a weak third person accusative pronoun (phonologically similar
to the third person nominative, i. e., *ele/ela*) is attested in OP (see sentence (26)
below). This weak accusative pronoun is to be distinguished from a strong third
person accusative pronoun also attested in Old Portuguese when coordination,
modification or focusing are at play (see sentences (27)-(29) below). The weak
third person accusative is in variation with the accusative clitic in the same type
of syntactic contexts; the strong third person accusative occurs in configurations
where a clitic is not allowed. The weak accusative pronoun (*ele/ela*), like the weak oblique pronouns (*i* and *ende*), does not survive beyond the medieval period.

(26) *Eu dó pedro soarez dauãdito que esta carta encomêdej a fazer ela*
I Dom Pedro Soarez above-mentioned that this chart sent to do it (the chart)
*dâte homêês cô mas maos roboro*
before men with my hands I-validate

“I Dom Pedro Soarez validate this document that I sent to write in the presence of witnesses”
(year 1277. Martins 2001:129)

(27) *Contando como cativarom elle e os outros oito*
Telling how they-caught him and the other eight

“Telling how they caught him and the other eight of them”
(Cf. Said Ali 1931:94)

(28) *Perdi ela que foy a rrẽ melhor*
I-lost her who was the thing best

"I lost her, who was the best thing"
(Cf. Dias 1918:71)

(29) *El, amiga, achei eu andar tal / come morto*
*him* friend found I to-be such like dead

"I saw HIM, my friend, looking like a dead person"
(Cf. Brea et alii 1996:209)

3. **Conclusion**

In this paper I argue that the deficient accusative, dative and *se* pronouns of Portuguese and Spanish did not change their categorial nature throughout the history of these languages, being continuously X° entities. Since, for this matter, Old Portuguese and Old Spanish have been widespreadly taken in the literature as representative of an archaic stage in the history of Romance, I hence conclude that Romance clitics are just true clitics (i. e. heads) from Old Romance to Modern Romance. This fact reveals itself sharply when we compare the syntax of the accusative, dative and *se* pronouns with the syntax of the oblique pronouns *i* and *en(de)* in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish. The latter display properties of *weak* pronouns (XPs) in contrast to the *clitic* properties of the former.
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