

## Syntactic change in Portuguese and Spanish: divergent and parallel patterns of linguistic splitting

Ana Maria Martins  
University of Lisbon (CLUL/FLUL)

Throughout the medieval period the syntax of Portuguese and Spanish is very much alike and the two languages display parallel grammatical changes that set them apart from other Romance languages (e.g. the loss of the oblique pronouns *en* and *i*, the reorganization of the system of deictic locatives, the evolution of *haber/tener* and *ser/estar*). But the earlier unity of Portuguese and Spanish syntax will not prevent later change leading to linguistic splitting, which may result from change along diverging paths or along similar/parallel paths. In the latter situation, splitting arises when one of the languages goes further along the path of change. This paper describes two cases of syntactic change starting with a common grammatical stage for Portuguese and Spanish and ending with two different grammars. While both changes feature instances of linguistic splitting arising from a former unity, they nevertheless exhibit different development patterns, illustrating what I will be calling the ‘inverted-Y’ and the ‘I’ patterns of linguistic change.

Section 2 deals with clitic placement. Spanish and Portuguese coincide in the initial stage (that, chronologically, mainly corresponds to the Middle Ages), but once each language acquires its own dynamics of change their development paths become consistently diverging, showing the ‘inverted-Y’ pattern of change. Because the topic of clitic placement is too big for the intended size of the current chapter, I will concentrate here on characterizing the “time” of unity, before diachronic splitting was set in motion.

Section 3 deals with negative polarity items, in particular post-nominal *algum/alguno*. Also in this case, Spanish and Portuguese end up being different. But the two languages show a similar path of change, have identical grammars for a period of time, and only diverge in the eighteenth century because European Portuguese changes a step ahead of Spanish along the same path. The diachronic development of post-nominal *algum/alguno* exemplifies the ‘I’ pattern of change.

A brief overview of the chapter and some final remarks will be offered in section 4.

### 2. Clitics and weak pronouns

The diachronic evolution of clitic placement features a case of syntactic splitting between Portuguese and Spanish that is somehow surprising because it arose after centuries of what appears to be in tandem development. There is an extensive literature on this topic, which I will not review in the current paper.<sup>1</sup> My aim in this section will be to contribute to a better

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<sup>1</sup> See, among others: Wanner (1987), Batllori, Iglésias & Martins (2005), and references therein, for Old Romance; Rivero (1986, 1991, 1997), Granberg (1988), Fontana (1993, 1997) and Nieuwenhuysen (2006) for Spanish; Kaiser (1992, 1999), Ribeiro (1995), and Martins (1994, 2005, 2011a) for Portuguese.

A puzzling fact about the history of clitic placement in Portuguese is that until the sixteenth century it seems to evolve exactly like Spanish. So enclisis in finite clauses, which Old Portuguese and Old Spanish share, is gradually replaced by proclisis that becomes dominant and eventually quasi-obligatory in certain texts. But later the change seems to abruptly reverse direction and the enclitic pattern that nowadays characterizes European Portuguese emerges. In Martins (2011a) I explored a small corpus extracted from the playwrights of Gil Vicente with the aim to show that in sixteenth century Portuguese besides the ‘proclitic’ grammar that is pervasive in written texts there is an ‘enclitic’ grammar, which the popular characters of Vicente’s playwrights attest. This presumably vernacular grammar is in important respects closer to Old Portuguese and contemporary European Portuguese than the prestige literary sixteenth century ‘proclitic’ grammar. Although the latter was at the time dominant in written texts and widespread across the Iberian Romance languages, the vernacular ‘enclitic’ grammar will gradually drive the former out of use, featuring an interesting case of grammar competition (in the sense of Kroch 1989, 2001). This shows that the sixteenth century Spanish-Portuguese diglossia in Portugal (cf.

understanding of the initial common stage from which the contemporary grammars of Spanish and European Portuguese sprout. I will do so by comparing the syntax of the unstressed personal pronouns (i.e. accusative/dative/*se* pronouns) with the syntax of the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* (the cognates of Catalan *hi* and *en*, French *y* and *en*, Italian *vi* and *ne*) in order to demonstrate that the former were always true *clitics* throughout the history of Spanish and Portuguese. Hence, the differences between clitic placement in earlier and contemporary stages of Spanish and Portuguese cannot be attributed to a change of the categorical status of *i* and *en/ende*, from weak pronouns (XP) to clitic pronouns (X<sup>0</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

I will first describe clitic placement in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish (section 2.1), then compare it with the word order patterns displayed by the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* (section 2.2). Finally, some general comments drawn from the comparative inquiry will be offered in section 2.3.

The facts about clitic placement in earlier stages of Portuguese and Spanish are to be contrasted with the current situation. In a sketchy characterization, it can be said that verbal morphology plays a central role in defining the position of clitic pronouns relative to the verb in Spanish but not in European Portuguese. Thus, whereas Spanish constantly displays proclisis in finite clauses and enclisis in non finite ones, the split between proclisis and enclisis does not follow in European Portuguese the partition finite/non finite. The examples in (1) below show that European Portuguese has obligatory enclisis or obligatory proclisis in finite clauses. The proclitic pattern depends on the presence of elements such as negation, quantifiers, *wh*- phrases, contrastive foci and certain adverbs, usually referred as “proclisis-triggers” (which are underlined in (1b-c)). In Spanish, on the other hand, proclisis is the only pattern allowed in finite clauses, as illustrated in (2). In European Portuguese, non finite clauses either behave like finite ones, as exemplified in (3) with gerund clauses or show variation between proclisis and enclisis, allowing both patterns, as illustrated in (4) with infinitival clauses. Spanish consistently displays enclisis in infinitival and gerund clauses, as showed in (5).

- (1) a. Eu (ontem) vi-o. / \*Eu (ontem) o vi. Portuguese  
I (yesterday) saw-him / I yesterday him saw  
'I saw him yesterday.'
- b. Eu não o vi. / \*Eu não vi-o.  
I not him saw / I not saw-him  
'I didn't see him.'
- c. Todos o viram. / \*Todos viram-no.  
all him saw / all saw-him  
'Everybody saw him'.
- (2) a. Yo lo vi. / \*Yo vilo. Spanish  
I him saw / I saw-him

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Castro 2002, Teyssier 2005) was not sufficiently rooted in the social tissue to affect the development of Portuguese syntax.

<sup>2</sup> The pronominal form *en* results from the phonological reduction of *ende*, which originates in the Latin *inde*. It should be noted, however, that the monosyllabic and the bisyllabic forms coexist in the Portuguese medieval sources from the earlier texts to the second half of the fourteenth century (when *en/ende* ceases to be attested). In the Castilian domain, *ende* is dominant throughout the medieval period, except in the earlier texts where *end/ent* are also found (cf. Badia Margarit 1947). The reduced form *en* is uncommon in Spanish in all times.

A reviewer points out the interesting fact that French and Italian still have a weak use of the locatives pronouns, like in French *y compris* and Italian *ivi compreso*, where the pronoun occurs in positions that are unavailable to clitic pronouns. The Italian *ivi* is bisyllabic (hence weak, under Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) and, as expected, differs minimally from the clitic *vi*. I gratefully acknowledge the reviewer's insight.

- ‘I saw him.’
- b. Yo no *lo* vi. / \*Yo no *vilo*.  
I not him saw / I not saw-him  
‘I didn’t see him.’
- c. Todos *lo* vieron. / \*Todos *vieronlo*.  
all him saw / all saw-him  
‘Everybody saw him’.
- (3) a. Vendo-*o*, abandonei a sala. / \**O* vendo, abandonei a sala      Portuguese  
seeing-him left-1SG the room / him seeing left-1SG the room  
‘When/because I saw him, I left the room’.
- b. Não *o* vendo, abandonei a sala. / \*Não vendo-*o*, abandonei a sala.  
not him seeing left-1SG the room / not seeing-him left-1SG the room  
‘When/because I didn’t see him, I left the room’.
- (4) a. Acabo de *vê-lo*.      Portuguese  
finished-1SG of see-*INFIN*-him
- b. Acabo de *o* ver.  
finished-1SG of him see-*INFIN*  
‘I have just seen him’.
- (5) a. Acabo de *verlo*. / \*Acabo de *lo* ver.      Spanish  
finished-1SG of see-*INFIN*-him / finished-1SG of him see-*INFIN*  
‘I have just seen him.’
- b. *Viéndolo*, abandoné la sala. / \**Lo* *viendo*, abandoné la sala.  
seeing-him left-1SG the room / him seeing left-1SG the room  
‘When/because I saw him, I left the room’.
- c. No *viéndolo*, abandoné la sala. / \*No *lo* *viendo*, abandoné la sala.  
not him seeing left-1SG the room / not seeing-him left-1SG the room  
‘When/because I didn’t see him, I left the room’.

In the ensuing sections I will focus on finite clauses.

## 2.1. Clitic placement in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish

From the earlier texts through the first half of the sixteenth century Portuguese and Spanish display similar patterns of clitic placement in finite clauses. Both languages display variation between enclisis and proclisis<sup>3</sup> in the kind of sentences where enclisis is obligatory in contemporary European Portuguese while Spanish only allows proclisis.<sup>4</sup> This variable placement of the clitic with respect to the verb (either preverbal or postverbal) is found in affirmative main clauses without proclisis triggers (i.e. negation, quantifiers, wh- phrases, contrastive foci and certain adverbs). I will refer to such clauses as unmarked main clauses. Examples (6) to (10) below, taken from Spanish texts, as well as examples (11) to (14), taken from Portuguese texts, illustrate how through the period under consideration enclisis and

<sup>3</sup> I leave the issue of phonological cliticization out of the scope of this paper. Thus I use the terms 'enclisis' and 'proclisis' in a purely distributional vein to refer to the position of the clitic in relation to the verb.

<sup>4</sup> With future and conditional forms of the verb mesoclisism can be found in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish as well as in contemporary European Portuguese. "Mesoclisism" 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 TMA suffixes. Mesoclisism is found in exactly the same type of clauses where enclisis arises.

proclisis alternate in similar syntactic contexts.<sup>5</sup> Each example contains two sentences extracted from one same literary source and emerging as much as possible from analogous textual environments. The medieval and early Renaissance variation between proclisis and enclisis, which the set of sentences in (6)-(14) exemplify is not attested in verb initial sentences where enclisis was obligatory.<sup>6</sup>

- (6) a. el rey dioles fideles Spanish, 12th century  
the king gave-them judges  
'The King appointed judges to decide the result of the competition between them'.  
b. El rey lo ha uedado  
the king it has forbidden

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<sup>5</sup> The variable pattern of clitic placement observed in unmarked main clauses in Old Portuguese, Old Spanish and other Old Romance languages has been motivated in prosodic, syntactic, and semantic terms. Space considerations preclude me from reviewing the heavily extensive literature dealing with this issue. See Barry (1987), Granberg (1988), Nieuwenhuysen (2006), Bouzouita (2008), Martins (1994, 2005), Batllori, Iglésias & Martins (2005), among others.

<sup>6</sup> The constraint against placing clitics in first position is known by the name of *Tobler-Mussafia* (cf. Mussafia 1886, Tobler 1875, 1889, and Meyer-Lübke 1897). In thirteenth and fourteenth century Portuguese, the Tobler-Mussafia constraint excludes clitics not only from the absolute sentential left-periphery but also from the immediate first position after a Clitic Left Dislocated constituent, a clausal adjunct (namely an adverbial clause), or a coordinate conjunction. From the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the interdiction against placing clitics sentence initially is gradually 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 Clitic Left Dislocated phrase. In Spanish, proclisis is attested following a coordinate conjunction or a left adjoined adverbial clause from the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century it can be also attested in Clitic Left Dislocation contexts. Finally the earlier examples of absolute first position are found in the sixteenth century, although sentence initial clitics are rare at this time (see Keniston 1937). Similar facts (with variable chronology) are attested in the other Romance languages (see Labelle and Hirschbühler 2002, and Batllori, Iglésias and Martins 2005). 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 at some point in the medieval period, instead of three independent 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).

In Old Portuguese and Old Spanish as well, the number of constituents that precede the verb in non verb-initial sentences is irrelevant with respect to clitic placement. So enclisis may surface in sentences where the verb occupies third or higher position, as exemplified in (i) for Old Portuguese and (ii) for Old Spanish.

- (i) a. E eu outrossy semelhauilmente obligome a defender a uos os ditos bees e erças  
and I also similarly compromise-myself to protect to you the said properties and inheritances  
'And I also compromise myself to recognize the full ownership of the said properties and inheritances to you'.  
(Portuguese, year 1291. Cf. Martins 2001: 358)
- b. Enton o abade ... deitou-se aos pees do monge Libertino ... e o monge Libertino outrossi  
then the abbot laid himself at-the feet of-the monk Libertino ... and the monk Libertino also  
deitou-se ante os pees de seu abade  
laid-himself by his feet of his abbot  
'Then the abbot laid at the feet of-the monk Libertino ... and the monk Libertino, as well, laid at the feet of the abbot'.  
(Portuguese, 14th century. Cf. Silva 1989: 275)
- (ii) a. E otrossi en Roma encendióssse fuego, et quemaron se muchas casas  
and also in Rome burst-itself fire and burned themselves many houses  
'Also in Rome, the fire burst out and many houses burned down?'.  
(Spanish, 13th century. Cf. Granberg 1988: 171)
- b. Ferrand Gonçalez con el poder echolo de tierra  
Ferrand Gonçalez with the power laid-him to ground  
'Ferrand Goçalez with all the power laid him down to the ground'.  
(Spanish, 13th century. Cf. Granberg 1988: 187)

‘The King forbade it’.

(Cf. Menéndez Pidal 1946: 1159, 910 (lines 3593, 42))

- (7) a. e agora llaman *le* Barcelona Spanish, 13th century  
and now call-3PL it Barcelona  
‘Nowadays, it is called Barcelona’.  
b. e oy en día *le* llaman Tarraçona  
and now in day it call-3PL Tarraçona  
‘Nowadays it is called Tarraçona’.  
(Cf. Menéndez Pidal 1978: 10b)
- (8) a. e mandolas fenchir de arena Spanish, 14th century  
and sent-3SG-them fill of sand  
‘And he sent to fill them with sand’.  
b. e *le* desamo de allj adelante  
and him disliked-3SG from then on  
‘And from that moment he despised him’.  
(Cf. Menéndez-Pidal 1965: 325, 324)
- (9) a. y acabada su habla respondióle Spanish 15<sup>th</sup> century  
and finished his speech answered-3SG-him  
‘Once he finished what he had to say, she answered him’.  
b. en el fin de su habla *me* desesperó  
at the end of his speech me tormented-3SG  
‘after he spoke, I was driven to despair’.  
(Cf. Gili-Gaya 1950: 155, 137)
- (10) a. otro en la noche fuese el Duque con su gente Spanish, 16th century  
other(-day) in the night left-himself the duke with his people  
‘The next day at night the duke left with his people’.  
y otro día de mañana *nos* hecimos a la vela  
b. and other day in morning ourselves went on the sail  
‘and the next day morning we set sail’.  
(Cf. Keniston 1937: 94)
- (11) a. E eu envieyos dizer Portuguese, 13th century  
and I sent-you tell  
‘And I sent tell you’.  
b. E uos *me* enuiastes dizer  
and you me sent tell  
‘And you sent tell me’.  
(Cf. Duarte 1986: 87)
- (12) a. E elle outorgou *lho* Portuguese, 14<sup>th</sup> century  
and he conceded-him-it  
‘And he conceded it to him’.  
b. E Rotas *lho* outorgou  
and Rotas him-it conceded  
‘And Rotas conceded it to him’.  
(Cf. Cintra 1954: 36)

- (13) a. O carneyro, que d'aquelo não sabia parte, negou-*ho* Portuguese, 15th century  
the ram that of that not knew anything denied-it  
'The ram, that was unaware of the facts, denied it'.  
b. O pastor, que ouue d'elle doo, *lhe* disse  
the shepherd that had of he pity him said  
'The shepherd, who felt sorry for him, told him'.  
(Cf. Huber 1993: 179)
- (14) a. à pessoa que vos tall dise ou espreveo, Portuguese, 16th century  
to-the person that you-DAT such-thing told or wrote'.  
pergumtel*he* vosalteza omde estava syman afomso  
ask-him-DAT Your-Highness where was Syman Afomso  
'Your majesty should ask the person that told you or wrote such thing where Syman Afomso was'.  
b. aos que imda lá sam, *lhe* tenho dado seguros  
to-those that still there are, them-DAT have-1SG given safe-conducts and them  
e *lhe* mando agora noteficar ho voso perdam  
send-1SG now notify-of the your pardon  
'I have been giving protection to the people that are still there and now I will notify them of your pardon'.  
(Cf. Pato 1884: 99, 94)

In finite subordinate clauses clitics are preverbal in all stages of the history of Portuguese and Spanish.<sup>7</sup> In the Medieval period however clitics occur either adjacent or non adjacent to the verb. The phenomenon of non adjacency is known as *interpolation* in the Romance philological literature. During the period along which interpolation can be attested,<sup>8</sup> this word order is optional, as shown in (15)-(17). Interpolation is further illustrated by examples (18) to (21). Because Old Portuguese and Old Spanish allowed middle-distance object scrambling, deriving the order SOV (see Martins 2002, 2011b), interpolation structures often display a non-clitic object occurring in between the preverbal clitic and the verb, as shown in many of the examples below. Interpolated constituents are underlined, as are in examples (15b), (16b) and (17b) the constituents that could have been interpolated but are not.

- (15) a. que *me* vos ayudedes  
that me-DAT you-NOM help  
'that you may help me'.  
b. que vos *me* acorrades  
that you-NOM me-DAT come  
'that you may come to me'.  
(Spanish. Thirteenth century. Cf. Chenery 1905: 103)
- (16) a. como *se* nesta carta contem  
how itself in-this letter contains  
'how it is stated in this letter'.

<sup>7</sup> Some exceptions to the generally proclitic pattern of subordinate clauses can be found for particular syntactic configurations (see Batllori, Iglésias and Martins 2005, and references therein).

<sup>8</sup> In Portuguese, interpolation remains fairly productive in the sixteenth century while in Spanish interpolation is well attested up to the fifteenth century but rare afterwards. A few examples of residual interpolation in sixteenth century Spanish prose are given by Keniston (1937: 101).

- b. como nesta carta se cõthẽ  
how in-this letter itself contains  
'how it is stated in this letter'.  
(Portuguese. Year 1532, 1538. Cf. Martins 2001: 554, 318)
- (17) a. de quem quer que lhe sobre elle (...) algũu embargo ou empedymto puser  
from who ever that him over it some obstruction or constraint puts  
'[keeping him free] from whoever tries to block it [the land] from him'.  
b. de quem quer que sobre elles algũ embargo ou inpedimento lhes poser  
from who ever that over them some obstruction or constraint them put  
'[protecting the renters] from whoever tries to block them [the lands] from them'.  
(Portuguese. Years 1544, 1540. Cf. Martins 2001: 561, 556)
- (18) Et si lo el rey por bien toviere  
and if it the king for good has  
'And if the king considers it good'.  
(Spanish. Thirteenth century. Cf. Rivero 1991: 244)
- (19) Et de mas mando al omne que vos esta mj carta mostrara que enplase  
and of more order-1SG to-the man who you this my letter would-show that cites  
a todos los que lo contra ella fizjeren  
to all those that it against her [the letter] would-do  
'Moreover, I order the man showing you this letter of mine to call before a court of law all those acting against it'.  
(Spanish. Year 1440. Cf. Menéndez Pidal 1919: 309 (text 234))
- (20) Se me Deus enton a morte non deu  
if me God then the death not gave  
'If then God didn't give me death'.  
(Portuguese. Fourteenth century. Cf. Nunes 1932: 225 (text 109))
- (21) quem vos tall cousa disse, mentivos mui grande mentira  
whoever you-DAT such thing told, lied-you-DAT very big lie  
'Whoever told you that, lied to you'.  
(Portuguese. Fifteenth century. Cf. Pádua 1960: 73)

Some types of main clauses behave similarly to subordinate clauses with respect to clitic placement. Those are sentences where neg-words, quantifiers, wh-phrases and certain adverbs (such as *ja/ya* 'already' in (22) and (27), *sempre* 'always' in (23), *ainda* 'still' in (24) or *asi* 'so' in (28)) precede the verb. In these sentences, clitics are always proclitic and interpolation (as well as scrambled objects) can be found. In both respects, such sentences follow the typical patterns of subordinate clauses and contrast with unmarked main clauses, where enclisis is a grammatical option and interpolation (as well as object scrambling) are not attested.

- (22) E ja m' el tanto mal fez  
and already me-DAT he so-much harm did  
'He has done me a lot of harm already'.  
(Portuguese. Fourteenth century. Cf. Nunes 1932: 209 (text 102))

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- (23) E sempre *m' eu mal* acharei  
and always myself I bad will-feel  
'And I will always feel myself bad'.  
(Portuguese. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Cf. Lapa 1965: 155 (text 93))
- (24) *ainda vos hoje muito pesar* averrá  
still you-DAT today much sorrow will-come  
'Much sorrow will come to you today'.  
(Portuguese. Thirteenth century. Cf. Nunes 2005: 105)
- (25) Dom Froyaz amaua-a muyto e numca *lhe tamtas cousas* pode fazer que  
don Froyaz loved-her-ACC much and never her-DAT enough things could do that  
a podesse fazer fallar  
her-ACC could make speak  
'Don Froyaz loved her heartily but he wasn't able to do enough to get her to speak'.  
(Portuguese. Fourteenth century. Cf. Pádua 1960: 53)
- (26) Todos *se luego* ayuntaron  
all themselves immediately assembled  
'Everybody assembled at once'.  
(Spanish. Fourteenth century. Cf. Chenery 1905: 123)
- (27) ¡Ya nunca *vos yo mas* veré!  
already never you-ACC I more will-see  
'I will never see you again'.  
(Spanish. Fourteenth century. Cf. Chenery 1905: 123)
- (28) Asi *les Dios* aluengue los dias de las vidas  
so them-DAT God extends the days of the lives  
'May God extend their lives'.  
(Spanish. Fourteenth century. Chenery 1905: 123)

## 2.2. A gradual change in clitic placement through the medieval period

The Portuguese texts corresponding to the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries show that a gradual change took place during this period with regard to clitic placement in unmarked main clauses – the kind of clause where the clitic could precede or follow the verb. In the thirteenth century, proclisis was possible but infrequent; in the sixteenth century, the situation is reversed. Table 1 provides indicative data extracted from legal documents. Consideration of literary sources broadly confirms the picture but shows that the preference for proclisis in sixteenth century Portuguese is not as extreme as the legal documents suggest.<sup>9</sup>

Table 1: Proclisis *versus* enclisis in unmarked main clauses in Portuguese legal documents (Martins 1994)

	1250-99	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49
Clitic-Verb	7.1% (4/56)	24.6% (15/61)	41.9% (18/43)	78.9% (30/38)	92.7% (38/41)	98.8% (80/81)

<sup>9</sup> The path of change is similarly shown by legal documents and literary texts but there is a certain (limited) amount of variation between writers that has no expression in the legal documents. Typically, in sixteenth century Portuguese literary prose the rate of enclisis oscillates between approximately 1% (like in legal documents) and 30%. This seems to be mainly a matter of idiolectal variation. Cf. footnote 1.



Verb-Clitic	92.9% (52/56)	75.4% (46/61)	58.1% (25/43)	21.1% (8/38)	7.3% (3/41)	1.2% (1/81)
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A similar diachronic path from enclisis to proclisis can be observed in Spanish, as well as in the other Romance languages (see Batllori, Iglésias and Martins 2005). Table 2 serves as an indicator for Spanish, although the data are not strictly comparable with the data on table 1. The 18% of proclisis in main clauses shown in table 2 for the twelfth century results from the non separation between unmarked main clauses and clauses with proclisis triggers (i.e. negation, quantifiers, wh-phrases, contrastive foci and certain adverbs; see Granberg 1988; Batllori, Iglésias and Martins 2005).

Table 2. Proclisis in Medieval and Early Renaissance Castillian texts (Nieuwenhuijsen 2006)

	XII <i>Fazienda</i>	XIII <i>CG</i>	XIV <i>Sumas</i>	XV <i>Varones</i>	XVI <i>Guerras</i>
General	37% (102/279)	57% (158/279)	63% (178/281)	87% (225/260)	95% (303/319)
Main clauses	18% (38/212)	15% (20/136)	21% (24/113)	65% (63/97)	91% (154/170)
Subordinate clauses	96% (64/67)	97% (138/143)	92% (154/168)	99% (162/163)	100% (149)

As the data shown in tables 1 and 2 indicate, the split between Portuguese and Spanish relative to clitic placement arises after the sixteenth century, with Spanish sticking to proclisis and Portuguese reversing to enclisis in the contexts where both positions were allowed in finite clauses throughout the Medieval period.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3. Comparing clitic pronouns with the weak oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende*

The pronominal system of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish included the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende*, the cognates of Catalan *hi* and *en*, French *i* and *en*, Italian *vi* and *ne*. In the fifteenth century the partitive/locative *en/ende* vanishes whereas *i* is reanalysed as a locative adverb (cf. Badia Margarit 1947, Teyssier 1981, Wanner 1991, Muidine 2000). I will not be concerned here with explaining why the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/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 *en/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). The resulting comparative evidence will show that the set of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish pronouns under observation splits into two subsets, namely a group of weak pronouns that do not survive beyond the fifteenth century and a group of clitic pronouns which keep their X<sup>0</sup> nature unchanged across all the documented lifetime of the Romance languages. The facts to be discussed thus argue against Rivero's claim (in 1986, 1991) that the oblique pronouns and the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns of Old Spanish (and, by extension, Old Portuguese) are syntactic entities of the same nature, namely maximal projections (XPs), which would account for interpolation and other word order facts.

Under the tripartite typology of pronouns (i.e. *clitic*, *weak*, *strong*), the particular properties of each class of pronouns are derived 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 (X<sup>0</sup>) 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

<sup>10</sup> Variation between proclisis and enclisis was also found in infinitival clauses and is, to a certain degree, maintained in contemporary European Portuguese. Spanish made enclisis obligatory in infinitival clauses.

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.

In Old Portuguese and Old Spanish both the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* and the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns display the incapacity for introducing new referents and for being coordinated, therefore classifying as ‘deficient’ pronouns (see Badia Margarit 1947, Teyssier 1981, Muidine 2000). Sentences (29) to (31) below, extracted from Old Portuguese legal documents, illustrate the “replacement” of *i* and *en/ende* by strong forms (i.e., Prep + strong pronoun) when coordination comes into play. Example (31) displays coordinated strong forms occurring in exactly the same kind of discourse/textual context as the (uncoordinated) weak pronouns *i* and *en/ende* in examples (29)-(30).

- (29) no dito cassall e terras e cassas (...) que daquj en.diante façom *hy* como de  
in-the mentioned farm and lands and houses (...) that from-now on do-3PL there like of  
cousa ssua propria forra  
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.’.  
(Portuguese. Year 1483. Martins 2001:526)
- (30) das ditas herdades e quintãa e Casal dela (...) que daqui adeãte o ouesse o  
of the said lands and farm and house of-it (...) that from-now on it-ACC should-own  
dito Monsteiro liuremête e ã paz e fezesse *ende* o que lhj aprouesse  
the said monastery freely and in peace and should-do of-it the what it pleased  
sem ãbargo seu nẽhũ  
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’.  
(Portuguese. Year 1339. Martins 2001:198)
- (31) Aíam (...) as sobreditas Casas (...) e façã *dellas e ã ellas* todo aquello  
own-3PL the above-said houses (...) and do of-they and in they every thing  
que lhys Aprouguer  
that them pleases  
‘they will own the houses and use them in any manner that they may wish’.  
(Portuguese. Year 1383. Martins 2001:462)

Although the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* qualify as deficient pronouns like the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns (as the all set of pronouns share the properties of resisting coordination, modification and being unable to introduce new referents), the two groups of deficient pronouns diverge from each other in a series of important aspects that will be reviewed below.

2.3.1. *Subordinate clauses.* In finite subordinate clauses, the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns are normally preverbal, differing in this way from strong pronouns and DPs in general (see section 2.1). Oblique pronouns, on the other hand, do not display a particular placement in subordinate clauses, being often post-verbal (unless they undergo object scrambling). Since both the oblique pronouns and the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns are deficient pronouns, their different syntactic distribution indicates that while the latter are clitics (thus have a “special”

placement) the former are weak pronouns. The observed distributional contrast between the two sets of pronouns is highlighted by sentences (32)-(33) below.<sup>11</sup>

- (32) das quaes cousas o dito Martim dominguiz queixada pedyu a m̃j que  
of-the which things the mentioned Martim Dominguez Queixada asked to me that  
*lhy* desse *ende* hũu testemoyo  
him would-give-1SG of-them a written-statement  
'Martim Dominguez Queixada asked me to give him a written statement certifying the facts'.  
(Portuguese. Year 1294. Martins 2001:365)

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

2.3.2. *Negative clauses*. It is a well established generalization about the Romance languages with preverbal negation that only an X<sup>0</sup> element, namely a clitic, is allowed to break the linear adjacency between the negative marker *no/non* 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 1994). In opposition to the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns, the oblique pronouns (with a few exceptions for Old Spanish *i*<sup>12</sup>) cannot intervene between *no/non* and the verb. Therefore, they do not qualify as clitics whereas the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns do. In negative sentences, either the oblique pronouns precede the negative marker, as shown in (34), or they are post-verbal, as illustrated in (35) and (36). Also in this respect, oblique pronouns contrast with accusative/dative/*se* pronouns, since the latter are always preverbal in finite negative clauses.

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<sup>11</sup> Similar examples are attested in the Portuguese texts with *en* and *i*, which are monosyllabic, hence not obviously non-clitic in contrast to weak bisyllabic *ende*. See examples (i) to (iv).

- (i) e do que remaser fazam *en* tres partes (cf.: "facan *ende* tres partes" in a different copy of the same text)  
and of what will-remain make of-it three parts  
'as for the remaining property, split it into three parts'  
(Portuguese. *Testamento de Afonso II*. Year 1214. Manuscript L. Cf. Castro 1991: 199)
- (ii) creo que lhe pesa *en* mais ca a vos  
believe-1SG that him weights of-it more than to you  
'I believe that he feels more deeply struck by it than you.'  
(Portuguese. Thirteenth century. Cf. Nunes 2005: 223)
- (iii) per tal cõdiçõ que uos façades *hy* casas  
under such condition that you make there houses  
'under the condition that you will build houses in there'  
(Portuguese. Year 1279. Martins 2001:136)
- (iv) que fforõ *hy* chegados  
who were there arrived  
'who arrived there'  
(Portuguese. Year 1339. Martins 2001:197)

<sup>12</sup> 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 Castilian. 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, and Kok 1985 for Old French). Nevertheless, in Old Spanish 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 mesoclitisis; it is not part of clitic clusters.

- (34) 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)
- (35) que lo emiende (...) e *nol* fagan *end* ningún amor  
that it corrects (...) and not-him show-3PL for-it any fondness  
'that he corrects it and nobody should show him any sympathy for that'.  
(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:94)
- (36) E o Monesteiro ou Ejgreia que ño ouer des L<sup>a</sup> Casáaes a Jusu *nõ* pouse *hj*  
and the monastery or church that not owns from fifty farms to more not stay there  
Ricomẽ  
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)

2.3.3. *Unmarked main clauses.* The oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* are normally post-verbal in unmarked main clauses, while the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns display variation between proclisis and enclisis (see section 2.1). So, the oblique pronouns do not display a syntax of word order that groups them with the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns. Instead, they pattern with full DPs (and, of course, like full DPs they can undergo some displacement operations). Examples (37) and (38) illustrate the relevant contrast.

- (37) a. E o Monesteiro ou Ejgreia que ño ouer des L<sup>a</sup> Casáaes a Jusu ño pouse *hj*  
and the monastery or church that not owns from fifty farms to more not stay there  
Ricomẽ mais *façãlhj ende* seruiço hũa vez no ãno  
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)
- b. E porque ele esto dezia muito ameudi, os seus amigos que estavam derredor  
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* muito  
him asked-him to whom 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'.  
(Portuguese. Cf. Teyssier 1981:173)
- (38) a. e juntarose y todas las animalias  
and gathered there all the animals  
'And all the animals gathered there'.  
(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947: 99)
- b. Los moros de las tierras ganado *se* an y algo  
the muslims of the towns gained themselves there something  
'The local muslims won something for themselves there'.

(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947: 124)

2.3.4. *Enclisis and adjacency*. 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 *en/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 ( $X^0$ ) from earlier times requiring an  $X^0$  host; the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* are weak pronouns (XP) and, accordingly, may stay on their own (although they may as well undergo prosodic restructuring). Sentences (39) to (44) exemplify the permitted discontinuity between the verb and a post-verbal oblique pronoun. This word order is attested with both monosyllabic and bisyllabic forms, as demonstrated respectively by (39)-(40), which feature the monosyllabic pronouns *en/i*, and (41)-(44), which feature the bisyllabic *ende*.

Examples (39), (41) and (44) further highlight the contrast between the placement of the oblique pronoun and the placement of a post-verbal clitic pronoun, which as expected surfaces adjacent to the verb.

- (39) ca se me mentir seeredes-me yos *en* testemunha  
because if me-DAT lies will-be-me-DAT you-NOM of-it witness  
‘because if he lies to me you will be my witness for that’  
(Portuguese. Thirteenth century. Cf. Nunes 2005: 228)
- (40) E fiz eu *i* tanto que Tolomer foi preso e toda sua gente destruída  
and did I there such that Tolomer was imprisoned and all his people destroyed  
‘And I did such deeds there that Tolomer was made prisoner and his people destroyed.’  
(Portuguese. Thirteenth century. Cf. Nunes 2005: 56)
- (41) E filarũ *li* illos *inde* VI casales cũ torto  
and stole him they of-it six farms against the-law  
‘And they illegally deprived him of six of those farms’.  
(Portuguese. Early thirteenth century. Cf. Castro 1991: 232)
- (42) E o santo homen pois esto ouvio ficou logo *ende* mui triste  
and the holy man as this heard was immediately of-it very sad  
‘And as soon as he heard that, the holy man was very sad’.  
(Portuguese. Cf. Teyssier 1981:173)
- (43) & faze a los om[n]es la malazon tan fuerte que muere[n] los omnes *ende*  
and 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’.  
(Spanish. Cf. Wanner 1991:354)
- (44) E fallanse mal *ende*  
and find themselves bad of-it  
‘And that brings harm to them’.  
(Spanish. Cf. Badía Margarit 1947: 110)

2.3.5. *Mesoclis*. In Old Portuguese and Old Spanish mesoclis is an available option for clitic placement. A mesoclitic pronoun surfaces in between the verbal root and the TMA markers. Since morphological words, namely verbs, are  $X^0$  items, only another  $X^0$  can become a segment of the former. The weak oblique pronouns being XPs do not undergo mesoclis whereas the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns do.<sup>13</sup> Sentences (45) to (48) below illustrate the relevant distinction. In the two last examples the post-verbal oblique pronouns co-occur with a mesoclitic pronoun within the same clause.

(45) E enton dar-*lh'*-ia Deus lume de seus olhos  
and then give-him-would God light of his eyes  
'and then God would give him (some of) the light of his eyes'.  
(Portuguese. Cf. Silva 1989:850)

(46) e gram nojo receberias *ende*  
and great suffering get-would-2SG from-it  
'and that would cause you a great deal of pain'.  
(Portuguese. Cf. Silva 1989:237)

(47) & venir-*te*-a *ende* periglo & crebanto  
and come.3SG-you.DAT-will from-there danger and ruin  
'and you will receive from it danger and damage'.  
(Spanish. Cf. Wanner 1991:355)

(48) dar-*vos*-he y de las nuses  
give.1SG-you.DAT-will there of the nuts  
'There I will give you some nuts'.  
(Spanish. Cf. Badía Margarit 1947:124)

2.3.6. *The ban against first position for clitics*. As sentences (49)-(50) below show, the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* escape the Tobler-Mussafia restriction (Tobler 1875, 1889; Mussafia 1886), which states that clitics are excluded from the absolute left peripheral position in a sentence. 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 tackle the issue here. But I take the fact that *i* and *en/ende* may escape the Tobler-Mussafia constraint as a further indicator of their non-clitic character and, conversely, of the clitic character of the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns.

(49) E eu Pedro dominguiz publico tabeliõ de Lixbõa rogado das partes de suso ditas  
and I Pedro Dominguez public notary of Lisbon requested by-the parts above mentioned  
á ésto presente ffoy. *Êde* duas cartas partidas per a. b. c. cõ mha mão propria escreuy  
to this present was of-it two charters broken by ABC with my hand own wrote  
'And I, Pedro Dominguez, 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)

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<sup>13</sup> With future and conditional forms of the verb, accusative/dative/*se* pronouns can be either mesoclitic or proclitic/enclitic in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish.

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.

- (50) Buscó algún lugar de gran religión:  
he-looked-for some place of great mysticism:  
– *I sóvo escondido* haciendo oración  
– there stayed-3SG hidden doing prayers  
'He looked for some mystical place. He hid there doing his prayers'.  
(Spanish. Cf. Badia Margarit 1947:119)

2.3.7. *Clitic clusters*. 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 *en/ende*, on the one hand, and of the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns on the other<sup>14</sup>. The latter but not the former behave as clitics. 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 sentences (51)-(53) below both the accusative/dative and the oblique pronouns could be placed before the string 'negation-verb'; in sentence (53) 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 (41), (44), (45) and (47) above.

- (51) Pora levar el agua a los de iuso, que no *la* sabíen *hy* nunquas puesta  
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)
- (52) *ca le* non tomaria *dende* nada  
because him-DAT not would-take-3SG from-there nothing  
'Because he wouldn't take anything from him there'.  
(Spanish. Wanner 1991: 345)
- (53) e pollo dito escambho todallas vjnhas que o dito Moesteiro ha ã  
and for the mentioned exchange all the vineyards that the mentioned monastery owns in

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<sup>14</sup> The fact that *i* and *en/ende* 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).

The two oblique pronouns, *i* and *en(de)*, can co-occur within the same clause 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 do horto e nunca  
and all those animals that in-the garden were and the cabbages ate left-themselves from-the garden and never  
*ende hi* hũũ ficou  
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'.  
(Old Portuguese. Cf. Teyssier 1981:174)

In relation to example (1), a reviewer notes that Italian displays the opposite locative-partitive order and gives the example in (ii):

- (ii) non ce ne e' rimasto mai nessuno  
not there of-them remained never none  
'None of them ever remained there.'

Alffornel (...) assj cōmo *as* o dito Mosteiro *hj* a  
Alffornel (...) in-the-way that them the mentioned monastery there owns  
'you will unrestrictedly 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)

2.3.8. *Conclusive summary*. The comparative inquiry undertaken in section 2.3. offers 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, the deficient accusative/dative/*se* pronouns of Portuguese and Spanish did not change their categorial nature throughout the history of these languages (pace Rivero 1986, 1991). Since, for this matter, Old Portuguese and Old Spanish have been generally taken in the literature as representative of an archaic stage in the history of Romance, I hence conclude that Romance clitics are just continuously true clitics from Old Romance times. This fact reveals itself sharply when we compare the syntax of the accusative/dative/*se* pronouns with the syntax of the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish. The latter display properties of *weak* pronouns (XPs) in contrast to the *clitic* properties of the former (under the tripartite typology of Cardinaletti and Starke 1996, 1999). The set of 'deficient' pronouns of Old Portuguese and Old Spanish thus 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 X<sup>0</sup> nature unchanged across all the documented lifetime of the Romance languages. The changes in clitic placement that arose later, splitting apart Portuguese and Spanish, are unrelated to the issue of categorial status.

### 3. Post-nominal *algum/alguno*

Portuguese and Spanish are the only two Romance languages displaying a contrast in the polar interpretation of *algum/alguno* that is dependent on word order. The indefinite quantifier *algum/alguno* ('some') is a Positive Polarity Item that seems to turn into a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) when it surfaces in post-nominal position, as exemplified in (54) and (55), respectively for European Portuguese (EP) and Spanish:

- (54) a. *Algum animal vive aqui.*  
some animal lives here  
'Some animal lives here.'
- b. *Animal algum vive aqui.*  
animal some lives here  
'No animal lives here.'
- (55) a. *No le ha gustado alguna cosa.*  
not her has pleased some thing  
'Something displeased her.'
- b. *No le ha gustado cosa alguna.*  
not her has pleased thing some  
'Nothing pleased her.'

I have shown in previous work that in fact *algum/alguno* is not by itself a Negative Polarity Item (Martins forthcoming). The key to the puzzle lies in the sequence [N+*algum/alguno*], which is an NPI built in the syntax through incorporation of the noun (and in EP the indefinite quantifier) in a DP-internal abstract negative head positioned in a high position in the DP



structure. Cyclic head-movement determines the post-nominal placement of *algum/alguno* in this particular type of syntactically build NPI. I refer to this process of NPI composition as *Nominal Negative Inversion*.<sup>15</sup>

The availability of Nominal Negative Inversion with *algum/alguno* is an innovation shared by Portuguese and Spanish. However, the two languages differ in some respects that can be subsumed under the descriptive generalization that the unit [N+*algum/alguno*] is a weak NPI in Spanish but a strong NPI in European Portuguese and, concomitantly, displays a lower degree of cohesion in Spanish than in European Portuguese.

In Spanish Nominal Negative inversion with *alguno* is only licensed under the scope of negation, typically in post-verbal position. Hence, a sentence like (54b) above, with the sequence [N+*algum/alguno*] in preverbal subject position, is ungrammatical in Spanish although it is fully grammatical in European Portuguese. On the other hand, sentence (55b) is a grammatical option in both languages. Besides negation proper, also “weak negative contexts” (i.e. “modal contexts”, in the sense of Bosque 1996)<sup>16</sup> license post-nominal *algum/alguno* in Spanish, but not in Portuguese. So the Spanish sentences in (56) would not be allowed in Portuguese. The licensing conditions of pos-nominal *algum/alguno* draw a clear contrast between Spanish and Portuguese.

- (56) a. Durante la peregrinación, constantemente nos sacábamos nuestros  
 during the pilgrimage constantly ourselves took-off-1PL our  
 zapatos (...) antes de entrar a lugar *alguno* [sagrado].  
 shoes (...) before of enter-INFIN to place some sacred  
 ‘Throughout the pilgrimage, we would always take our shoes off before entering any  
 sacred place.’

<sup>15</sup> Some empirical evidence supporting the analysis of the sequence [N+*algum/alguno*] as the NPI (instead of the indefinite quantifier alone) is offered below. The fact that plural inflection is not allowed with post-nominal *algum/alguno* (although the NPI *nenhum/ninguno* ‘none’ does not show any such restriction) also supports the idea of DP-internal NPI composition, with the abstract neg-head playing a central role. The examples below are from European Portuguese

A) *Pronouns vs. full DPs*. Sequences with post-nominal *algum* are allowed in contexts that require pronominal quantifiers (if available) and exclude full DP quantificational expressions.

- (i) [A] O que é que o Joãozinho gosta de ler?  
 the what is that the João-little likes to read  
 ‘What does little João enjoy reading?’  
 [B] a. Ele não lê *nada*.  
 he not reads nothing  
 b. \*Ele não lê {*alguma/nenhuma*} *coisa*.  
 he not reads {some/none} thing  
 c. Ele não lê *coisa alguma*.  
 he not reads thing some  
 ‘He doesn’t read anything.’

B) *Answers to polar questions*. The sequence [N+*algum*] may constitute a well-formed negative answer to a polar question in contexts that exclude the corresponding non-inverted sequences.

- (ii) [A] Vais vender a tua casa?  
 go-2SG sell-INFIN the your house  
 ‘Are you selling your apartment?’  
 [B] a. Não.  
 No.  
 b. Em *caso algum*.  
 in case some  
 c. \*Em {*nenhum/algum*} *caso*.  
 in {none/some} case  
 ‘No way/Absolutely not/Not at all.’

<sup>16</sup> On “weak negative contexts”, see van der Wouden (1997), Giannakidou (1997), and references therein.

- b. Jamás mi país le há prohibido a nadie que viaje  
 never my country CL.DAT has forbidden to anybody that travel  
 a *lugar alguno* que deseé.  
 to place some that wish  
 ‘My country has never forbidden anyone to travel anywhere one may wish.’
- c. tendrá, por mala que sea, más entradas que *outra alguna*  
 it-will-have though bad that it-may-be, more entrances than any other  
 ‘Poorly acted as it may be, it will still have more public than other [theater representations].’

(Google search)

With respect to word order, while in Spanish adjectives can intervene between the noun and post-nominal *alguno*, as illustrated in (57), European Portuguese requires strict adjacency between the noun and the indefinite quantifier. Thus the correlate of (57a) would be ungrammatical in European Portuguese.<sup>17</sup>

- (57) a. No asistí a conferencia interesante alguna  
 not attended-1SG to lecture interesting some.
- b. No asistí a conferencia alguna interesante.  
 not attended-1SG to lecture some interesting  
 ‘I did not attend any worthy lecture.’

Finally, European Portuguese and Spanish differ on whether the unit [‘thing’+*alguno*] allows degree modification or not. Quantifiers like *muitos* ‘many’ and *poucos* ‘few’ easily admit degree modification. In Portuguese and Spanish also *nada* ‘nothing’ can behave as a gradable quantifier, allowing *nadíssima* (nothing-est, ‘nothing at all’), as illustrated in (58). In European Portuguese, the sequence [*coisa+alguma*] allows the noun *coisa* (‘thing’) to be modified by the superlative suffix *-íssima* (‘-est’), originating *coisíssima alguma*, as exemplified in (59), although *\*coisíssima* alone is ill-formed.<sup>18</sup> In Spanish, in contrast to Portuguese, *cosa alguna* does not allow degree modification. So there is no Spanish correlate of (59).

- (58) a. E ainda não fez *nadíssima!* (EP)  
 and yet not did-1SG nothing-est  
 ‘And he hasn’t done absolutely anything!’
- b. Jamás me he ganado *nadíssima*. (Spanish)  
 never me has gained nothing-est  
 ‘I have never earn anything at all.’

(Google Search)

- (59) a. Não senti *coisíssima alguma*.  
 not felt-1SG thing-est some  
 ‘I didn’t feel anything at all.’
- b. Não se saberá *coisíssima alguma*.  
 not CL.IMPERSONAL will-know thing-est some  
 ‘Nothing will be known about it.’

<sup>17</sup> Not all kinds of adjectives behave in the same way in relation to post-nominal *alguno* in Spanish, but I will not address this matter here.

<sup>18</sup> Crucially the non inverted sequence *\*nenhuma coisíssima* (with the NPI ‘no/none’) is sharply ungrammatical as well.

The different licensing conditions of post-nominal *algum/alguno* in Spanish and European Portuguese demonstrate that the unit [N+*algum/alguno*] is a weak NPI in Spanish but a strong NPI in Portuguese. As the change of weak NPIs into strong NPIs is diachronically a common process (not the other way around), the facts suggests that Portuguese is a step ahead of Spanish in a diachronic evolution that the two languages have been undergoing in parallel. Moreover, the adjacency facts (i.e. the requirement of strict adjacency in EP but not in Spanish) and the ban against *coisíssima alguma* in Spanish point in the same direction. It is indeed expected that the cohesion between the components of the syntactically built NPI [N+*algum/alguno*] becomes tighter as the change progresses.<sup>19</sup>

If the change proceeds as proposed, we should find evidence that at some point in the course of time Portuguese was like contemporary Spanish. This prediction is confirmed as seventeenth and early eighteenth century European Portuguese behaves just like Spanish in not allowing the NPI [N+*algum*] except when it is licensed under the scope of negation. The *Corpus do Português* indicates that the subsequent step of the change occurred after the 17th century. In fact, I could not find any example of post-nominal *algum* in subject position or other position outside the scope of negation throughout the seventeenth century. Very few examples appear in the eighteenth century. One has to wait until the nineteenth century to easily find attestations of the innovation.<sup>20</sup> See (60)-(61) and bear in mind that all these sentences are currently excluded in Spanish.<sup>21</sup> The case of post-nominal *algum/alguno* thus illustrates the I-pattern of splitting change

- (60) *Coisa alguma* há mais deliciosa que a sua alegria, nem mais  
 thing some there-is more delicious than the her joy nor more  
 penetrante que a sua ternura.  
 penetrating than the her tenderness  
 ‘There is nothing more pleasant than her joy nor more moving than her tenderness.’  
 (*Corpus do Português*. Eighteenth century)

- (61) a. *Coisa alguma* escapou!  
 thing some escaped  
 ‘Nothing was left.’  
 b. *Namorado algum*, dos mais ardentes, palpitou com tanta febre  
 lover some of-the more ardent palpitated with such fever

<sup>19</sup> In Martins (forthcoming) the change is analyzed as a case of upward reanalysis (i.e. grammaticalization) along the functional hierarchy in the sense of Roberts and Roussou (1999).

<sup>20</sup> The data found in the diary of *Conde da Ericeira*, ranging from 1729 to 1737 (cf. Lisboa, Miranda and Oliveira (2002, 2005, 2007)), show that in the first decades of the eighteenth century the split between European Portuguese and Spanish had not become visible yet. There are 57 occurrences of post-nominal *algum* in the diary (among the total number of 1.064 occurrences of *algum*) and no single example of post-nominal *algum* but in complement position under the scope of negation.

<sup>21</sup> The fact that at a certain point in its diachronic development, Portuguese was like contemporary Spanish has two interesting consequences: (i) it enables us to attain a better understanding of seventeenth and early eighteenth century European Portuguese by exploring contemporary Spanish; (ii) it comes out as a natural result that the grammar of contemporary European Portuguese that I have described may not be shared by all speakers. In fact, some European Portuguese speaker’s judgments fit better within a Spanish-type grammar. This more conservative European Portuguese grammar seems however to be marginal. The data found in the *Corpus do Português* show that there are no occurrences of post-nominal *algum* but adjacent to the noun in the twentieth century, once Brazilian Portuguese texts are excluded. In earlier texts a few examples appear, as (i) exemplifies.

(i) sem nenhuma da solenidade do antigo, nem elegância moderna alguma  
 without none of-the solemnity of-the ancient nor elegance modern some  
 ‘Without any of the ancient solemnity or modern refinement.’  
 (*Corpus do Português*: Almeida Garrett, 19th century)

no antegozo de uma aventura.  
in-the anticipation of an adventure

‘No lover was ever so deeply excited with the anticipation of an affair.’

- c. *Em época alguma* tinham os criados conhecido Maurício tão caseiro.  
in time some had the servants known Maurício so domestic  
‘Never before had the servants seen Maurício so domestic.’

(*Corpus do Português*. Nineteenth century)

#### 4. Conclusion

Under a diachronic perspective, there is a broad syntactic unity between the Romance languages at early historical stages. But Portuguese and Spanish are particularly close to each other throughout the Middle Ages, displaying some common syntactic features that set them apart from other Romance languages (e.g. the productive availability of interpolation or the fact that the oblique pronouns *i* and *en/ende* were not clitics but weak pronouns, under the tripartite typology of Cardinaletti and Starke 1996, 1999). The two languages also agree in certain syntactic changes that are not shared with the other Romance languages (e.g. the loss of the weak oblique pronouns or the availability of Nominal Negative Inversion with *algum/alguno*).

As every two languages, on the other hand, Portuguese and Spanish diverge in the course of time. This paper shows that syntactic splitting may arise under two different patterns of change, namely the ‘inverted-Y’ pattern and the ‘I’ pattern. Under the former the two languages start diverging as soon as grammatical change is set in motion. Under the latter, the two languages follow the same (or, more accurately, a parallel) path of change and eventually split apart when one of them goes a step further than the other. Clitic placement in the history of Spanish and (European) Portuguese exemplifies the ‘inverted-Y’ pattern, post-nominal *algum/alguno* exemplifies the ‘I’ pattern of change. While it is wildly unlikely that clitic placement in European Portuguese and Spanish will ever be similar again, it is possible that the behavior of post-nominal *algum/alguno* in Spanish and European Portuguese will end up being the same at some future point in time.

A more general conclusion, almost trivial but maybe not so, may be drawn from the facts considered in this paper: we will always get a better insight into the diachronic grammatical development of Portuguese and Spanish if they are observed under a comparative perspective, instead of as singular units. The comparative approach may even give us the means to access former stages of the syntax of one of the languages by studying the present stage of the other. This is the case of post-nominal *algum/alguno* (and most likely of Negative Polarity Items more extensively), since seventeenth and early eighteenth century European Portuguese used to be exactly like contemporary Spanish.

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