Clitics are just clitics in Old and Modern Romance: against the ÔX_{\text{max}}\to X_{\text{0}}Õ hypothesis

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Clitic placement in Modern Portuguese and Modern Spanish (finite sentences)

(1) a. O Pedro telefonou-me ontem -
the P. called me yesterday
ÔPeter called me yesterdayÕ
(b. Pedro me telefone— ayer
P. me called yesterday
ÔPeter me called yesterdayÕ

(2) a. O Pedro não me telefonou
the P. not me called
ÔPeter didnÕt call meÕ
(b. Pedro nome telefone—
P. not me called
ÔPeter name called meÕ

(3) a. Quem te disse isso? =
who you told that
ÔWho told you thatÕ
(b. ÀQuién te dijo eso?
who you told that
ÔWho told you thatÕ

(4) a. Poucas pessoas o felicitaram=
few people him congratulated
ÔFew people him congratulated
(b. Pocaspersonas le felicitaron
few people him congratulated
ÔFew people him congratulated

(5) a. Jâ me mandaram o livro!
already me sent the book
ÔYhe book was sent to me alreadyÕ
(b. Ya me mandaron el libro!
already mesent the book
ÔThe book was sent to me alreadyÕ

(6) a. TRÊS VEZES te telefonou ele!=
three times you called he
ÔHe called you THREE TIMESÕ
(b. ÁTRES VECES te telefone— el!
three times you called he
ÔHe called you THREE TIMESÕ

(7) a. Ele quer que nos vamos embora =
he wants that us go away
ÔHe wants us to leaveÕ
(b. flquiere que nos vayamos
he wants that us go
ÔHe wants us to leaveÕ

Old Portuguese

A. ÔNeutralÕ main clauses:

(8) E rey uos me enuiastes dizer (...) e eu enviey uos dizer (...) e uos me enuiastes dizer...
and king you me sent to-say and I sent you to-say and you me sentto-say
ÔAnd king, you wrote me (...) and I wrote you (...) and you wrote me...Õ
(13th century. Chancelaria de Afonso II, Livro I, fl 43 v)

(9) a. E a donzela lhe disse entom que achara um mouro doente
and the damsel him said that she-had-met a Muslim sick
ÔAnd the damsel told him that she had met a sick MuslimÕ
(13th century. Primeiro Livro de Linhagens)

 b. E a donzela foi-se e deu ‡gua à rainha
and the damsel went-herself and gave water to-the queen
(13th century. primeiro Livro de Linhagens)

(10) a. E Rotas lho outorgou (14th century. Cr. Geral de Espanha de 1344)
and Rotas him-it conceded
ÔAnd he conceded it to himÕ
b. E elle outorgou lho (14th century. Cr. Geral de Espanha de 1344) and he conceded him-it
ÔAnd he conceded it to himÔ

(11) a. E o asno lhe deu dous couces (15th century. Fabulário, 14) and the donkey him gave two kicks
ÔAnd the donkey gave him two kicksÔ

b. E a aguia fez-o assy (15th century. Fabulário, 16) and the eagle did it that way

(12) a. el rei Mahamed anconij veo visitar dom Francisco, & lhe pedio hos mouros que the king Mahamed Anconij came to visit Don Francisco and him asked the Muslims that

(...) foram captiuos (16th century. Damião de G— is, Cr— nica de D. Manuel) were captive
ÔThe king Mahamed Anconij came to visit don Francisco and asked him for the Muslims that were captiveÔ

b. continuadamente ten guarda de muitos soldados, & muitosporteiros, & fal-o lhe continuously has guard of many soldiers and many doorkeepers and speak him

c-e dificuldade (16th century. Damião de G— is, Cr— nica de D. Manuel) with difficulty
ÔHe is continuously guarded by many soldiers and many doorkeepers, and they have a difficult time speaking to himÔ

B. Subordinate clauses (& main clauses with proclisis triggers):

(13) e se nolo vos en ese dia nö derdes (year 1296) and if us-it you on that day not give
ÔAnd if on that day you do not give it to usÔ

(14) Se me Deus enton a morte non deu (13th century) if me god then the death not gave
ÔIf then God didnÕt give me death...Ô

(15) E com todas as pertes as que aos ditos casaes lhes dereitameste perente e and with all the belongings that to-the mentioned properties them rightly belongs
ÔAnd with everything which according to the terms of the contract is a part of the mentioned properties (year 1522)

(16) E ja mÔ el tanto mal fez (13 th century) and already me he so-much harm did
ÔHe has done me a lot of harm alreadyÔ

(17) a. como se nesta carta contem (year 1538) how itself in this letter contains
Ô...how it is stated in this letterÔ

b. como nesta carta se contem (year 1532) how in this letter itself contains
Ô...how it is stated in this letterÔ
(18) a. de quemquer que lhe sobre elle (...) alguun embargo ou empedymento puser from whoever that him over it some obstruction or constraint puts Ö[keeping him free] from whoever tries to block it [the land] from himÖ
b. de quemquer que sobre elles alguu embargo ou Inpedimento lhes poser from whoever that over then some obstruction or constraint them put Ö[protecting the renters] from whoever tries to block them [the lands] from themÖ

Old Spanish:

A. ÖNeutralÖ main clauses:

(19) a. yo lo veo (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 271)
I it see
ÖI can see itÖ

b. ellos yuanse alabando (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 2757)
they went-themselves flattering
ÖThey were flattering themselvesÖ

(20) a. de noche lo lieven (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 93)
at night him they-take-away
ÖThey take him away during the nightÖ

b. otro dia moui—s myo Cid (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 550)
other day moved-himself Mio Cid
Öthe next day, Mio Cid moved onÖ

(21) a. El rey lo ha uedado (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 42)

b. el rey dioles fideles (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 3593)

(22) a. por cora on lo an (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 430)

b. por cuenta fizolos (12th century. Cantar de Mio Cid 1264)

(23) a. e oy en dia le llaman Tarra ona (13th century. Primera Cr— nica General de Espa–a)
and nowadays it they-call Tarra ona
ÖNowadays it is called Tarra onaÖ

b. e agora llaman le Barcilona (13th century. Primera Cr— nica General de Espa–a)
and now they-call it Barcilona
ÖNowadays, it is called BarcilonaÖ

(24) a. el Cid dixo le sy le pesaua mucho por aquello que nondaria por ende nada the Cid said him...
(14th century. Cr— nica de Veinte Reyes)

b. El Cid le dixo que no tenia por bien que otravegada partesie los reynos the Cid him said...
(14th century. Cr— nica de Veinte Reyes)

(25) a. E yo torname he para Abenhut (14th century. Cr— nica de San Fernando)

b. et yo te ayudare (14th century. Cr— nica de San Fernando)

(26) a. le desamo de allj adelante (14th century. Cr— nica de Castilla)

b. e mandolias fenchir de arena (14th century. Cr— nica de Castilla)
(27) a. Con sospiros que le sacauan las entra–as te hiziese sabedora de su mal (15th century. C‡rcel de Amor)

b. y con este acuerdo supliquŽ le con la mayorcortes’a que pude (15th century. C‡rcel de Amor)

(28) a. en el fin de su habla me desesper— (15th century.C‡rcel de Amor)

Ôafter he spoke, I was driven to despairÔ

b. y acabada su habla respondi— le (15th century.C‡rcel de Amor)

ÔWhen he finished what he had to say, she anwered himÔ

(29) otro en la noche fuŽse el Duque con su gente, e yocon ellos [...] y otro d’a de ma–ana nos hecimos a

la vela(16th c. Afonso Enr’quez de Guzm‡n, Libro de la Vida y Costumbres)

(24) yo la pienso vender [...] y ella p—neseme ense–orios (16th century. Lope de Rueda, Teatro)

B. Subordinate clauses (& main clauses with proclisis triggers):

(25) Dixe que lo yo av’a muerto

ÔI said that him I had killedÔ (Rivero 1992:243)

(26) si me de ti non guardase

Ô...if I did not protect myself from youÔ (Rivero 1991:243)

(27) Mando al omne que vos esta mi carta mostrara queenplase a todos

ÔI order the man showing you this letter of mine to challenge all those acting against itÔ (Rivero 1991:244)

(28) La ventura de que se ninguno non puede anparar

ÔThe fortune no one can obtainÔ (Rivero 1991:258)

(29) Fincava desfaada de lo nunca m‡s ver

ÔShe remained without hope to ever see him againÔ (Rivero 1991:248)

(30) Elo que yo quis nunca lo uos contradixiestes

ÔAnd you never opposed what I wantedÔ (Rivero 1991:245)

(31) Et alo que cosa son los angeles, fijo ya uos yodixe que las preguntas que

Ôand this which I wanted never it you contradictedÔ

me fazedes son de muchas sientencias

Ôyou make are of many sciencesÔ
And as for what angels are, son, I already told you that your questions belong to many sciences.

(Rivero 1991:245)

Et si el rey por bien toviere
and if the king for good had
And if the king considers it good...

(Rivero 1991:244)

E si Žl mejor faze...
and if he better it does
And if he does it better...

(Rivero 1994:2)

The ÔX\text{max} to X0Õ hypothesis:


Ôclitics in Romance went from being syntactically autonomous but prosodically dependent words to being inflectional morphology or, to put it differently, from being ÔX\text{max} to X0Õ-related categories.Ô

(Fontana 1997:223-224)

ÔIn Fontana (1993) I advanced the hypothesis that OSP[anish] clitics are a special type of phrasal constituent (arguably NPs) which the syntax places at the left edge of the sentence by default.Ô

(Fontana 1997:230)

ÔOSP[anish] clitics gradually evolved from being ÔXmax to being headsÔ

(Fontana 1997:247)

ÔIn Rivero (1986), I argued in favor of NP status for OSP[anish] clitics such as lo ŒitÔ, and PP status for en(de) ŒitÔ and hi ŒitÔ, items which did not survive beyond the medieval period. I developed arguments on the basis of (a) the parallel distribution of clitics and complement NPs/PPs, and of (b) medieval doubling constructions which differ in several respects from (reported varieties of) MSp[anish], which I will not review. Instead, I concentrate on a line of motivation closely connected with the aims of this paper and Climbing, based on ÔInterpolationÔ Ô (Rivero 1991:242)

ÔIn their change from strong pronouns to clitic pronouns, Romance clitics passed through a stage where they needed a non-special host and moved into a stage where they fixed V as their host.Ô

(Duarte & Matos 2000:122)

ÔAssuming a current idea in functionalist approaches to grammar(...), clitics are elements at some stage of a diachronic process that takes free morphemes and turns them into agreement affixes. We claim that clitics in contemporary Romance languages are not all at the same stage of this process. In particular, we will argue that both diachronic and synchronic evidence show that EP clitics are one step farther along in this cycle than those of the other Romance languages considered here; that is, EP clitics are more affix-like than other Romance clitics, and we will show that this is the reason that enclisis is both the neutral and the spreading-clitic placement pattern in contemporary EP.Ô

(Duarte & Matos 2000:126)

ÔIn Spanish, Italian and French, enclisis cannot occur in finite clauses, contrary to EP. We claim that this is due to the morphological status of the clitic D in these languages, clitics are at a stage of their diachronic process of reanalysis where they are still analyzed as a totally distinct from V-agreement affixes.Ô

(Duarte & Matos 2000:131)

ÔWe have claimed that in Spanish, Italian, and French enclisis was forbidden due to the morphological status of the clitic, a regular X0 syntactic head in these languages.Ô

(Duarte & Matos 2000:134)

ÔPronominal clitics in Romance are known to display affix-like behaviour. This fact has led to proposals, such as Zwicky (1987) and Halpern (1995) for European Portuguese (EP), that pronominal clitics behave like lexical affixes because they are (inflectional) affixes. In this paper we argue against such an analysis of EP pronominal clitics. First, we represent a bulk of phenomena D including distributional facts, the (non-)application of phonological rules, and the (non-)application of morphophonological rules D that clearly differentiate EP pronominal clitics from inflectional affixes, and argue for the postlexical combination of verbs
and clitics. (Vigário 1999:219)

Anderson (1992) defends the idea that affixation and cliticization are the result of the same kind of morphological operation, the former applying to words and the latter applying to phrases. Moreover, clitic placement rules may refer to the head of a syntactic constituent, namely the head of the sentence, V. Under this view, the property of selecting a host belonging to a specific class is the result of the specification of a parameter that rules the distribution of phrasal affixes, and, thus, it does not necessarily imply that the relevant clitics are becoming lexical affixes. (Vigário 1999:228)

We have seen that host selectivity of Romance pronominal clitics may follow from a parameter setting of clitic placement (namely, the selection of the head of a constituent, in this case the sentence), and thus their similarity with lexical affixes may just be apparent. (Vigário 1999:236)

The oblique pronouns *i* and *ende/en*

(33) E dauer que oueru$ de seu pater. nunca li$"de* deru$ parte (Not’cia de Torto, 11)
and from-property they-had-got from their father, never him of-it they-gave part
ÔAnd they never gave him any of the properties which they inherited from their fatherÔ

(34) E assi se partiron do moesteiro cegos e sen dano daqueles que chi moravan
(D.S.G. Mattos e Silva 1989:237)

(35) E dÔuno casal de Coina que leuaru$"de* III anos o fructu cu$ torto (Not’ciade Torto, 18-19)

(36) E furu$li u ueriar e prenderu$"de* o c-lazo (Not’cia de Torto, 50)

(37) Tornou-se pera seu moesteiro e chamou hi todolos frades(D.S.G. Teyssier 1990:172)
he-went-back-himself to his monastery and he-called there all-the brothers (monks)

(38) Deu du$ G-cal a Laure$co Fern-diz e Mart$ G-caluiiz. XII. casaes por arras de sua
gave Sir G-cal to Laure$co Fern-diz and Mart$ G-caluiiz twelve farms as inheritance of their
au——. E filaru$ li illos inde VI casalescu$ torto (Not’cia de Torto, 12-13)
grandmother. And stole him they of-it six farms against the-law

(39) Ueneru$ a uila e filaru$li o porco anteseus filios e comeru$silo,
they-came to the village and stole-him the pig in-front of his children and ate-it

Veneru$ alia uice er filaru$ otro ante elleser comeru$so,
they-came another time also they-stole other-one in-front of them also they-ate-it

Veneru$ alia uice er filar una ansar ante sa filia er comerunsa,
they-came another time also stole a goose in-front of his daughter also they-ate-it

In alia uice ar filaru$li o pane ante suos filios.
in another time also stole him the crops in-front of their children

In alia uice ar veneru$ hic er filaru$"de* o uino ante illos. (Not’cia de Torto, 43-48)
in another time also they-came there also stole from-there the wine in-front of them

(40) Da outra mia meiadaode solten ende primeiramente mias deuidastodas e do que remaser facao
from-the other my half (fortune) take of-it first my debts all and-of the what remains do

**ende** tres partes (…) E da terceira o arcebispo de Braga e u de
of-it three parts and of-the third (part) the archbishop of Braga and the-one of

S-tiago e u bispo do Porto (…) e u dÔEuora facao **ende** desta guisa
Santiago and the bishop of the Porto and the one of f vora doof-it in-this way

( Testamento de Afonso II, ms. de Toledo, 11-13)
(41) Da outra meiadade solten ende primeiramente todas miasdevidas e do que remaser fazam en tres partes (...) Da terceira oarcebispo de Bragaa e o arcebispo de Santiago e o bispo do Portu (...)e o dÕEuora faz‹ desta guisa (Testamento de Afonso II, ms. da Torredo Tombo, 8-10)

(42) E eu ffrancisco dominguiz Tabellyom de suso dito a rrogo dodito Martim dominguiz a estas cousas de suso ditas presente fuy estetestemoyo c› mha m-o escreuy e meu sinal enele pugi... (year 1294)

(43) e eu Dyago canes sobredito tabley› a rogo do dito Martimqueixada eeste feyto presente fuy e este testemu$yo c›mha mao proprio escreuj e meu sinal hi pugi... (year 1298)

(44) E eu Roderigo canes (...) a estas cousas de suso dictas presente fuj e este strumento ende and I Roderigo Eanes to these things above said waspresent and this document of-it scriuj e meu sinal en elle pugi. (year 1294)
I-wrote and my (public) sign in it I-put

Averbial $ > a’

(45) E mais e$tra nesta ve$da outraterra de mato hy logo Junto onde and in-addition it-comes in this selling another land ofwoods there just near where chamam a lagoa (year 1532)
it-is-called Lagoa

(46) no mosteiro de s‹o miguell de vilarinho da ordem desamto aguostinho do ar ebispado de bragua no cabido do ditomosteiro estamdo ay presentes ho senhor luis dalmeida domprioll do dito mosteiro... (year 1545)

(47) em moesteiro dachelas ual de ffrores termo dacidade de lixboa Estando hj a mujto honrrada ssenhora donaleonor... (year 1447)

I - The oblique pronouns i and en(de) obligatorily have a discourse antecedent

See examples (33) to (40) above.

II - The oblique pronouns i and en(de) cannot be coordinated

(48) E uos ayades a dyta ujinha (...) e que ffacadex y and you will-own the above-mentioned vineyard (...) and thatyou-should-do there
Algo pera uoss e pera noss (year 1294)
something for you and for us

(49) (...) no dito cassall e terras e cassas (...) que daquj endiante fa om hy como de coussa ssua propría forra (year 1483)

(50) (...) das ditas herdades e quint-a e Casal dela (...) quedaqui ade-te (...) of the above-mentioned lands and property and farm of-it (...) that from-now on
o ouuesse o dito Monsteiro liureme$te e e$ paz e fezesse ende it should-own the above-mentioned monastery freely and in peaceand should-do of-it
o que lhj aprouuesse sem e$bargo seu ne$hs (year 1339)
whatever itself wished without constraint of-him none
(51) (...) nas sobredicatas Casas c seu quintao (...) efa della e ellas todo Aquello in-the above-mentioned houses with their yard and (...) do of-them and in-them everything que lhys Aprouguer (year 1383) that themselves they-may-wish

(52) (...) das dictas cassas (...) e ffaer della Em ellas o que quiser come de ssua coussa propia (year 1397)

III - The oblique pronouns *i* and *en(de)* cannot intervene between the negative marker, ÔnonÔ, and the Verb

(53) E o Monesteiro ou Eigreia que n ouuer des L» casaaes aJusu n» pouse hj and the monastery or church that not owns from fifty farms to morenot stay there Ricome$ man-of-noble-birth (13th/14th century)

(54) San oan da hermida de Riba de Doyro; n» ha ffreguesiane$ sepultura ne$ n$ qua fora Abadada; ne$ c»firmada, ne$ fezer- endentu$ qua aa See do portu treuudo ne$ huum (year 1285)

(55) E esta doa » lhy fa o por muyto be$ queouuj desse Moesteiro e por and this donation it I-do for much good that I-had from-that monastery and from dizimas que hy n» paguej c» pridame$t ecomo deuera (year 1317) contributions that not I-paid totally as I-should

(56) (...) e dezi» por sy e por o Conu»sto a esse Juiz que n» desse hj ... and they-said by themselves and by the monastery to that judge that not should-give on-it sente$ a que contra eles fosse (year 1310) [on the legal dispute over the ownership of some waters] sentence that against them would-be

(57) Enprazou E per titollo de e$ prazame$todeu E outorgou ao dicto antone » nes E a sua mother Maria antonjan» presente E pera hu$$a filho Ou filla dantre » bos. E n» auendo hy filho ne$ filha a hu$$aperssou quall ho que delles mais viver (...) nomear (year 1472)

(58) Tu non te partir»s (D.G.S., Mattos e Silva 1989:851) you not youself will-leave

(59) E n» lhy fazer o Moesteiro pela carreira maisdano (year 1308)

(60) ...que n» sse laura (year 1509) ...that not SE cultivate Óthat it is not cultivated / that it is not worthy to be cultivatedÔ

(61) ...que sse n» laura (year 1528) ...that SE not cultivate Óthat it is not cultivated / that it is not worthy to be cultivatedÔ

(62) su tal condicon que o moesteyro n» ly metessehy caualeyro (year 1277)

(63) de utras deuidas que mi e uos auemos que me n» ne$ bram (year 1268)

(64) que el a mande lauorar e pauyyar e tapar asy Como ssasuyzijas n» lo tolendo te$po (year 1292)

(65) E nom ho querendo que ent» o uendam a tall perssoaque nom sseJa de maior
and not it wanting that then it they-sell to such person that notshoul-be of higher social status than him

IV - The oblique pronouns \textit{i} and \textit{en(de)} may occur non adjacent to the Verb in post-verbalposition

(38) Deu du$ G·calo a Laure$co Fern·dize Mart"$ G·caluiz. XII. casaes por arras de sua gave Sir G·calo to Laure$co Fern·diz and Mart"$ G·caluiz twelve farms as inheritance of their

au——. E filaru$ li illos inde VIcasales cu$ torto (Not'cia de Torto, 12-13) grandmother. And stole him they of-it six farms against the-law

Ó... And they illegally deprived him of six of those farms.Ó

(67) Deitade tantos alferces no horto e viinde v—s \textbf{ende} ag"$ha (Mattos e Silva 1989:237)

(68) & faze a los om[n]es la malazon tan fuerte que muere[n] los omnes \textbf{ende} (Wanner1991:354) and he-makes to the people the illness so strong that die the people of-this

Ó Proclitic pronouns can appear separated from the verb, as in Old and Renaissance Italian (...) , but no Romance languages allows for lexical material to intervene between the verb and an enclitic pronoun.Ó (Cardinaletti 1999:40)

V - The oblique pronouns \textit{i} and \textit{en(de)} cannot undergo ÔmesoclisisÕ

(69) & venir-te-a \textbf{ende} periglo & crebanto (Wanner 1991:355) and will-you-come from-there danger and ruin

Ó and you will receive from it danger and damageÓ

VI - The oblique pronouns \textit{i} and \textit{en(de)} are often post-verbal in subordinate clauses

(70) das quaes coussas o dito Martim dominguiz queixada pediu a mj– of-the which things (facts) the mentioned \textit{Martim Dominguiz} asked to me

que lhy desse \textbf{ende} hu$u testemoyo (year 1294) that him I-would-give of-them a written-statement (certificate)

(71) dona Orraca mart"$iz (...) que era professa dodito Moesteyro e que fora esesse Moesteyro gr< tenpo e que se ssayra\textbf{ende} e que andaua fora da ordj~ (year 1299)

(72) E disse pero mendiz por santo tisso e o Procurador deuilhar"$o que enquereses$ essei esbo$os eles e que seuesse \textbf{hj} e· eles Martim martjnz de pena maiore Pero martjnz dalffen< e Pero perez da agrella (year 1310)

(73) E m-do o meu quinon do casal da oydj Aquel que \textbf{mj \textit{ende}} deu and I leave the my parcel of the farm of the order the-one that(to-)me of-it gave

\textit{Roy vaasquez meu Tio A eygrejoo (year 1275)}

\textit{Roy Vaasquez} my uncle to (the monastery of) \textit{Eygrejoo}

(74) arrendamos (...) hu$a nossa v"$nha quenos Auemos en pee de Mu$u a par da vinha dos we-rent (...) one our vineyard that we have in \textit{Pee de Mu~u} nearby the vineyard of-the

\textit{ffreyres pola meyadade do ffryuto que deus y der (year 1305)} monks by the half (part) of-the crops that god there will-give
VII - The oblique pronouns *i* and *en(de)* are always post-verbal in ÒneutralÓ main clauses

(75)  
E que esta cousa n⁄º venha en duuida ponho meu seeloen testemoyu  
and (in-order-)that this thing not would-come in doubt I-put in-itmy seal in confirmation of  
desta cousa (year 1273)  
this thing  
(76)  
E por que esto seja firme e n⁄º venha en Duuida. m„dous ende  
and as that this will-be firm (officially established) and not will-come in doubt I send-you of-it  
dar esta mhu carta aberta seclada com meu seello pendente ec•no do Conuento (year 1305)  
give this my charter open sealed with my seal pendent andwith-the-one of-the monastery  
(77)  
E o Monesteiro ou Eigreia que n⁄º ouuer des L• casaaes aJusu n• pouse hj Ricomeš mais fa  
and you-will-give to-the above-mentioned parts to  
dos estrumentos partidos per A B C cº mha m•o propria  
this event present was and of-it two written statements broken by A B C with my hand own  
escreuj (year 1299)  
I-wrote  
(78)  
E eu affonsso perez poblico Tabelli• de Lixb•a a rogodas ditas partes  
and I Affonsso Perez public notary of Lisbon by request-of-the above-mentioned parts to  
a este feito presente foy e ende dous estrumentospartidos per A B C cº mha m•o propria  
is this present was and of-it two written statements broken by A B C with my hand own  
escreuj (year 1299)  
I-wrote  
(79)  
E eu per sseu m•dado as ditas cartas eesta forma publicatorney e y meu sinal pugy [que] tal est (year 1305)  
and I Pedro Dominguiz public notary requested by-the parts above mentioned to  
eesto presente ffoy e$de duas cartas partidasper a. b. C. cº mha m•o propria escreuy (1297)  
this present was of-it two charters broken by A B C with my handown I-wrote  
(80)  
 IX - In clauses displaying interpolation, the oblique pronoun*s* and *en(de)* can be placed inbetween the Subject and a scrambled (interpolated) Object. That is, they donot have to be left-peripheral with respect to the string OSubject -scrambled ObjectO  
(81)  
(\ldots) e dedes A dita ordeš eš cada hu$½ no de fforo vj•te ssoldos por  
and you-will-give to-the above-mentioned order each one year aspayment twenty soldos on  
dja de Natal e o quarto de todolos fruytos que deus hj eš cada hu$½ Î no der (year 1366)  
day of Christmas and the quarter (part) of all the crops that godthere in each one year gives  

Conclusion:

Assuming a tripartite tipology for pronouns, as proposed byCardinaletti (1998, 1999) and Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), a comparative approach to the syntax of the oblique pronouns *i / en(de)*, on the one hand, and of weak personal pronouns (accusative, dative, reflexive, etc.), on the other, shows that the former classify as weak non-clitic pronouns whereas the latter classify as weak clitic pronouns. Under the tripartite tipology, weak (non-clitic) pronouns are phrasal constituents (X_{max}=XP); (true) clitics are syntactic heads (X_{min}=X^{0}). The distinct syntactic distribution of obliques and of accusative/dative/reflexive pronouns in Old Portuguese.
and presumably Old Spanish) can be straightforwardly derived from their different phrase structure status. This line of reasoning leads us to conclude that clitic personal pronouns are X0 items from Old Romance through Modern Romance. The changes observed along the history of Portuguese and Spanish with respect to clitic placement cannot be accounted for under the OXmax to X0O hypothesis.

A category that does not project any further is a maximal projection XP, and one that is not a projection at all is a minimal projection Xmin; any other is an X0, invisible at the interface and for computation. As we proceed, I will qualify the conclusion somewhat for X0 categories, which have a very special role. (Chomsky 1994:242-243)

A consequence is that an item can be both an X0 and an XP. Does this cause problems? Are there examples that illustrate this possibility? I see no particular problems, and one case comes to mind as a possible illustration: clitics.

The phrase structure status of an element is its (relational) property of being maximal, minimal, or neither. (Chomsky 1995:246)

References:


Cardinaletti, Anna 1999. ÔPronouns in Germanic and Romance Languages: An Overview.Ó In Henk van Riemsdijk, ed. Clitics in the Languages of Europe. Mouton the Gruyter.

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