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Phrase Structure and the Syntax of
Clitics in the History of Spanish

Josep M. Fontana
University of Pennsylvania,

University of Pennsylvania Institute for Research in Cognitive Science Technical Report No. IRCS-93-24.

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The Institute For Research In Cognitive Science

**Phrase Structure and the Syntax of
Clitics in the History of Spanish
(Ph.D. Dissertation)**

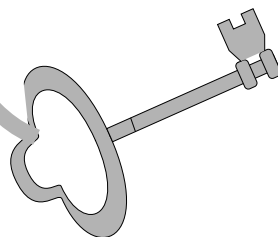
by

Josep M. Fontana

**University of Pennsylvania
3401 Walnut Street, Suite 400C
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6228**

August 1993

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This particular version of this dissertation contains some minor revisions which make it slightly different from the version submitted to UMI microfilms.

PHRASE STRUCTURE AND THE SYNTAX OF CLITICS
IN THE HISTORY OF SPANISH

Josep M. Fontana

A DISSERTATION
in
Linguistics

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1993

Anthony S. Kroch, Supervisor of Dissertation

Sabine Iatridou, Committee Member

Juan Uriagereka, Committee Member

Donald A. Ringe, Graduate Group Chairperson

Pels meus pares, Pepita i Josep Maria; perquè, en definitiva, sense ells res de tot això haguera estat realment possible.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank three people in my department from whom I have borrowed a great deal of time and knowledge. Susan Pintzuk, Beatrice Santorini, and Ann Taylor did in their dissertations most of the crucial research that made it possible for me to carry out the present investigation. I don't think I could have been able to make much sense of the Old Spanish clitic facts had I not counted with their work. It is still very amazing to me that our research wound up being so related. Honestly, before starting with this, I could never have suspected that I would be obtaining so many useful clues from work on languages such as Old English, Yiddish or Homeric Greek, which had been carried out by three other graduate students in my department. But most of all, besides inspiring me intellectually, they have been good friends and have given me that of which they have very little: their time.

Many thanks are also due to my advisor, Tony Kroch, and to the members of my dissertation committee, Sabine Iatridou, and Juan Uriagereka, for their many suggestions and valuable assistance in this dissertation project. Tony introduced me to the study of syntactic change and made this intellectual experience a truly fascinating one. Sabine and Juan had to suffer through all the preliminary drafts of this dissertation, and gave me many insightful comments and helpful advice. Their contribution has definitely led to a substantial improvement of the final product.

There are also many people who have unselfishly given me much of their time. Special thanks to Aaron Halpern, Philip Miller and Dieter Wanner, who provided me with very detailed and useful comments on earlier drafts of this dissertation. I consider myself very fortunate to have had them around to discuss our work and our common interests. These three guys really don't mind talking clitics, and they are very good at it.

Also special thanks are due to Julie Auger, Jon Franco, Richard Janda, Jack Hoeksema, Don Ringe, Peter Svenonius, and EnricVallduví for their time and for providing me with crucial information at various points in the development of this dissertation. I am also very grateful to the following members of the Icelandic syntax community for many interesting and helpful e-mail discussions: Jóhannes Gíssli Jónsson, Kjartan G. Ottosson, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson.

I would also like to thank the following people for discussing various aspects of this work and/or for providing me with valuable information: Judith Aissen, Eva Florensa, Marco Haverkort, Roger Higgins, Paul Hirschbühler, Jim McCloskey, John Moore, Rolf Noyer, Carlos Otero, Ellen Prince, Norvin Richards, Craig Roberts, Jeff Runner, Barbara Vance, Fred Weerman and Arnold Zwicky.

Needless to say, none of the people mentioned above is responsible for any of the shortcomings in this thesis.

And finally, Louise, you will have to help me figuring out how I can thank you the way you deserve and still manage to respect your love for conciseness, and to not offend your disdain for corniness (specially in dissertation acknowledgements). I will restrain myself. But allow me at least to tell you that I have really appreciated your company as well as your moral and logistic support throughout this ordeal. In fact, you have spent almost as many hours with Old Spanish clitics as I have. You also have encouraged me to continue when I was ready to give up. There is something that some people may not be fully aware of, but

that I fully understand: having to deal with my warped sense of time and with my writing style is really an act of love.

ABSTRACT

Phrase structure and the syntax of clitics in the history of Spanish

Author: Josep M. Fontana

Supervisor: Anthony S. Kroch

This thesis is a qualitative and quantitative study of the changes that occurred in the phrase structure and system of pronominal clitics in medieval and renaissance Spanish, with the goal of explaining the basic differences between the syntactic properties of clitics in Old Spanish and their counterparts in the various dialects of modern Spanish.

Specifically, I argue that these differences are explainable if we classify OSp clitics as Second Position (2P) clitics, in contrast to their modern counterparts. 2P clitics are treated here as prosodically deficient phrasal constituents that appear displaced from their canonical positions as internal arguments of the verb and are adjoined to a phrasal projection at the left edge of the clause (IP). The elements encompassed under the pre-theoretical notion *clitic* in modern Spanish, however, are not linked to an argument position via a movement chain; rather, they are proposed to be verbal affixes that enter into inflectional relationships with their coindexed argument positions; alternatively put, they are members of the morphological complex instantiating abstract inflectional features, specifically those of object agreement, and hence inherent components of X^0 level type categories.

I show that the reanalysis from phrasal categories to X^0 related categories took place as a consequence of an unrelated development in the phrase structure of OSp. The gradual loss of a particular mechanism of topicalization, responsible for the manifestation of the patterns associated with the *verb-second* (V2) constraint in OSp, resulted in a situation where a reanalysis of the parameters of phonological cliticization became inevitable: Lacking a preceding phonological host (namely, the constituent known in the V2 literature as the *first position element*), 2P clitics went from being inherently enclitic to procliticize by default onto the lexical category immediately to their right, namely, the tensed verbal head. The resulting superficial association between clitic and verb, found in an increasing number of contexts, triggered in turn a reanalysis of clitics in the syntax as elements associated with the verbal inflection, with the manifestation of a series of concomitant effects: loss of *interpolation*, requirement of strict orders between verbal head and clitic, and *clitic-doubling*.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Goals and Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation addresses the analytical problems posed by the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitic elements in Old Spanish (OSp), with the ultimate goal of providing a principled explanation of the differences between the old system of pronominal clitics and the systems found in the various dialects of Spanish at the present time. We can roughly characterize the situations at the two extremes of the chronological line in the following way. In OSp, pronominal clitics were not necessarily adjacent to a verbal form, but rather, as illustrated in the examples in (1), they could be separated from the verb by intervening constituents. The examples below illustrate cases where the intervening elements are a negative marker and a subject, but we also find in the texts numerous examples involving objects, prepositional phrases, and adverbs (see section 2.3.6).

- (1) a. pero que *lo non* fallamos en toda la estoria
 but that it not find-3rd-Pl in all the story
'But we do not find it through the whole story that we have told'
 (EE-II.11v)
- b. assi como *les dios* auie prometido.
 so as them god had promised
'As God had promised them' (GE-I.60v)

Another characteristic feature of OSp is that pronominal clitics can be found either preceding or following the tensed verb in a declarative clause. This is illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. *Estot* lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonsso
 this-you challenge.1Sg here before-the king don alfonsso
'I will challenge you on this in front of king Alfonso' (PMC.3344)
- b. E respondi*ol* don Pelayo en guisa. et dix*ol*;
 and answered-him don Pelayo in this way, and said-to him
'And Don Pelayo responded, and he told him' (EE-II.3r)

Finally, in OSp non-clitic object pronouns could occur freely without requiring the presence of a coindexed clitic.

- (3) al logar onde dios mando ami salir.
 to-the place where god ordered me exit
 'to the place where God had ordered me to get out' (GE-I.65r)

This situation contrasts notably with the present situation. As is well known, in all dialects of modern Spanish pronominal objects never appear separated from a verbal head, as shown in (4); they must always precede verbs bearing indicative morphology in simple clauses, as shown in (5); and they obligatorily co-occur with a coindexed clitic, as shown in (6).

- (4) a. como yo **le** había prometido
 as I him had promised
 'as I had promised him'
- b. *como **le** yo había prometido
 as him I had promised
- (5) a. **lo** vió Juan
 it saw Juan
 'Juan saw it'
- b. *vió**lo** Juan
 saw-it Juan
- (6) a. Laura **lo_i** busca a **él_i**
 Laura him looks-for him
 'Laura is looking for him'
- b. *Laura busca a **él**
 Laura looks-for him

The purpose of this dissertation is thus twofold. The first objective is to lay out a formal synchronic analysis of the syntax of the categories we refer to as *clitics* in OSp, i.e. to account for the facts in (1)-(3).¹ The second is to examine the developments that took place in the syntax of medieval and renaissance Spanish between the XIIth and XVIth centuries and to determine how the status of clitic elements in the grammar was affected by these changes.

Although the development of a formal analysis for clitic categories in modern Spanish is outside the scope of this dissertation, the results of the present study have significant implications for current debates concerning the treatment of clitics in the

¹. I use the label OSp to refer to the language characteristic of Castilian texts between the periods ranging from the time in which the earliest extant texts were written (around the XIIth century), to roughly the end of the XIVth century. However, see the discussion below concerning the arbitrariness of these types of labels.

modern Romance languages. Specifically, my claim is that, among competing analyses for clitic categories in modern Romance, those proposals which can provide a more principled link between the current situation and the developments observed at the diachronic level will receive strong additional support.

The dissertation is organized as follows. The rest of this chapter addresses some of the most frequent theoretical and methodological issues raised by works devoted to the study of syntactic change. Chapter 2 presents a detailed discussion of the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitics in OSp. The main aim of the chapter is to show that the puzzling differences between the behavior of these elements and their Modern Spanish counterparts can be straightforwardly accounted for by taking them to be what is known in the literature as Second Position (2P) clitics. I will claim that the status of these categories in the grammar is substantially different from that of what are typically referred to as *clitics* in the modern Romance languages. Building on previous analyses by Taylor (1990) and Pintzuk (1991), I propose an adaptation of Klavans' (1982) basic model to account for the distribution of 2P clitics within current versions of the Government and Binding (GB) syntactic framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986). More specifically, it is argued that clitics in OSp were prosodically deficient categories of a phrasal (i.e. XP or X^{max}) type which scramble from their canonical position to adjoin to a phrasal projection at the left edge of the sentence (specifically, the left edge of IP).

In Chapter 3, I address some aspects of the syntax of OSp clitics that are left unaccounted for in Chapter 2. First, I present a detailed discussion of the most common syntactic patterns found in OSp. I propose that these facts are best accounted for by taking the phrase structure of OSp to be essentially that of a *verb second* (V2) language;² more specifically, that of V2 languages such as Yiddish and Icelandic, along the lines of recent proposals by e.g. Santorini (1989), Diesing (1990) and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990). Once this is established, I will show that this hypothesis and the analysis of clitics presented in the previous chapter interact in interesting and productive ways to yield a simple account of the OSp clitic facts.

Chapter 4 specifically addresses the problems raised by configurations of the form V_[+finite]-Cl. I show that a better understanding of these patterns also follows from the analysis of clitics and phrase structure proposed in the previous chapters. Specifically, I will argue that these strings are derived via verb movement which is motivated independently of the syntax of clitics. Once this is established, I will show that this approach to OSp clitics makes some interesting predictions about the distribution of clitics in other languages, particularly Middle Dutch and Old English.

In Chapter 5, I present the results of a quantitative analysis of the changes that took place in the phrase structure of OSp between the XIIth and the XVIth centuries, along with a discussion of the implications of these changes for the analysis of clitic

². See Chapters 3 and 4 for discussion of the definitional problems associated with the notion V2. It should be obvious, although it is not always transparent in the literature, that V2 is just a convenient descriptive term. As we will see, there are exceptions to the strict verb-second constraint even in the most rigid V2 languages. Hence, there is no such thing as a “pure” V2 language in the most literal sense.

elements. I will show how the gradual loss of the syntactic mechanism of topicalization (which I will argue to involve, in the vocabulary of GB, the movement of XPs to the Spec(IP) position), with the concomitant loss of the V2 constraint, resulted in a situation where a reanalysis of the parameters of phonological cliticization became inevitable: Lacking a preceding phonological host, 2P clitics went from being inherently enclitic to procliticize by default onto the lexical category immediately to their right, namely the tensed verbal head. The resulting superficial association between clitic and verb, found in an increasing number of contexts, triggered in turn a reanalysis of clitics in the syntax. No longer 2P clitics (i.e. XPs), they came to be treated as elements intrinsically associated with the verbal head, thus achieving the status they have in the modern grammatical system.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I explore some of the implications that the results of this study have for current analyses of clitics in Modern Spanish. I will argue that clitics in Modern Spanish are best treated as the morphological expression of a system of object-agreement features. Given the nature of this change, I am suggesting in effect that the term *clitic* is no longer appropriate to describe the elements usually referred to by that term in current studies of Modern Spanish. However, for ease of exposition, and because it is not always possible to determine the appropriate analysis for a given form in the diachronic data, I will use the term *clitic* in a neutral, pre-theoretical sense throughout the dissertation.

1.2. Theoretical Issues in the Study of Syntactic Change

1.2.1. Issues Concerning the Analysis of Diachronic Data

The task of determining when a linguistic change takes place is complicated by the fact that linguistic change is typically gradual. The case of Spanish clitics is no exception. In Chapter 5, I will discuss evidence suggesting that by the XVth century the existing system of clitics was already in place in some form; however, it will become clear as we proceed that constructions typical of the “old” system of clitics still coexisted with constructions characteristic of the modern system in this period. Indeed, even as early as in the XIIIth century there is some evidence indicating that at least some speakers were treating some clitics in the same way as modern Spanish speakers do.

Similar observations hold for the changes in the phrase structure of Spanish to be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. One of the crucial claims in this dissertation is that the reanalysis of clitics must be related to the loss of V2 in OSp. But anybody who has perused the medieval texts will see that there are a number of sentences, even in the earliest available texts, which do not conform to the expected patterns if we take OSp to be a V2 language, at least assuming the most widely held views on the appropriate characterization of the verb-second constraint.

One way to deal with data of this sort is to take a dynamic view of the language. That is, in order to avoid letting discrepancies or exceptions obscure clear general tendencies in the texts, we can formulate a somewhat idealized working

analysis of the data and then assume that at any given point in time the language is deviating to some degree from this idealization. I have pursued this strategy here for two reasons. First, there is not much insight to be gained by proposing analyses which, while perhaps more adequate from a descriptive standpoint, are also highly inelegant and counterintuitive given what we know about living languages. Second, the dynamic view offers the hope that one might be able to understand the exceptional data as forming a significant pattern indicative of language change. For instance, suppose the relative frequencies of a particular type of counterexample increase in a significant manner over time, perhaps even within a single historical period. Such a pattern would clearly be consistent with the existence of a change in progress; moreover, establishing idealized analyses towards or away from which the language is progressing at any given time allows us to better monitor the change. The counterexamples to the V2 constraint mentioned above are a case in point. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, there is evidence that the loss of V2 effects was a gradual process apparently already in progress by the time the earliest available texts were written, as evidenced by the fact that the relative frequencies of the relevant types of exceptions to V2 are rather low in the earliest available texts and increase steadily over time, becoming very conspicuous in the texts from the XVth and XVIth centuries.

A similar situation obtains with clitics. In many cases it is impossible to ascertain from a surface string what the appropriate analysis of a given clitic element is: whether a real pronominal clitic, defined as a prosodically deficient X^{\max} category associated with an argument position via movement; or an inflectional element, defined as the morphological spellout of agreement features, related via affixation to a lexical category (or X^0). However, we will also find many examples unambiguously corresponding to one or the other of these two analyses. Although we lack crucial data from the period in which the hypothesized clitic system of OSp must have manifested itself in its most “pure” state (see below), a careful qualitative and quantitative study again shows that the relative frequencies of counterexamples to the idealized analysis of OSp clitics increase steadily over time, with exceptions becoming noticeable in significant numbers only towards the XVth century.

A dynamic perspective is not the only one we could bring to the facts. A second option is to attempt to describe the data in static terms, not taking into account factors such as contact with other languages or geographic, socially, and stylistically induced variation. On such a view, one would accord what amounts to exceptional data on the dynamic view an equal status with all other data in the language. As implicit in the comments above, the principal reason I have not adopted this perspective is that the complexity of the data is likely to lead us to posit a syntax which is considerably more cumbersome than the syntax of living languages is usually assumed to be. But the main reason to be wary of a static approach is the fact that the traditional boundaries for the period known as OSp encompass several centuries, a period which more than stretches the limits of true synchronic analysis. For example, even though texts from both the XIIth and the early XVth centuries are sometimes associated with the label OSp, attempting to create a unified syntactic analysis that

covers the extremes of this time period would be similar to trying to devise an analysis that covered the language of the Pilgrims and modern Americans alike. The data at these two extremes differ significantly enough that it is something of an oversimplification to think of them as comprising a single language.

Since the dynamic approach adopted here carries with it a particular view about how language change proceeds, I turn now to discuss the theory of language change I will be assuming, in the general context of recent developments in theoretical approaches to language change.

1.2.2. Theoretical Approaches to Syntactic Change

Although modern linguistics emerged during the 19th century essentially as a historical discipline, the study of language change became one of the most neglected areas of research after the rise of structuralism. As noted in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, most of the responsibility for this neglect can be traced to Saussure's radical break with the views and methods of the Neogrammarians in emphasizing that the study of language structure from a synchronic standpoint was a prerequisite to the study of language change. Certainly, very few linguists would disagree nowadays with this basic premise,³ but an unfortunate result of taking an extreme view of it was that the study of language change was marginalized for a long time, and for many linguists even came to have a problematic status in the context of the general linguistic enterprise. This status is perhaps best summarized in the following quote:

[...] structural theories of language, so fruitful in synchronic investigation, have saddled historical linguistics with a cluster of paradoxes which have not been fully overcome. Ferdinand de Saussure, in laying the foundations of synchronic study, was aware of the corresponding intractability of language change, and was apparently resigned to it. But with the majority of linguists after Saussure, the choice between studying either the structure or the history of languages did not sit well. It would not be unfair to say that the bulk of theoretical writing in

³. However, the results of quantitative studies by researchers working within the area of sociolinguistics indicate that adopting the extreme view of Saussure's basic position, that is, establishing too strict a dichotomy between the study of language form and language change, is highly problematic. A number of recent works have convincingly shown that, using the appropriate methods, sound change can actually be observed in progress at a given synchronic stage (see e.g. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, Labov 1975a, Labov 1982 for details). Without disputing the fundamental structuralist assumption that language is an orderly system of rules and principles, Labov (1975b) has explicitly questioned the validity of what he calls the *categorical view* of language structure which lies at the heart of most structuralist frameworks following Saussure and the Prague School. In his words, "[the categorical view considers language as] a set of discrete, invariant, qualitatively different categories, conjunctively defined through their essential attributes. The rules which assign membership in such categories are themselves categorical: or if not, they are optional with outputs that are in free variation: no significance is attached to whether the rules apply in a particular case" (Labov 1975b:189). See the other references in this footnote for a detailed account of the alternative conception of language structure and language change postulated by Labov and his collaborators.

historical linguistics of the past few decades has been an effort to span the Saussurean dilemma, to elaborate a discipline which would be structural and historical at the same time. (Weinreich et al. 1968:98)

With the advent of the generative paradigm originating in the work of Chomsky, the main goal of linguistics for many researchers came to be the discovery of the principles of universal grammar (UG), i.e. the characterization of the abstract grammatical properties that are common to all human languages. Since its inception, researchers working within this framework have used primarily native speakers' intuitive judgements of grammatical acceptability to build a theory of linguistic competence. Perhaps due to this methodological tendency and also because of the rigid dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony inherited by this particular development of the structuralist view, the study of language change has remained for a long time at the periphery of the interests of most generative linguists.

This situation, however, has started to change in recent years. In order to account for the existence of cross-linguistic variation in a way that is compatible with the UG hypothesis, researchers have attempted to reduce some of the variation between specific languages to settings of different parameters, leaving the rest of the differences to be explained by the systematic interaction of a rich set of universal principles. As a consequence of this shift in emphasis, much more attention has been devoted in recent years to cross-linguistic comparisons. Within this context, a number of authors have reminded us that earlier stages of a given language also constitute human languages, and therefore diachronic data can no longer be ignored if we want to test and identify the parameters of language variation. Given this approach, the study of different stages in the history of a particular language would not be substantially different from the comparison of two living languages.

A number of authors have recently argued, however, that the study of diachronic data has some additional advantages over comparison of two coexisting languages since "earlier stages of a language [...] provide a different perspective, one which cannot be obtained from the synchronic study of a language in a steady state" (Adams 1987b:7f). For example, Lightfoot (1979, 1981, 1988, 1989, 1991), whose work has been instrumental in the revival of interest in the study of language change within the generative linguistics community, has stressed that one of the main interests of the study of diachronic data for linguistic theory is that it can provide us with useful insights on how language acquisition proceeds. Consequently, we have seen in recent years a number of investigations in the GB literature based primarily on diachronic data, e.g. Rivero 1986, Adams 1987, Hirschbühler 1987, Van Kemenade 1987, Dupuis 1988, Santorini 1989, Vance 1989, Taylor 1990, and Pintzuk 1991.

Santorini (1989), in a review of recent diachronic research within the generative school, argues that all of the above works represent one or the other of two basic approaches to syntactic change. She refers to these two approaches as the

structuralist approach and the *variationist approach*⁴, respectively. Pintzuk (1991) observes that these two views of change share some fundamental properties: “They both assume a rich, highly structured Universal Grammar, consisting of principles and parameters that are set by triggers in the language learner's linguistic environment. And they share the view that language change and language acquisition are intimately connected” (Pintzuk 1991:2). However, the two approaches differ in the way they account for the gradual nature of language change and for within-speaker variation during periods of change.

Roughly, for the former approach, perhaps articulated most explicitly in the work of Lightfoot and with antecedents in the work of Halle (1962) and Andersen (1973), language change is explained in terms of a sudden grammatical reanalysis: the child, due to some specific properties of the input at a given historical period, abduces a grammar which differs substantially from that characterizing the linguistic competence of the previous generation. The proponents of this view often attribute this reanalysis to a change in the setting of a specific parameter of UG. This change in parameter setting will introduce a substantial reorganization of the given grammar, which will thus differ significantly from the old grammar in a number of ways.

Even though it recognizes the diachronic dimension of historical data, this view treats language as an essentially static entity. Syntactic change, achieved by means of grammatical reanalysis, is perceived as a radical transition between two linguistic situations which are taken to be inherently stable. In order to account for the apparent gradualness of linguistic change, the proponents of this view argue that in the period during which the grammatical reanalysis is assumed to take place, some learners are still able to abduce the old grammar, whereas another subset of learners may adopt the new parameter setting. The change is thus taken to progress through the adoption of the new grammar by more and more children until a whole generation of learners are capable of abducing only the new grammar. In other words, this approach assumes that variation takes place only at the level of the linguistic community, but never within the grammar of a single individual.

This basic assumption has come to be challenged recently by a number of researchers. Kroch (1989b), in a detailed articulation of the variationist approach, has argued at length that, at least in some cases, it can be shown that a change emerges through the syntactic competition between two alternative linguistic forms over time. He notes that quantitative research in historical linguistics has shown not only “that change is more often gradual than abrupt”, but, most importantly, that “one generation is more likely to differ from its predecessor in the frequency with which its speakers use certain forms than in whether those forms are possible at all” (Kroch 1989a:348). Thus, proponents of this view of historical syntax assume that, as Santorini puts it, syntactic change has two distinct aspects: “a discontinuous aspect involving the coexistence of (sets of) discrete linguistic forms in alternation, but also a continuous,

⁴. This approach extends to the study of syntactic change some of the basic insights and methodology originally developed to investigate synchronic variation in phonology (Labov 1966, 1972), although it also differs from variationist sociolinguistics in some important respects.

dynamic aspect characterized by fluctuations in the frequency of these forms” (Santorini 1989:4).

In order to account for hypothesized within-speaker variation, Santorini, Kroch, and Pintzuk have advocated what has come to be known as the *double base hypothesis*. According to this hypothesis, learners in historical periods characterized by a high degree of linguistic variation are able to acquire two grammars or competing analyses for a given construction. These alternative analyses can in principle remain side by side as part of the overall linguistic competence of speakers over extended periods of time (see footnote 6), but, in some cases, processing- or discourse function-based pressures will eventually lead to the dominance of one of the alternatives and the elimination of the other.

Proponents of the structuralist approach to language change have analyzed the data that prompted the double-base hypothesis by maintaining a *single-base* hypothesis and postulating that speakers in periods of change use *adaptive rules* (Andersen 1973, Adams 1987b). Very roughly, these rules enable speakers with different grammars to produce outputs that are superficially identical. For instance, as is well known, a change took place in the history of English which altered the underlying order of verbs and their complements from OV to VO. Proponents of the single-base hypothesis claim that the existence in the performance of individual speakers (as revealed by the extant texts) of sentences with both VO and OV order can be accounted for by positing that e.g. learners who had abduced the VO grammar derived OV constructions by adaptive rules that either moved the verb rightward over the object or the object leftward over the verb. Thus, a speaker with a VO grammar can, in effect, produce strings which are identical in the surface to those produced by speakers with an OV grammar.⁵

Although the double-base hypothesis is perhaps the aspect in which the variationist view departs most radically from the structuralist view, its proponents do not assume that syntactic change must always arise from a conflict between two different grammatical systems. Syntactic change might in some cases result from synchronic competition between two alternative constructions that are both compatible with a single grammar. For instance, a single grammar might be capable of generating constructions, some of which are not only compatible with the grammar that actually generated them (call it grammar A) but are also amenable to an alternative analysis compatible with a different grammar (call it grammar B). Suppose that over time the relative frequencies of these constructions changes so that the frequency of those compatible only with grammar A declines as that of the constructions compatible with

⁵. See Pintzuk 1991 and Santorini 1991 for detailed discussion and critique of the single-base hypothesis and adaptive rules.

both grammars increases. If nothing stops this change,⁶ a situation could eventually emerge where the absence of positive evidence for the existence of grammar A may lead the new generations of speakers to postulate only grammar B. Notice that it is not necessary to assume that previous generations of speakers must have posited two alternative grammars (although this cannot be ruled out for all of the individuals in the linguistic community) since grammar A is capable on its own of generating all the data. Of course, after the reanalysis has taken place, depending on the particular nature of the change, new types of structures (i.e. not present in the triggering experience) could in principle be generated that are no longer compatible with grammar A but only with grammar B. As this new type of linguistic evidence is introduced into the speech community and its use increases, the grammatical reanalysis will be reinforced, since the evidence available to the new generations of speakers will be such that only grammar B is likely to be postulated.⁷ This is approximately the course of change that has been argued in Kroch 1989 to characterize the loss of V2 in the transition from Old French (OFr) to Modern French. According to Kroch, the loss of the V2 in French involved competition between two sentence types that were consistent with a single V2 grammar. More specifically, he suggests that the loss of V2 occurred via the gradual replacement of topicalization by left-dislocation, the latter an available option in most V2 languages.

The present study adopts the variationist approach to syntactic change outlined above. As I will show in Chapter 5, the change which took place during earlier stages in the history of Spanish and which affected the status of clitics in the syntax was the result of an independent change in its phrase structure. I will argue that the Spec(IP) position gradually lost its ability to act as a host for a wide range of topicalized phrasal constituents, thus causing OSp to lose its characteristic V2 properties. It will become clear that two types of structures, those compatible with a V2 grammar and those incompatible with a V2 grammar (alongside a large number of ambiguous structures) were in variation in the language of single individuals during a considerable time period. The resulting emergence of an increasing number of contexts where the tensed verb (arguably in INFL) was either the first element in IP or was preceded by a dislocated element or adjunct outside the minimal IP, forced OSp clitics, which were X^{\max} categories fronted to a position at the left edge of IP, to be reanalyzed in the phonology from *enclitics* to *proclitics*. This change at the phonological level had in

⁶. It is important to observe that the results of a number of quantitative studies show that “sociolinguistic variation is more often characterized by stability than by change, and that the heterogeneous speech community can symbolize social conflicts through the same grammatical opposition over many centuries” (Labov 1982:38). Thus the existence of variation does not by itself trigger change. It is only when two linguistic forms come to be in competition for some reason that a process eventually resulting in a grammatical change (understood as a qualitative alteration in the type of output that the grammar can produce) can be considered to have begun. Also note that, although it is not usually emphasized, a number of factors, either internal or external, can contribute to halting, or even reversing, an already initiated course of linguistic change.

⁷. Although as is well known, it is not unusual that certain features of the previous grammatical system can linger as remnants, even in cases where it is clear that a grammar has been reanalyzed.

turn repercussions for other levels of analysis, since it created a situation where clitics became virtually part of the same word unit as the element occupying the INFL position (I^0), leading speakers to treat them as inflectional features associated with the verbal head and no longer as constituents linked to argument positions via a movement chain.⁸ However, the two types of categories, X^{\max} clitics and X^0 related clitics, will be shown to have coexisted in variation for some time in the grammars of single individuals.

1.3. Methodological and Philological Issues

1.3.1. Spoken Language vs. Written Language

One of the problems in the diachronic study of language is that we must base our linguistic descriptions exclusively on evidence from a written corpus. Besides potential philological difficulties such as the reliability of the texts as representative of specific historical periods or geographic dialects, an issue I will address shortly, there is the question of whether the written language faithfully represents all the properties of the language spoken in the linguistic community that the text is taken to represent. Another inherent difficulty in the study of synchronic data is that we lack negative evidence. We cannot ask any speaker, or use judgements based on our intuitions about the present stage of the language, to find out whether a certain sentence would have been acceptable. While this lack of negative evidence limits the conclusions that can be drawn from diachronic data, the gap between spoken and written language is less problematic for this study than might be feared due to certain factors to which I now turn.

There are two sources of worries about the gap between written and spoken language: First, written language arguably tends to be more conservative than spoken language and therefore may not accurately reflect the speech of the time; and second, written language is sometimes subject to artificial prescriptive norms that in no way reflect the spoken language. The fact that written language is more conservative than spoken language is not a problem insofar as it entails that the conservative aspects of the written language at one point constituted elements of the spoken. Even such extreme cases as the *passé simple*, *passé antérieur*, and *futur simple* of highly formal registers of modern standard French were at one time part of the oral vernacular.

Thus we can consider the more formal registers as a reflection of a previous stage in the development of the language.⁹ If, in addition, we can confirm that the specific changes we see occurring over time in the written corpora gradually approximate the situation which characterizes the language at the present time, then we

⁸. See Miller 1991:75 for the very similar proposal that French clitics were “weak form function words [that were] reanalyzed as inflectional affixes via an intermediate stage of postlexical clitic status.”

⁹. Note, as Miller (1991) points out, that not all the conservatist phenomena are necessarily associated with more formal registers. In some cases, archaic forms and constructions are associated with colloquial registers.

have some confirmation that the written language is sensitive to the changes that have taken place in the vernacular, although these changes may be reflected in the more conservative register with some time lag. The other possibility, of course, is to imagine that the vernacular and the written language were at some point two completely different systems existing in parallel and are only now converging. This possibility cannot be a priori discounted. However, this would not seem to be the null hypothesis, and since I do not have any evidence that this is what has happened in the case of Spanish, I will not consider it here.

The second related worry, namely the potential for prescriptivist influence on the texts, is in principle more serious. However, it is important to remember that prescriptive pressures, while a very familiar aspect of certain modern formal registers, perhaps most acute in the case of standard French as noted above, are not ubiquitous. This is particularly true for the earlier stages in the development of the Romance languages during the middle ages. It is hardly questionable that some sort of consciousness on the part of the author about style and eloquence must have been part of the activity of writing even in the early middle ages. However, most scholars agree that nothing corresponding to contemporary notions of grammatical correctness was developed for the vernaculars of the time (whether written or spoken). Thus, no grammatical or even orthographic standard existed for the vernacular languages during the Middle Ages. Only during the Renaissance, due mainly to the concern which arose through the humanist movement over the corrupt state of Latin, did the modern perception about propriety in the use of language emerge. As part of their far reaching program for the regeneration of the Western culture, directed among other things towards the ideal of *bonae litterae*, the humanists wanted to reintroduce the level of linguistic consciousness which had distinguished Roman writers earlier on but which, in their view, had been absent throughout the middle ages. Their practical goals mainly emphasized the attainment of eloquence, both written and spoken, in a pristine classical Latin. These goals led first to attempts at promoting a standard for the vernaculars around a vague model based on classical Latin, and subsequently to the emergence of prescriptive grammars. It is precisely at this time, with the advent of the printing press, that the familiar figures of the grammarian and the editor came to exist. Consequently, we can reasonably conclude that Medieval texts, as antecedents to this revival of prescriptivism, are (with some limitations to be discussed below) fairly reliable reflections of the vernaculars spoken at the time. Extra care, of course, should be taken with texts from the Renaissance period on. However, if we are scrupulous in our selection of representative texts and rely on sound philological work, I believe we can gain valuable insights into the structure of the spoken languages during those periods via the examination of representative written corpora.

1.3.2. Text Selection

Since I was aware of the possible gaps between the spoken vernacular and the more self-monitored activity of writing, I attempted to follow certain guidelines in the selection of the text samples that constitute the data base covering each time period. These guidelines were designed mainly to enable me to achieve the two following goals: a) obtain texts that reflected the syntax and morphology of the spoken vernacular as closely as possible; and b) create a data base that was as homogenous as possible both with respect to factors such as style, genre and register, and also with respect to the dialects being represented. I will now discuss the degree to which these goals have been achieved.

The inherent difficulties in finding adequate texts reflecting the syntax of less formal registers in periods other than the present time are painfully evident for anybody who has ever become involved in the study of diachronic data. Most of the preserved written records, and, within those, the few for which we have available reliable editions involving adequate and faithful transcription of the manuscript, are mainly literary works. However, literary works, particularly poetry, are of limited use because concerns for rhyme, meter, and so forth typically prevail over concerns such as faithful representation of the common vernacular. Although the lack of defined grammatical or orthographic standards for the vernaculars arguably made the process of writing during the Middle Ages much freer from prescriptive concerns than in later periods, this by no means implies that prose texts are free from problems when it comes to ascertaining their proximity to the spoken language of the time, since literary texts in prose are also constrained by stylistic concerns and attempts to conform to certain literary traditions. Therefore, one of the first tasks for the linguist examining diachronic data is to select texts which are as free as possible from these types of influences, a task which turns out to be an extremely difficult one. The strategy in the present study has been to select, whenever possible, written documents where the author's concern for content can be assumed to have taken primacy over the concern for form. This is a difficult matter to decide, since regard for style or conventions is not absent from non-literary texts either;¹⁰ in the ideal situation, one would use diaries or letters written by people who are not highly educated and have no literary aspirations, or novels containing long dialogues which attempt to mirror real life conversations. However, for the periods under consideration, the availability of such type of records is either null or severely limited.

To overcome these problems, as well as to achieve some stylistic homogeneity across time, I chose whenever possible one particular type of document: the chronicle, either involving the narration of historical events not experienced by the author or of personal accounts of events contemporary to the life of the author. No doubt that the narrative styles involved in these chronicles could resemble in some cases the kinds of koynès to which literary works attempt to conform, but they

¹⁰. Take, for instance, the highly idiosyncratic styles and formulaic language usually associated with legal documents throughout different historical periods.

arguably do so to a considerably lesser degree than literary work proper.¹¹ Thus, of all the available choices, this seemed to me the most optimal.

1.3.3. Notes on the Data Base

However, the goal stated above of restricting the data base to narrative chronicles of personal experiences or historical events has not been met in some circumstances. One of the most difficult problems encountered when studying the syntax of OSp is the fact that the earliest reliable texts date from a fairly late period. Whereas we have written records available for languages such as Old English or Old French from at least as far back as the IXth century, equally reliable and extensive attestations of OSp are not found until approximately two centuries later. The problem is even more acute with regards to texts written in prose. Owing to these difficulties, the choice of available texts for the earliest periods is quite limited. Neither of the two texts chosen here as representative of the XIIth century, *La Fazienda de Ultramar* and the *Poema de Mio Cid*, is part of the tradition of narrative chronicles to which most of the other texts belong. Although the available philological information about the authorship and actual time of composition of these texts is less than complete, I opted for including them to cover as early a period as possible. A few words are in order to justify this decision.

La Fazienda de Ultramar is perhaps the most problematic of all the texts used here. Although it is written in the Castilian dialect, we do not know with absolute certainty that its author, Almerich, Arçidiano de Antioquia, was a native speaker of OSp.¹² Furthermore, the text itself is largely a paraphrasing of biblical stories. It was, however, the only OSp prose text available to me that could be reliably situated in the middle of the XIIth century.

Partly to control for these difficulties, I also included the *Poema de Mio Cid* (PMC) as part of the XIIth century sample. There are some obvious problems with

¹¹. Admittedly, the division between fiction and the historical chronicles, above all in the earlier periods, is somewhat arbitrary. For instance, the chronicles from Alfonso X The Learned, used in the present study as representative of XIIIth century Castilian, contain accounts of events which are clearly fictional. In *General Estoria*, we find some passages which are adaptations from biblical stories, parables or myths. In *Estoria de España* we find accounts of the legendary exploits of *El Cid* which have been most likely lifted from literary texts available at the time or adopted from the oral tradition of epic poetry which survived in written form in the *Poema de Mio Cid*.

¹². Note that problems regarding authorship arise also in the case of the works selected as representative of XIIIth century OSp. It is well known that Alfonso X The Learned did not write the chronicles himself, but rather commissioned to write them a team of collaborators most likely originating from diverse geographic and linguistic areas. Researchers debate how much input the monarch himself had in the work, although it is agreed that he actively participated in the final edition of the texts, making sure that they were written in *castellano drecho* 'correct Castilian' (Lapesa 1986). Here the notion *castellano drecho* should be interpreted quite loosely, implying that the monarch intended the texts to be written in the language of Castile, as opposed to that of Leon, Aragon, Old French, the Mozarabic dialects etc., but not as implying that he had a specific standardized grammar of Castilian in mind which had to be strictly adhered to.

this choice as well. First, it is not technically a prose text. Second, there has been great controversy among philologists concerning the actual date of its composition. Nonetheless, there are good reasons not to reject this document as representative of the syntax of OSp in the XIIth century or early XIIIth century. The PMC belongs to the same genre as narrative epic poems such as *Beowulf* (Leonard 1931). These poems were arguably devised to be memorized by itinerant story tellers who went around towns and villages reciting them in squares or other public spaces. Although internal rhythm and rhyme are also a prominent feature of this genre, the departure of these poems from the language used in prose is definitely not as pronounced as in other forms of poetry. A careful comparison with prose texts from the XIIIth century and early XIVth century reveals that the syntactic patterns that characterize the PMC do not essentially differ from the ones found in prose. This of course raises the issue of the actual date of its composition.

This has been one of the most controversial issues among Romance philologists. Menéndez Pidal dated the composition of the poem in 1140, but most authors have contested this claim and situate its creation towards the end of the XIIth century or the early XIIIth century. What most authors agree upon is the fact that the preserved version is merely the written rendition of a poem which was part of the oral tradition and was circulating at the time, rather than an original creation. Authors disagree, however, as to the extent of innovation introduced by the scribe. In spite of these difficulties, I decided to include the PMC as representative of the XIIth century for the following reasons. First, although a high degree of confidence concerning the date of composition of a given text is obviously desirable in any type of historical work, I am not extremely concerned here about whether the exact date of composition is the middle of the XIIth century or the beginning of the XIIIth. The general opinion of the experts is that the poem was composed at an earlier period than the texts I have chosen as representative of the XIIIth century, and this suffices for the purpose of tracing the syntactic changes that I am interested in examining. Furthermore, due to the fact that the syntactic changes that are the main concern of this study arguably occurred in a gradual manner and below the level of consciousness, unless the scribe created the poem totally anew, a substantial part of the relevant syntactic features of the oral versions are likely to have been preserved in its written rendition without change. If this assumption is correct, whatever the actual date of composition, the poem is likely to reflect the syntactic properties that characterized the language of an earlier period than that in which it was rendered into writing. Finally, and most importantly, as will become evident in the discussion of the results of the quantitative analysis in Chapter 5, the general validity of the claims made there can be maintained even if the representative data from the XIIth are not taken into account.

The other text which is not part of the general class of historical or pseudo-historical narratives which constitute most of the data base used for the quantitative analysis is one of the texts representing the XIVth century, *El libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio*. This text, however, is much less problematic than those discussed above. First, its date of composition is certain and its authorship, uncontroversial. Second, even though it is clearly a literary text, its narrative style and

its central moralizing concern make it at least as appropriate as the chronicles and personal narratives as a reasonable approximation of the spoken language.

A related problem faced by the present study concerns crossdialectal differences regarding the presence of certain distinctive syntactic properties. For instance, a remarkable variation between closely related dialects in the relative frequency and even absolute presence of the construction known as *interpolation* (see Chapter 2) has been noted by a number of authors (e.g. Chenery 1905, Ramsden 1963, Wanner 1991). It should be noted that what I am calling OSp here does not include texts from dialects such as Leonese or Aragonese, and that all the inferences and generalizations stated in this work about OSp and later periods in the history of Spanish are based on the examination of exclusively Castilian texts. The differences among various Castilian dialects with respect to interpolation and other syntactic features are significant and worth exploring in more depth. However, mainly due to the difficulties stated above concerning the availability of adequate texts, it was impossible for me at the time of writing this dissertation to obtain adequate editions of texts proceeding from a single dialectal area within Castile. This would have been relevant above all for the earliest periods where controlling for these differences is more crucial. Needless to say, the results of this study will have to be checked against the results of future studies involving much larger databases. Such studies should, if possible, attempt to ascertain whether significant differences involving the relevant syntactic properties can be found among different dialectal areas. It would also be interesting to determine whether some of the syntactic changes that became most conspicuous by the XVth century could have emerged as a result of the contact between the Castilian dialects and the dialects spoken by the inhabitants of the territories which Castile gradually took away from the Moors during the *Reconquista*.

Appendix: The Data Base

Throughout this dissertation, I have used examples from different sources to illustrate various points. The references for all of these sources, as well as the abbreviations used for their identification, are found at the end together with the rest of the bibliographical data. What follows is not a full list of references for all the texts used in this work, but rather the list of texts that compose the data base used in the quantitative analysis discussed in Chapter 5. This data base was composed of a total of 3829 tokens, distributed in the following way: XIIth century, 487 tokens; XIIIth century, 907 tokens; XIVth century, 738 tokens; XVth century, 756 tokens; XVIth century, 941 tokens. The tokens were taken from continuous text; there was a minimum of 100 subordinate clauses and 100 main clauses in each portion of text selected, thus amounting to a minimum of 200 subordinate clauses and 200 main clauses per each century.

XIIth century

La Fazienda de Ultramar. Almeric, Arçidiano de Antiochia. Date of composition: between 1126 and 1142. Edition: Moshe Lazar. *Filosoffa y Letras*. Tomo XVIII, núm. 2. Universidad de Salamanca, 1965.

Poema de Mio Cid. Anonymous. Date of composition: mid XIIth c. to early XIIIth c. Edition: Colin Smith. Ediciones Cátedra, Madrid, 1972.

XIIIth century

Estoria de España. Alphonse X of Castile, “The Learned”. Date of composition: 1270 (approx.). Edition: ms. transcription, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, Wisconsin.

General Estoria. Alphonse X of Castile, “The Learned”. Date of composition: 1280 (approx.). Edition: ms. transcription, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, Wisconsin.

XIVth century

Juan Manuel. El conde Lucanor. Don Juan Manuel. Date of composition: 1335. Edition: Reynaldo Ayerbe-Chaux. Alhambra, Madrid, 1983.

Gran crónica de Alfonso XI. Anonymous. Date of composition: between 1344 and 1376. Edition: Diego Catalán, Seminario Menéndez Pidal. Editorial Gredos, Madrid, 1977.

XVth century

Historia del gran Tamerlán. Ruy González de Clavijo. Date of composition: 1403-1406. Edition: Juan Luis Rodríguez Bravo and María del Mar Martínez Rodríguez. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison, Wisconsin.

Atalaya de las Coronicas. Alfonso Martínez de Toledo. Arcipreste de Talavera. Date of composition: between 1443 and 1454. Edition: James B. Larkin. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Madison Wisconsin.

XVIth century

Crónica del Emperador Carlos V. Pedro Girón. Date of composition: around 1540. Edition: Juan Sanchez Montes. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid.

Historia verdadera de la conquista de la nueva España. Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Date of composition: around 1568. Edition: (I used the edition of the so-called “Manuscrito de Guatemala”) Carmelo Saenz de Santa María. Instituto “Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo”. C.S.I.C, Madrid, 1982.

Chapter 2

The Syntax of Old Spanish Clitics

2.1. Clitic Placement in Old Spanish: Orderly System or Chaos?

From the perspective of the native speaker of Modern Spanish, the distribution of object clitics observed in Old Spanish (OSp) texts is rather puzzling. If we peruse any text in OSp, we notice the following striking differences from the current system: a) tensed verbs can either precede or follow object clitics¹ in declarative sentences, as illustrated in the examples in (1); b) object clitics can be separated from the verb by intervening material, as illustrated in (2).

- (1) a. Esto=**t** lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonso
 this-you dispute.1sg here before-the King don alfonso
'I will challenge you on this before King don Alfonso' (PMC.3344)
- b. y=**l** aorauan & =**se** dauan todos por suyos
 and-him adored.3Pl and selves gave.3Pl all for his
'and they adored him and all of them offered themselves as his vassals'
 (GE-I.307r)
- c. & fizo =**lo** traer preso
 and made him bring prisoner
'and he had him brought before him as a prisoner' (EE-I.127v)
- d. mas fizo =**gelo** otorgar el santo Obispo
 but made him-it admit the saint bishop
'but the bishop forced him to admit it' (EE-I.126r)

¹. Unless otherwise specified, OSp clitics will be preceded by an equal sign (=) throughout this text. If no blank space appears between the equal sign and the previous word, this indicates that there was no separation between that word and the clitic in the spelling of the original manuscript. This convention, also used by other authors, attempts to reflect the fact that object clitics in OSp are inherently enclitic in the phonology (i.e. they form a phonological word with the immediately preceding lexical item). However, as will become clear later on, clitics in OSp went from being enclitic to proclitic (this latter term is taken here to exclusively imply phonological attachment to the immediately following word, independently of whether this word is a verb). Since, in many cases, clitics appear separated in the spelling, it is not always possible to determine which word they attach to in the phonology; indeed, this becomes much more difficult towards the XVth century and after, because editors increasingly adhered to the orthographic convention of separating clitics from their host in the spelling whenever they occurred preverbally. Hence the '=' sign cannot always be taken to indicate encliticization, above all in the later periods examined here.

- (2) a. pero que =lo non fallamos en toda la estoria
 but that it not find-3rd-Pl in all the history
 ‘but never have we found this in all of history’ (EE-II.11v)
- b. por que =las vos dexastes
 because them you left
 ‘because you abandoned them’ (PMC.3368)
- c. por que =te assi encerreste
 why yourself thus locked
 ‘Why did you lock yourself up this way?’ (EE-II.3r)
- d. Mando al omne que =vos esta mj carta mostrara
 ordered.3Sg the man that you this my letter showed
 ‘He bade the man to show you my letter’ (DLE.1140) (from Rivero 1991c)
- e. si =me de ti non guardase
 if me of you not protected
 ‘if I didn’t protect myself from you’ (Zifar 238) (from Rivero 1991c)

Except in European Portuguese and in some dialects spoken in the Northwest of the Iberian peninsula (Asturias and Leon), clitics in most modern Romance languages can only appear in positions where they immediately precede the tensed verb. In particular, configurations of the form V_[+finite]-Cl are not allowed in modern Spanish² (MSp). Furthermore, in no existing Romance language do we find cases like the ones in (2) where the object clitic and the verb can be separated from each other by intervening constituents (with the exception of other clitics). It is thus a defining characteristic of clitics across all modern Romance languages that they be adjacent to the verbal head.

The constructions in (2) are instances of the phenomenon known as *interpolation* in the Romance linguistics literature (cf. Gessner 1893, Meyer-Lübke 1897, Chenery 1905, Ramsden 1963, and more recently, Rivero 1991, Wanner 1991). Interpolation is a term used by traditional Romance philologists and linguists to refer to those configurations where the clitic is separated from the verb by an intervening constituent. As I will argue later in this chapter, the very choice of the term to describe these constructions exposes some longstanding biases prevalent in the field.

With very few exceptions, authors working on this topic have approached the

². A notable exception are imperatives. See discussion in 6.2.1.1.

- (i) Ponlo encima de la mesa
 Put-it on-top-of the table
 ‘Put it on the table’

puzzling distribution of clitics in examples such as those in (1) and (2) as some kind of aberration which must be explained away, revealing the implicit assumption that these elements should behave essentially like their modern Romance counterparts. Under the prevalent view, OSp clitics are taken to be of the same category as and subject to similar syntactic constraints as those elements referred to as 'clitics' in modern Romance.

I will argue that most of the problems encountered by previous attempts to account for the distribution of clitics in OSp are a consequence of this assumption (namely, that the systems of clitics displayed by modern Romance languages are the manifestation of the core properties of "cliticness", and hence that their syntactic attributes must be taken as the norm by which similar phenomena in other languages must be measured). In this chapter, I will offer an account of the distribution of OSp clitics which radically departs from this premise.³ The account will proceed in three steps. First, I will show that OSp clitics were elements of a different category from what we call clitics in Modern Romance languages. Specifically, I will argue that they belong to a distinctive class of prosodically deficient morphemes found in a wide range of languages, many of which are unrelated to Romance or even to Indo-European. Due to their distinctive distribution (frequently they are found after the first constituent or word in the sentence), these elements have been subsumed under the descriptive label of *Second Position clitics (2P)* in various general typologies.

More specifically, I am also going to claim that these clitics are treated as phrasal (XP or X^{\max}) categories in the grammar, which raise from their base generated positions in the syntax and adjoin to a phrasal projection at the left edge of the sentence. I will eventually argue that object clitics in OSp are pronominal NPs (or DPs, if we adopt the hypothesis put forward by Abney 1987) that either right- or left-adjoin to an XP in the specifier of IP or, in certain circumstances, can occupy Spec(IP) on their own via substitution, as long as there is some constituent to their left that can act as a phonological host for encliticization. However, this additional detail in the analysis will not be motivated until we have examined the syntax of OSp in subsequent chapters.

This proposal will offer a straightforward account of the interpolation facts found in (2). Interpolation will be shown to be not a quirk in the system, but rather a fairly typical trait in languages (e.g. Ancient Greek, Old English) whose systems of clitics are subject to essentially different syntactic constraints from those operative in the modern Romance languages. One of the main advantages of this change in perspective is thus that it will allow us to relate the behavior of OSp clitics to that of a class of elements extensively investigated for a considerable number of languages. The remarkable similarities between the formal properties and syntactic distribution of OSp clitics and those elements associated with the pretheoretical notion *clitic* in languages such as Ancient Greek, Old English, and Serbo-Croatian, to name just a few, would

³ That OSp clitics were elements of a different category from modern Spanish clitics has been previously suggested in Klavans 1982, Rivero 1986,1991 and Franco 1991. Rivero 1986,1991 specifically proposes that OSp clitics were XPs. See Wanner 1991 for arguments against this general proposal.

otherwise be difficult to explain.

In summary, rather than considering OSp clitics as idiosyncratic members of the class of what are known as clitics in the modern Romance languages, I will take them to be members of a different class of categories altogether; the analysis adopted here will permit a unified treatment of OSp clitics with other members of the 2P class. Furthermore, in Chapter 4 we will see that this basic approach can be extended to account for the similarities between clitics in OSp and those in languages not usually associated with 2P clitic systems, such as Middle Dutch.

However, a complete account of the distribution of OSp clitics will not be accomplished until Chapter 4. The analysis of configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$, such as the ones illustrated in (1)c-d, requires us to first make explicit some additional characteristics of the phrase structure of OSp which are not directly related to the syntax of clitics. Specifically, I argue in Chapters 3 and 4 that OSp exhibits a verb-second constraint whose defining properties are like those recently argued to characterize languages such as Yiddish and Icelandic (Diesing 1990, Santorini 1989, R ngvaldsson and Thr insson 1990).

Once the analysis of clitics and the analysis of the phrase structure of OSp are laid out in more detail, I will show how their combination leads to a straightforward solution to the problem of clitic ordering. Specifically, I will show that the $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ configuration is found only in independently motivated cases of double verb movement from V^0 to I^0 and I^0 to C^0 , e.g. in the construction known as *verb-first declarative* in the Icelandic and Yiddish syntax literature. That is, in examples such as (1)c-d, the finite verbal head will be argued to occupy a position external to the periphery of IP, where clitics are positioned by the syntax.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. I will first review some of the basic issues discussed in the literature regarding the characterization of elements associated with the pre-theoretical notion *clitic*, briefly commenting on some of the general problems involved in their classification. Section 2.3 will be devoted to introducing and defining second position (2P) clitics, and to providing evidence for the membership of OSp clitics in this class. To do this, I will examine some of the differences found across systems of clitics typically associated with the 2P label and briefly review some of the proposals offered to account for these differences. I will then compare the distribution of OSp clitics to that of Homeric Greek clitics.

This comparison is intended to show that the positions occupied by clitics in these two languages are amenable to the same descriptive generalizations. This will lead to a discussion of the relevance of Wackernagel's Law (WL), which basically states that clitics in a certain group of Indo-European languages are positioned after the first word in the sentence, for the description of OSp clitics -- a relevance which has often been suggested. I will review a recent proposal by Taylor (1990) that shows that an appropriate formal treatment of the distribution of Homeric Greek clitics, an archetypal example of the systems of clitics covered by WL, can be achieved by adopting a specific model proposed to describe the behavior of clitics universally, namely, that advanced in Klavans 1982. Taylor's work crucially shows that the correct generalizations concerning the distribution of clitics in Homeric Greek cannot make

reference to the relative position of clitics with respect to the beginning of the sentence from a linear perspective, but rather require an analysis that is sensitive to structural considerations. Once this is established, I will show that the resemblance between the distribution of clitics in OSp and Homeric Greek is an artifact of their common membership in the broader class of 2P clitics. Due to the limited size of the data base used in the present investigation, one of the areas that will be left unexplored here is the issue of the distribution of clitics in non-finite clauses. The discussion of the problems posed by clitics in infinitival clauses will be limited to some very brief remarks in Chapter 6 in the short section devoted to issue of clitic climbing in OSp.

2.2. The Status of Clitics in Linguistic Theory: Definitional Problems

2.2.1. Romance Clitics: Norm or Exception?

Clitics have posed a great challenge for linguistic research. As Zwicky noted in the first comprehensive monograph on the subject within generative linguistics:

Most languages -- very possibly, all except those of the most rigidly isolating type -- have morphemes that present analytic difficulties because they are neither clearly independent words nor clearly affixes. The problem is recognized, at least as a difficulty in terminology, in traditional language descriptions, where certain elements are set apart from the ordinary words and affixes of the language by being labelled clitics. (Zwicky 1977:1)

Perhaps due to the problems involved in finding an adequate characterization of this class of morphemes, clitic phenomena have been an especially popular area of research in modern linguistic theory both for early European and American structuralists and for current generative schools.

The first proposals aimed at developing a general theory of clitics within the GB framework centered mostly on those elements found in the modern Romance languages. Perhaps for this reason, Romance clitics are widely assumed by researchers working within this framework to embody most of the core properties of clitichood. This is somewhat ironic, for if we take into consideration a much wider range of items which have traditionally been subsumed under the pre-theoretical label *clitic*, Romance clitics are, if anything, exceptional in their syntax.⁴ As noted by Taylor (1990), clitics which clearly have different properties have often been ignored or forced into this mold (see e.g. van Kemenade 1987, and see also Pintzuk 1991, for a critique of her approach).

⁴. There are, however, other languages which have categories whose syntactic behavior is essentially like that of modern Romance clitics, for instance, modern Hebrew and modern Greek.

Thus, it is worth contemplating whether all the elements referred to as *clitics* should be taken as instances of the same linguistic category or whether instead, as suggested by Zwicky (to appear), this label “covers a diverse collection of phenomena, which are unlikely to constitute a unified class for the purposes of theorizing about the nature of grammar”.

2.2.2. Clitic Classifications: Phrasal Affixes and Head Affixes

A principled distinction among some of the categories associated with the pre-theoretical label *clitic* is possible and has indeed been proposed. During the last two decades there have been a number of attempts to develop a general theory of clitics that could be integrated within currently operative syntactic frameworks. In the first such classification, Zwicky (1977) proposed a distinction between three different kinds of clitics: *simple clitic* (“a free morpheme, [that] when unaccented, may be phonologically reduced, the resultant form being phonologically subordinate to a neighboring word” p.5); *special clitic* (“an unaccented bound form [that] acts as a variant of a stressed free form with the same cognitive meaning and with similar phonological makeup”); and, finally, *bound words*, i.e. those clitic-like elements which do not have corresponding full forms. Proposals for classifying clitics have ranged from Zwicky’s (1977) three-way classification, to Zwicky and Pullum’s (1983) two-way classification, to Klavans’ (1982), Taylor’s (1990) and Miller’s (1991) unified analyses, to Nevis’ (1986) denial of the existence of clitics as a separate theoretical construct.⁵ As Taylor (1990) observes, the type of model proposed to account for the status of clitics in the grammar varies considerably according to what aspects of clitic behavior are taken as relevant.

Although none of the models proposed so far is totally unproblematic, one of the most successful attempts to formalize the patterns of syntactic distribution of clitics universally is the typology proposed in Klavans 1982. The main concern in Klavans’ work was to define a single category which would encompass all the types of clitics discussed in Zwicky’s seminal work, based exclusively on their specific syntactic behavior. There is one particular observation, previously made by several scholars (Kaufman 1974, Hale 1973, Zwicky 1977) which is found at the core of Klavans’ proposal: clitics are defined as elements that, while attaching phonologically to words, attach syntactically to phrases. For Klavans, phrasal attachment is an inherent property of clitics, and consequently a defining characteristic of them universally: She specifically defines clitics as *phrasal affixes*.

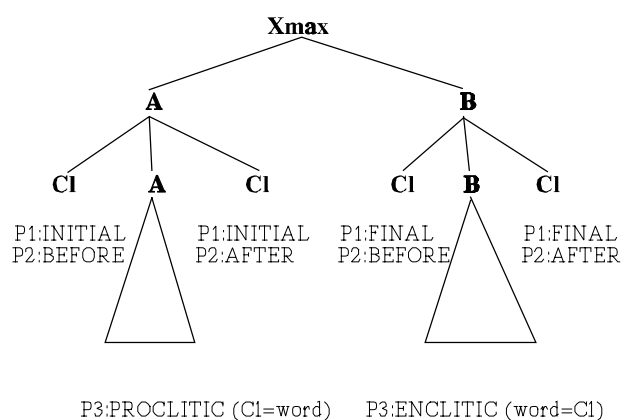
Klavans’ (1982) main criticism of Zwicky’s (1977) model was that it missed crucial generalizations about the syntax of elements classified under the different labels. Klavans investigated extensively the syntactic positions occupied by clitics across a wide range of unrelated languages and observed that in most cases the categories labelled *special clitics* and *bound words* by Zwicky had identical syntactic

⁵. For detailed reviews and critiques of the different models proposed for the category clitic, see especially Taylor (1990) and Miller (1991).

distribution. The main emphasis in her model thus shifted to the positional aspects of clitics, and their phonological properties were taken to function independently of basic syntactic operations. One of Klavans' most significant claims is that phonological and syntactic attachment can be divergent. This basic independence between syntax and phonology in cliticization has been argued for by a number of authors; see e.g. Klavans 1985, Kaisse 1985, and Anderson 1988, 1992.

Klavans proposed that the syntactic distribution of clitics universally could be accounted for straightforwardly by assuming three different parameters along which cliticization operations are defined. Different types of clitics in different languages or groups of languages can thus be characterized by the combination of values for each one of the three parameters that they select. Her typology is illustrated in (3).

(3)



As shown in figure (3) above, Klavans' treatment involves the establishment of 3 parameters:

- P[arameter]1: **Dominance**, with the values either INITIAL or FINAL; P1 determines whether the clitic adjoins to the final or initial daughter of a given phrase which is defined as the *domain* of cliticization, "a node is the domain of cliticization if the syntactic position of a clitic is determined with respect to the immediate constituents of the designated node" (Klavans 1985:98)
- P[arameter]2: **Precedence**, with the possible values BEFORE or AFTER, specifies where the clitic attaches in relation to the host determined by P1.
- P[arameter]3: **Phonological Liaison** can take the values PROCLITIC or ENCLITIC and specifies the direction of phonological attachment of the clitic.

In her unpublished dissertation, Klavans had included Romance-type clitics within her universal class of clitics; however, she soon realized that such a move was clearly problematic for her analysis. The elements referred to as *clitics* in modern Romance are widely assumed to be syntactically associated with V^0 , that is, a head, not a phrase. Acknowledging this problem, in the 1982 IULC edition of her dissertation, she reconsidered her position:

my later work indicates that the phrasal requirement might be too strong, because it would eliminate the Spanish and French type of Verbal clitics. I now hold that the non-phrasal domain for just these clitics reflects that they are in fact truly verbal features, as Groos (1976) and Borer (1981) would have it. This change in the label of the subcategorizing bracket from V' to V might be an indication that these clitics are becoming affixes, reflected by the fact that they have insertion requirements resembling those for other verbal affixes. (Klavans 1982: xvii)

Thus, in effect, she adopted the view, shared by a number of scholars (eg. Stump 1980, Borer 1983, Suñer 1988, Miller 1991, Franco 1993) that the elements associated with the label *clitic* in most modern Romance languages are better treated as inflectional affixes, or more specifically, as object agreement affixes (see also Joseph 1988, for a treatment of modern Greek clitics along these lines). Note that unlike the elements Klavans classifies as clitics (i.e. what she calls *phrasal affixes*), the elements referred to as *clitics* in most modern Romance languages manifest some of the basic formal characteristics attributed to affixes according to the theory-independent criteria established in Zwicky and Pullum⁶ (1983) to distinguish so-called *postlexical clitics* (in the sense of Anderson 1988 and Kaisse 1985) from affixes.

Taylor (1990), noting the disparity of criteria used for the classification of clitic-like morphemes, has proposed an alternative categorization that differentiates between different classes of morphemes usually subsumed under the label of clitic. Taylor's basic approach is similar to Klavans' (1982, 1985) and to Anderson's (1992) in that she considers the special syntactic properties of clitics independently of their traditional characterization as prosodically deficient items. The essential characteristic of clitics would be, according to Taylor, that they are not only prosodically deficient items but also that their position at S-structure is derived by means of special syntactic operations. Drawing on the insights provided by previous models, she argues for the following three-way distinction: a) elements which attach to heads, that is the Romance type, form a separate category, which she suggests could be considered a subclass of affix; b) clitic-like elements with the same syntactic distribution as the rest

⁶. One of the most significant diagnostics proposed by these authors is that "Clitics exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems" (Zwicky and Pullum 1983:503). As we will see in the following section, pronominal clitics in Old Spanish had much more freedom than their modern counterparts in the types of categories they could attach to, both in the phonology and in the syntax.

of the elements within the same lexical paradigm, such as the phonologically weak variants of English object pronouns, are simply to be considered members of the same word class which either optionally or obligatorily undergo a process of phonological attachment with neighboring words; and finally, c) there are elements whose distribution is governed by idiosyncratic syntactic operations of phrasal attachment. She refers to this latter group as *true clitics*.

Taylor distinguishes what she calls true clitics from other morphological categories such as *word* or *affix*. For her, true clitics are to be differentiated from affixes because their special syntax attaches them to phrasal nodes, while affixes attach to heads. True clitics are also distinct from phonologically weak words, the simple clitics in Zwicky's (1977) classification, in that the latter, although prosodically deficient, do not undergo specific syntactic operations, but rather have the same syntax as the rest of members of their lexical class. Taylor's view is thus similar to Klavans'. For both of them those distinctions are highly desirable because, by reclassifying a number of items previously analyzed as clitics as affixes or words instead, they believe they obtain a better-defined theoretical construct.

Independent work by Miller (1991), within Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG), (cf. Gazdar, Klein, Pullum and Sag 1985) has reached conclusions which are very similar to those arrived at by Klavans and Taylor. Miller argues, for instance, that there has been a substantial change in the essential morphological and syntactic properties characterizing the systems of clitics from Old French to Modern French. Although Miller does not overtly assert this, it is implied in his treatment that the extent of these differences could justify their classification as two distinct morphological categories having a markedly different status in the grammar.

I now turn to discuss evidence suggesting that OSp clitics were indeed elements of a different type of category than that assumed for clitics in modern Spanish. The following sections will be devoted to showing that OSp clitics were what Klavans called *phrasal affixes*, or what Taylor called *true clitics*, and that their syntactic behavior can be adequately described by a slightly modified version of the model Klavans proposed to describe the syntactic behavior of clitics universally.

2.3. 2P Clitics

2.3.1. Introduction

The fact that clitics in OSp could never occur in absolute sentence initial position, and that they frequently occurred after the first constituent of the sentence, has traditionally led authors to loosely relate them to Wackernagel's Law (WL) (e.g. Menéndez-Pidal 1964-1969, Slávomirsky 1986, Rivero 1991c). WL is the term used to refer to a descriptive generalization proposed by the Swiss scholar Jacob Wackernagel (Wackernagel 1892) which roughly states that, in a certain group of Indo-European languages, clitics are positioned after the first word in the sentence. The distributional patterns of clitics in medieval Romance languages had been

specifically recognized by authors contemporary to Wackernagel 1892 in the well-known series of publications by Tobler (1875, 1889), Mussafia (1886, 1898), and Meyer-Lübke (1897). Their basic observations concerning the distribution of clitics in various medieval Romance languages have come to be known as the Tobler-Mussafia Law (TML) and can be stated as (4).

- (4) **TML** Unstressed object pronouns cannot stand in absolute initial position in the sentence.

The descriptive statement in (4) differs slightly from WL in that it is simply a negative statement which does not specifically require that the clitic be in second position in the sentence. For the medieval Romance languages, the TML appears to be more appropriate than WL, since the second position requirement is too restrictive when applied to those languages. As we will presently see, there is a considerable number of exceptions to the strict version of WL even in the languages for which it was originally proposed; the compliance with the strict second position requirement among all the languages related either to TML or to WL is, to a large extent, a matter of degree (we will discuss other more substantial differences below). Hence, in a rather trivial way, the less restrictive TML has a wider empirical coverage than WL. Although most authors, (e.g. Wanner 1991) usually refer to TML as a variety of WL specific to the Romance family, it is perhaps more useful to think of WL as a subclass of the more general constraint stated as TML. In the following sections, however, I want to argue that the distinction between WL and TML is a moot point and that both statements are of little use within current syntactic frameworks unless they are taken as what they really are: approximate descriptive generalizations. Both WL and TML can be disposed of altogether, since a more principled account of these phenomena is available.

A common trait among most works dealing with the distribution of clitics in Medieval Romance languages is that WL/TML are apparently taken to operate somewhat independently of other aspects of the syntax of clitics. For most authors, WL/TML are simply seen as the requirement that clitics must have some phonologically overt material to their left, but no attempt is made to seek any parallel between the syntactic distributions of clitics in the systems described by Wackernagel and in those of languages such as OSp. Furthermore, since the strict version of WL, i.e. that the clitic is positioned after the first *word* in the sentence, does not apply to the distribution of OSp clitics, it is always incorporated in descriptions of OSp in very vague terms: either as a tendency, or as a remnant of a no longer existing system. In addition, with a few exceptions (e.g. Rivero 1991), previous treatments of these phenomena do not make a clear distinction between the status of clitics in the grammars of OSp and MSp. Very often, the only factor assumed to account for the differences between the two systems is the operation of some imprecisely defined phonological or syntactic constraint whose connection to WL is nebulous at best.

In section 4.1.1.1. of Chapter 4, I will specifically address attempts to grant descriptive generalizations such as WL or TML the status of grammatical constraints

within current theoretical frameworks. In the following sections I will show that OSp clitics do in fact belong to the exact same class of clitics with which WL or TML are concerned. However, as will become obvious in the course of the discussion, the association of OSp clitics with WL in the terms proposed in previous work is not only inadequate but also rather misleading. I will show that the similarities between the clitic systems in the languages studied by Wackernagel and in OSp clitics are simply a function of their common membership in the class of 2P clitics. A syntactic analysis which accounts for the characteristic word order patterns described by WL will be discussed in section 2.3.3.2.

2.3.2. Towards a Unified Analysis of 2P clitics

Recent cross-linguistic studies of clitic phenomena (e.g. Zwicky 1977, Pullum 1981, Kaisse 1982, Klavans 1982, 1985) have shown that in many languages which are completely unrelated to the Indo-European languages studied by Wackernagel (e.g. Warlbiri, Luiseño, Ngiyambaa, and Tagalog) clitics occupy a position that can be characterized in some sense as the second position in the sentence. Many of these studies observe that it is quite common among languages with 2P clitics for 2P to be defined as following either the first word, many times splitting sentence initial constituents (see Hale 1981, Pullum 1981, Kaisse 1982, Klavans 1982b), or the first constituent (or daughter). I will adopt Halpern's (1992) terminology and refer to the former type as 2W, and to the latter as 2D.

Many of the existing models have been designed to account for either 2W or 2D clitics (see Halpern 1992 for an extensive review of the different existing proposals), but no totally satisfactory analysis of 2P as a unified class has been proposed. It is arguably possible to increase the power of any of the available theories with separate mechanisms that would enable them to cover the class for which they are deficient. However, as noted by Halpern (1992), if such proposals entail that the two distributions are being treated as different phenomena, they face potentially serious conceptual problems. There are, in fact, significant considerations that argue against such differentiation in status between 2W and 2D clitics. First, as Halpern has noted, such a view is problematic in light of the fact that, in some languages, 2P clitics may appear in either of the two positions, i.e. after the first word or after the first constituent. One of such languages is Serbo-Croatian, and the examples in (5)a-b illustrate this possibility (examples from Zec and Inkelas 1990).

- (5) a. Taj čovek=**joj**=**ga**=**je** poklonio.
 that man=her=it=AUX presented
'That man presented her with it'
- b. Taj=**joj**=**ga**=**je** čovek poklonio.
 that=her=it=AUX man presented

Thus, as Halpern suggests, 2P is really a cover term for (at least) two different distributions: 2W and 2D. Furthermore, there is a strong correlation across languages between allowing clitics to appear after the first word and allowing for greater freedom in discontinuous constituency. That is, for most languages that allow clitics to appear after the first word, splitting strings that can be assumed to form a constituent, constituents can be split in any case, independently of the presence of clitics. This is the case in Warlbiri, Ngiyambaa, and Ancient Greek.

Two basic types of proposals have been advanced to account for the phenomenon of split constituents in first position. The first type, exemplified in Pullum 1981, allows for a clitic placement rule which, under certain conditions, attaches the clitic inside constituents in first position. That is, the underlying assumption is that clitics are in fact splitting syntactic constituents. An alternative to this proposal is offered in Klavans 1982b. She argues that languages exhibiting this trait are non-configurational and that the position of the clitic depends on the structure of the clause. Thus, according to this view, the splitting of a constituent by the clitic would be only apparent.

The notion of *non-configurationality*, as was first formalized, appeals to a *flat* (or *non-configurational*) phrase structure to account for the enormous flexibility of word order patterns exhibited by 2W languages (e.g. Hale 1981, Pullum 1982, Lapointe 1981, Zwicky 1986). In line with Hale 1982, Klavans assumed that the X-bar rules in languages like Ngiyambaa project only to the single bar-level and that in non-configurational languages the usual category labels (NP, VP, N, etc.) must be replaced by a category neutral node label (Hale, for instance, used the unspecified X) so that lexical insertion can freely occur. Under Klavans' approach, then, any element preceding the clitic could constitute a single constituent on its own, since any given X could be assumed to be the daughter of S (or of IP using more current terminology). Thus, according to Klavans, 2P clitics can be subsumed in the general typology illustrated in (3) above by assigning them the parameter values in (6).

(6) 2P clitics: $X^{\max}=\text{IP}$, P1:INITIAL, P2:AFTER (Klavans 1982)

In summary, in Klavans' view it is simply an illusion that the clitic appears to be splitting a constituent, and it is the fact that these languages have a non-configurational base which is responsible for that illusion.

2.3.3. Wackernagel's Law and 2P Clitics

To demonstrate the membership of OSp clitics in the category of 2P clitics, I will proceed in two steps. First, I will compare their syntactic distribution to that found in one of the core cases of Wackernagel's law: Ancient Greek (henceforth HG, for Homeric Greek). Second, I will demonstrate that relating the system of OSp to WL in the way it is usually done in the literature is rather misleading; the appropriate

generalizations about the properties of 2P clitics will be shown to be best captured by an approach which differs essentially from the strictly linear account of clitic positions implied in WL. As will become clear, WL must be simply regarded as a superficial generalization about the behavior of clitics in a subset of languages with 2P clitics which crucially does not include OSp, i.e. languages where 2P is defined as 2W.

2.3.3.1. Wackernagel's Law Revisited: Clitics in Ancient Greek and OSp

In her dissertation, Taylor confirms that, as Wackernagel had stated, in HG the clitic almost invariably follows the first word (approximately 90% of the time). Apart from a certain type of exception that will be discussed shortly, the counterexamples to a strict version of WL are indeed negligible. The vast majority of the cases where more than one word appears to fill the first position are limited to short PPs and a small number of adverbial combinations which are largely idiomatic or formulaic expressions. Thus, in the HG examples in (7) (from Taylor 1990) we observe, as is usual with 2P clitics, that both content and function words can fill the first position, and hence that the category of the preceding word is irrelevant for the purposes of word count.

- (7) a. ou =**seu** egōge skuzomenēs alegō
not you I sulking care-for
'I do not care for you sulking'
- b. Tudeidēi =**min** egoge daiphroni panta eiskō,
son-of-T. him I valiant in-all-ways liken
'I liken him in all ways to the valiant son of Tudeus'
- c. alla =**tis** agkhi | hestēk' athanatōn,
but one near stood of-immortals
'but one of the immortals stood near'
- d. hote =**hoi** Zeus kudos edōken;
when him Zeus glory gave
'when Zeus gave him glory'
- e. ei (de) =**moi** ouk epeess' epipeisetai,
if P my not words obey
'if he will not obey my words'
- f. outa =**me** Tudeos huios,
stabbed me of-Tudeus son
'the son of Tudeus stabbed me,'

In (7)a, the first position is occupied by a negative marker; in (7)b the clitic follows a noun; in (7)c, it is a conjunction; in (7)d-e, a wh-element and a complementizer respectively; and finally in (7)f we find a verb. Taylor shows that many other parts of speech such as adjectives, adverbs, and interrogatives can also count as the element occupying the initial position.

As is the case in languages such as Warlbiri and Ngiyambaa, Taylor also shows that in HG there is a correlation between allowing the clitic to split constituents and having great freedom in allowing for split constituents in any case. Thus, in addition to examples like (8)a and b, where the clitic is splitting a constituent, we find (9)a and b, where constituents are also split by other intervening elements besides the clitic. These examples show, then, that in HG the possibility of having split constituents is independent of cliticization.

- (8) a. polloi (de) =**min** andres isasin -
 many P it men knew
 'and many men know it;'
- b. kholos (de) =**min** agrios hēirei -
 anger P him wild seized
 'and wild anger seized him;'
- (9) a. thea (de) =**se** geinato mētēr,
 divine P you bore mother
 'and a divine mother bore you,'
- b. Tudeidēi =**min** egōge daiphroni panta eiskō,
 son-of-Tydeus him I valiant in-all-ways liken
 'I liken him in all ways to the valiant son of Tydeus,'

As noted above, Klavans argued that this type of flexibility in allowing for discontinuous constituency must be related to as non-configurationality, and in fact Ancient Greek has been argued to be a non-configurational language. However, in recent years an alternative account of so-called non-configurationality has emerged that allows for an analysis of 2W, at least in HG, which differs substantially from that proposed in Klavans 1982. This approach (see Saito 1985, 1989, Webelhuth 1989), builds on the assumption that it is possible to derive all possible word orders from a fixed base order by movement, usually referred to in this context as *scrambling*. Following this line of research, Taylor demonstrated that HG can be fruitfully analyzed as a configurational verb-final language with scrambling rules, rather than as non-configurational with free word order. For Taylor, then, the first position in the sentence immediately preceding the clitic can be occupied by an element that has scrambled out of the maximal category containing it and has moved via a specific syntactic operation to a site on the left periphery of IP.

With this general information as background, we are now ready to examine the

specific syntactic behavior of pronominal clitics in OSp and show that, with minor modifications, the same basic analysis advocated by Taylor for HG can account for the patterns of clitic placement observed in the OSp texts. Although the two languages differ in that OSp required first position to be occupied by a full phrasal constituent, the distribution of clitics in OSp resembles that in HG in several ways. First, the clitic cannot appear in absolute first position (in contrast with MSp). Second, the category of the initial constituent is irrelevant, as the examples in (10) show.

- (10) a. non =les quiso llamar en este lugar
not them wanted to-call in this place
'He did not want to call them in that place' (GE-I.213r)
- b. La estoria =lo contara
the history it will-say
'History will talk about it' (EE-II.2r)
- c. et =lo sopo otro que auie nombre...
and it knew another-one who had name
'And another one named...learned about it' (EE-II.5r)
- d. nin =me yo pornía en tan grandes grandías
nor myself I put in so great greatness
'Nor would I pretend to be so great'
- e. Respondio=les el que =lo non farie.
answered=them he that it not would-do
'He responded to them that he would not do it' (GCU.6)
- f. porque =te assi encerreste
why yourself thus locked
'why did you lock yourself up this way?' (EE-II.3r)
- g. que=l ayades merçed,
that=him have mercy
'show some mercy for him' (PMC.1324)
- h. si=l pessasse del crebanto de los xpistianos
if=him distressed of-the defeat of the christians
'if he was distressed about the defeat suffered by the Christians' (EE-II.2v)

In (10)a, a negative marker appears in first position; in (10)b, an NP; in (10)c-d, conjunctions; in (10)e, a verb; and in (10)f-h, complementizers and wh-elements.

Third, OSp, like HG, shows a number of exceptions to second position. Taylor observed that in spite of the consistent pattern of clitics being found after the first

word in the sentence, there remain a number of cases which deviate systematically from the second position rule. Besides particles, marked in the examples with (P), and other clitics, which do not count for position, Taylor noted that conjunctions, interrogatives and complementizers do not behave properly with respect to word count. In the examples in (11), from Taylor 1990, we find the pattern that constitutes the most common exception to Wackernagel's law: when a conjunction, a complementizer or a wh-element are involved, usually in first position, an additional word can sometimes intervene, thus pushing the clitic to third or fourth position. Wackernagel was aware of such counterexamples to his generalization and simply listed them as exceptions. In (11)a, the clitic is found in third position, following a conjunction and a verb. In (11)b-c, the clitic follows three words; in (b), a conjunction, a complementizer and an adverb, and in (c), a conjunction, a wh-element, and an adjective.

- (11) a. all' eōmen =**min** prōta parekselthein pedioio tutthon -
 but allow him first to-go plain little
'but we must allow him to go a little way into the plain first'
- b. oud' ei mala =**min** kholos hikoi -
 not-even if very-much her anger come
'not even if anger should come upon her very strongly'
- c. all' hote dē dekatē =**moi** epēlute nux erebenne,
 but when P tenth to-me came night dark
'but when the tenth dark night had come to me'

(12) illustrates similar patterns of exceptions. In (12)a, the word in first position is an interrogative element, followed by an adverb, with the clitic again in third position. In (12)b, a complementizer in first position is followed by a negative marker, and the clitic follows in third position.

- (12) a. tis dē au =**toi**, dolomēta, theōn sumphrassato boulas;
 which P again with-you wily-one of-gods plotted counsels
'wily one, which of the gods has again been plotting counsels with you?'
- b. epei ou =**sphi** thalassia erga memēlei.
 since not to-them sea work is-a-care
'since the work of the sea means nothing to them.'

Finally, HG provides some additional examples which have significant implications for a syntactic analysis of clitics. While in the great majority of cases complementizers or interrogatives in second position follow conjunctions or other discourse connectors, in some rare instances we can also find them following an NP or

PP. In these cases, as Taylor argues, it is reasonable to assume that this element has been extraposed outside the sentential domain. One such construction is illustrated in (13).

- (13) epos d' ei (per) =**ti** bebaktai deinon,
 word P if P any comes-out improper
 'if any improper word comes out'

When these clauses also contain a clitic, as is the case in the example above, it always acts as if the part preceding the interrogative or complementizer does not count. Significantly, we never find a pronominal clitic preceding a complementizer, whether or not there is an element preceding it.⁷ Again, similar facts obtain for OSp as well. The examples below illustrate distributional patterns strikingly similar to those in (11) and (12). The same kinds of elements which exhibit an exceptional behavior with respect to the second position rule in HG are also exceptional in OSp.

- (14) a. Et maltroxo=**los** e ...
 and mistreated-them and...
 'And he mistreated them and...' (GCU.21)
- b. et assi =**las** dexo
 and so them left-3rd-Sg.
 'and he left them in this way' (EE-II.4v)
- c. et commo =**la** metieron en su poder
 and how it put-3rd-Pl in their power
 'and how they subjugated it' (EE-II.2r)
- d. nin quien =**ge** =**la** diesse
 nor who =him =it gave
 'nor who gave it to him' (EE-II.7v)
- e. pero que =**lo** non fallamos en toda la estoria que auemos contada.
 but that it not find-3rd-Pl in all the story that have-3rd-Pl told.
 'But we do not find it through the whole story that we have told'
 (EE-II.11v)

The examples in (14) contrast with (10)c and d, where the clitic immediately followed the conjunction. As (14)a-e illustrate, these coordinating conjunctions precede constituents that otherwise can count for first position on their own, as illustrated in

⁷. Sometimes there can be even more than one element preceding the complementizer, but, significantly, never a pronominal clitic.

(10) above. As was the case with HG, if we were to maintain the generalization merely in terms of word count, we would be forced to claim that coordinating conjunctions count only optionally for position.

The examples in (15) illustrate a similar point for complementizers.

- (15) a. Ca no=l onrrauan ni=l loauan
 because not-him honoured nor-him praised
 'Because they neither honored him nor praised him' (EE-II.4r)
- b. Si dios =lo non fizies
 if god it not did
 'if God did not do it' (GE-I.3r)
- c. ...la que dios =le otorgo
 ...the that god =him gave
 '...the one God gave him' (EE-II.41r)

Note again the contrasts between the clitic positions in these examples and those in (10), especially (10)f-h. If an element in COMP is involved, it can count as the element in first position (acting as the phonological host for clitic attachment, as the spelling in (10)g-h indicates), but the examples in (15) show that this is not always the case -- note the spelling of (15)a, indicating that the clitic forms a phonological unit with the negative marker, in contrast with (10)g-h. Hence, we conclude that conjunctions and elements in COMP count only optionally for first position.

As a corollary to this discussion, we can illustrate more clearly the remarkable resemblance in the distribution of clitics in OSp and HG by systematically comparing some relevant examples discussed above for the two languages. (16) through (18), for instance, exemplify the patterns of clitic placement in relation to an adjacent negative marker. The variation in the position of clitics with respect to negation in OSp has been widely discussed in the philological literature in association with interpolation. We will return to the interpolation facts in sections 3.5 and 3.6. Here, the main goal is simply to highlight the notable similarities in the relative positions occupied by clitics and negative markers in the two languages. This will conclude this section and provide the necessary backdrop for the next section where a unified analysis of the HG and OSp clitic systems will be suggested. The (a) examples below correspond to the HG examples in (7)a and e and (12)b above and the (b) examples are repetitions of the OSp examples in (10)a and (15)a and e.

- (16) a. ou =seu egōge skuzomenēs alegō
 not you I sulking care-for
 'I do not care for you sulking'

- b. non =les quiso llamar en este logar
 not them wanted to-call in this place
'He did not want to call them in that place' (GE-I.213r)
- (17) a. ei (de) =**moi** ouk epees' epipeisetai,
 if P my not words obey
'if he will not obey my words'
- b. Ca si =lo non fazedes...
 Because if it not do-2SG...
'Because if you don't do this...' (EE-II.36v)
- (18) a. epei ou =**sphi** thalassia erga memēlei.
 since not to-them sea work is-a-care
'since the work of the sea means nothing to them.'
- b. Ca no=l onrrauan ni=l loauan
 because not=him honoured nor-him praised
'Because they neither honored him nor praised him' (EE-II.4r)

These examples illustrate the correlation between the position of the clitic with respect to negation and the intervention of an initial complementizer or wh-element. In HG, the negative marker *ou* (*ouk*, *oukh*) appeared in first or second position in the clause over 90% of the time (figure from Taylor 1990). In HG subordinate clauses, this negative marker is found almost categorically in a position directly after the complementizer if no clitic element is involved. As example (16)a above illustrates, in main clauses involving *ou* and a clitic, the negative at the beginning of the sentence will count for position and the clitic will follow immediately after in second position. However, if the negative marker follows a complementizer, the clitic may either precede ((17)a) or follow it ((18)a). As we can see in the (b) examples, OSp exhibits exactly the same patterns as those manifested by HG clitics.

In summary, given all the similarities observed so far between OSp and HG, the allusion to WL in association with the distribution of clitics in the former language appears to be appropriate. All the facts discussed above suggest that, if we substitute 'word' for 'syntactic constituent', a generalization similar to WL can describe the behavior of OSp clitics. For both the HG and OSp systems, this generalization is only tenable if we make the following stipulation: conjunctions, complementizers and wh-elements must be considered optional for the computation of the number of elements preceding the clitic. In the following section, however, we will see that the similarities between the distributions of HG and OSp clitics are better explained not by superficial generalizations such as WL, but rather as a function of their common membership in the class of 2P clitics, a class for which more adequate structural accounts are available.

2.3.3.2. Wackernagel's Law and Klavans' Universal Typology of Clitics

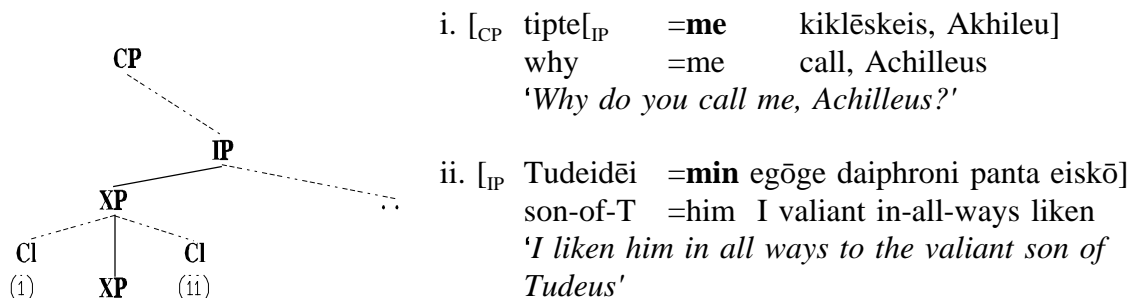
In light of the facts discussed in the previous section, Taylor concluded that WL as stated does not capture the correct generalizations about the syntactic distribution of clitics in HG. Crucially, the findings reported in Taylor's work clearly show that the position taken by the clitics subsumed under that generalization is not dependent on a count of words or solely on phonological constraints, but rather is sensitive to the structure of the clause. From this perspective, the fact that elements like conjunctions, topics, complementizers and interrogatives do not necessarily count when determining position can be straightforwardly explained: What all these elements have in common is their being outside the domain of the sentence proper. The interaction of clitics with these syntactic categories must be thus taken as evidence that clitics are positioned not blindly after any word but rather with respect to the sentential (IP) boundary. For OSp, this might seem too obvious to be worth mentioning, since the basic aspects of OSp phrase structure are recognizable and do not seem to differ radically from those of MSp. However, Taylor's findings do not constitute a trivial observation about Ancient Greek.

Taylor showed how, by reanalyzing the HG data discussed by Wackernagel in light of the hypothesis that clitics are elements that adjoin to X^{\max} nodes in the left periphery of IP, one could account not only for the cases covered by the strict version of WL but also for the majority of the exceptions. Taylor adopted a slightly modified version of the analysis proposed in Klavans 1982⁸ (recall (3)), and showed that the syntax of HG clitics could be straightforwardly described by assuming the parameters in (19).

⁸. As noted by Halpern (1992) there are significant technical problems in all the general frameworks when it comes to providing an adequate formalization for the syntax of 2W clitics within a unified analysis for 2P clitics. Klavans' model is no exception in this respect. As noted by Taylor, p.c, Klavans model, and thus her own analysis, is also problematic to account for certain cases where the clitic is found splitting a constituent in first position (a subject NP) and the general scrambling analysis that she proposes does not seem to be available. Admitting that this model needs to be further refined, I will, however, also adopt Klavans formalization simply for its ease of integration within the general syntactic framework I am assuming.

(19) 2P clitics in Homeric Greek (Taylor 1990)

DOMAIN:IP, P1:INITIAL, P2:BEFORE/AFTER, P3:ENCLITIC



Notice that the values for P2 assumed by Taylor differ from those proposed by Klavans to characterize 2P clitics, introduced in (6). Whereas Klavans' P2 selected the value AFTER, Taylor proposes that in HG the values for this parameter can alternate between BEFORE and AFTER. We will return to the question of the variation in P2 shortly.

To integrate Klavans's formalization with current assumptions about phrase structure implied in GB, i.e. X-bar theory, Taylor proposes that clitics are phrasal categories (XPs) which are assigned case and θ -roles in their base positions and move in the syntax to the specific sites where clitics can attach. Taylor assumes, as in Chomsky 1986, that XPs can only be placed in positions specifically allotted for XPs by the syntax or else attach to other XPs via adjunction.

In summary, in the preceding discussion we have established that once the differences in clitic placement along the dimension 'after the first word' vs. 'after the first constituent' are abstracted away from, both OSp and HG can be safely identified as languages having a 2P clitic systems. Wackernagel's Law was shown by Taylor 1990 to be a generalization applicable to a subset of these languages, namely those that can be characterized as non-configurational, or alternatively, as she suggested, those which allow for scrambling in their syntax. Furthermore, the patterns shown in the preceding examples indicate that the notion of 2P is somewhat misleading and must be taken simply as a descriptive designation, just as WL should be.

2.3.4. 2P Clitics and Cliticization Parameters in OSp

Turning now to the OSp data, we observe that the syntactic distribution of clitics in this language also can be described by the parameter values in (19). First, we take IP to be the relevant domain for the application of the 2P rule. Examples (20)a-c illustrate the fact that, independent of the number of constituents preceding

them, clitics always occupy the same position with respect to the IP boundary.⁹

- (20) a. La estoria =lo contara
 the history it will-say
 'History will talk about it' (EE-II.2r)
- b. como si dios =se =le fiziesse pora esto.
 as if god him it made for this
 'As if God had made this for him on purpose' (EE-II.2v)
- c. Galiana quando esto=l oyo dezir...
 Galiana when this=him heard say...
 'Galiana, when she heard him say this, ...' (EE-II.12v)

If we assume, as seems uncontroversial, that the structures of OSp subordinate clauses in examples (20)b and c are as in (21)b and c, it is obvious that both complementizers stand outside the IP domain. Thus, if we take IP as the relevant boundary, we observe that the clitic is in an identical position in all the above examples.

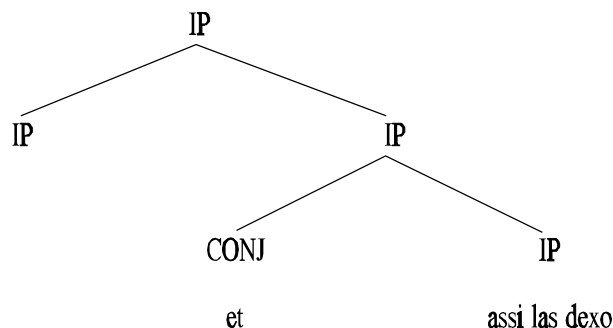
- (21) a. [_{IP} La estoria =lo contara]
 b. [_{CP} como si [_{IP} dios =se =le fiziesse pora esto]
 c. [_{IP} Galiana [_{CP} quando [_{IP} esto=l oyo dezir...]]]

Furthermore, assuming that conjunctions are adjoined to their conjunct and form a constituent with it (see e.g. Ross 1967, Gazdar 1981), we can assign structures such as (23) below to examples like (22).

- (22) et assi =las dexo
 and so them left-3rd-Sg
 'and he left them in this way'

⁹. A more detailed characterization of the OSp phrase structure will be offered in Chapters 3 and 4, where the issue of the specific positions occupied by clitics will be addressed in a more careful manner.

(23)



Thus, taking the minimal IP boundary as the relevant domain for clitic placement, we can assume an analysis of clitic position for (22) which is identical to the one suggested for the examples in (20).

So far, these data would seem to fit Klavans' model for 2P clitics presented in (6). Remember that OSp clitics are a) never found in absolute initial position, and b) never found in positions preceding a complementizer, independently of how many elements or constituents precede the complementizer. Hence, the relevant domain for clitic placement must be posited to be IP and not CP. However, in spite of all the similarities shown to exist between HG and OSp clitics, nothing discussed so far is in principle incompatible with the assumption that OSp clitics are essentially the same type of category as those elements referred to as clitics in MSp.

In order to demonstrate that OSp clitics attach to phrases in the syntax, essential for considering them members of the 2P class, we crucially need to show that they are neither verbal affixes nor *heads*, as is assumed for modern Romance clitics. Evidence for their status as phrasal elements is provided by interpolation phenomena. Closer examination of interpolation within the context of general research on clitic phenomena shows that it is not an idiosyncrasy of the earlier stages in the development of a few Romance languages, as is often implied in the literature, but rather is a predicted consequence of the fact that OSp had a 2P clitic system.

2.3.5. The Status of Clitics in the Grammar of Old Spanish

Examples such as those in (20) and (22) suggest that the distribution of clitics in OS is accounted for by assigning the value AFTER for P2 in Klavans' model, that is, by positing a clitic placement rule that adjoins the clitic right after the first daughter of IP in the relevant domain. However, such a proposal is problematic in view of examples like the following.

- (24) a. por que =te assi encerreste
 because yourself thus locked
 'Because you locked yourself up this way' (EE-II.3r)

- b. assi como =les dios auie prometido
 so as them god had promised
 'As God had promised them' (GE-I.60v)
- c. pero que =lo non fallamos en toda la estoria
 but that it not find-3rd-Pl in all the story
 'But we do not find it through the whole story' (EE-II.11v)
- d. Mando al omne que =vos esta mi carta mostrara
 ordered to-the man that you this my letter showed
 'He bade the man to show you my letter'
 (DLE.1140) (from Rivero 1991c)
- e. ...et con fruteros et con quanto =vos en el damos
 ...and with fruit trees and with whatever you in it we-give
 'and with the fruit trees and everything we include in it'
 (DLE 46) (from Rivero 1991)
- f. Ca si =la tu non amparas;
 because if it you not protect;
 'Because if you do not protect it, [it will be certainly lost]' (EE-II.53v)

In all these examples of interpolation, the clitic appears to be attached to the *left* of the first constituent in IP, and therefore we would have to assume that the value selected by P2 in all the examples in (24) is BEFORE rather than AFTER.

It is necessary to underscore the significance of interpolation phenomena for the analysis we are advocating. Interpolation strongly indicates that the intimate connection between clitics and verbal heads in modern Romance, however we choose to characterize it, did not obtain in OSp. Even if we assume, for instance, the general view adopted e.g. by Kayne 1975, Rizzi 1986, that clitics are base generated in argument positions and move to adjoin to a head, we still must maintain that they bear a certain type of morphological relationship to a head (i.e. V^0 or, as suggested within more current frameworks, I^0 , e.g. Kayne 1989, 1991, Rosen 1989)). Theory-internal considerations then entail that the clitics themselves be treated as X^0 or X^0 -related categories, since only X^0 s can be adjoined (or incorporated) to sites specifically assigned to X^0 categories within present versions of X-bar theory, (see Travis 1984, Chomsky 1986, Baker 1988). However, the treatment of clitics as X^0

categories is incompatible with the claim that they adjoin to or substitute into Spec(IP)¹⁰ if we follow Chomsky 1986 in assuming that constraints on possible phrase structures allow only X^{\max} categories to occupy or adjoin to specifier positions (or other maximal projections).

Note also that OSp clitics clearly cannot be inflectional verbal affixes either, as current analyses of MSp clitics as object-agreement markers might suggest (e.g. Stump 1980, Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1983, or Suñer 1988). In addition to the interpolation facts, the OSp examples in (25) underscore this latter point. While it has been noted by many authors (cf. Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, Jaeggli 1982) that in MSp, object personal pronouns are not in complementary distribution with object clitics, in OSp they are (personal pronouns are in bold without the = sign).

- (25) a. En verdat =**vos** digo, fijo, que **a mí** paresçe que estas preguntas[...].
in truth to-you I-say, son, that to me seems that these questions[...]

nin pertenesçen **a mí** de =**vos** responder **a ellas**.
nor belong to me of you respond to them.

'In truth I tell you, my son, that it seems to me that these questions (are neither yours to ask) nor mine to answer' (DJM)

- b. al logar onde dios mando **ami** salir.
to-the place where god ordered me exit
'to the place where God had ordered me to get out' (GE-I.65r)
- c. ...& uencieron =**lo**. & mataron **a el** & bien ueynte mil de los Vuandalos.
...& defeated him & killed him & well twenty thousand of the Vandals
'(And the French arrived) and defeated him and then they killed him and about twenty thousand or so Vandals' (EE 128r)

As is well known, in MSp object clitics often co-occur with coreferential NPs in a

¹⁰. See Rivero 1986, 1991 for a proposal along these lines. There is, however, an alternative view that attempts to unify the treatment of the type of clitics I am claiming to be XPs (such as 2P clitics or the clitics found in some of the Germanic languages) with those treatments proposed for Modern Romance clitics. Very roughly, this general approach, found in e.g. Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991 and Zwart 1992, maintains that clitic elements such as those in OSp are better characterized as X^0 type categories. The different distributions of 2P clitics and clitics in most of the Modern Romance languages would be captured by positing that they occupy different functional head positions at S-structure, such as C^0 or the head of other less familiar functional projections such as of AgrP1 (see Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991 for details). I refer the reader to Halpern and Fontana 1993 for a general critique of this type of proposal. As will become clear in Chapter 5, I propose that the clitic facts in OSp and in the Germanic languages are amenable to a unified treatment, but that these clitics cannot be unified with the categories usually referred to as 'clitics' in modern Romance languages.

pattern which has come to be known as *clitic-doubling*.¹¹ Indeed, in no dialect of MSp can object personal pronouns appear on their own in the sentence; they must be 'doubled' by a coindexed clitic, as the contrasts in (26) and (27) illustrate.

- (26) a. Le mandé una carta
her sent.1Sg a letter
'I sent her a letter'
- b. Le_i mandé una carta **a ella_i**
her sent.1Sg a letter to her
- c. *Mandé una carta **a ella**
sent.1Sg a letter to her
- (27) a. Me parece que esta pregunta no es adecuada
to-me seems that this question not is adequate
'It seems to me that this question is not adequate'
- b. Me_i parece **a mi_i** que esta pregunta no es adecuada
to-me seems to me that this question not is adequate
- c. *Parece **a mi** que esta pregunta no es adecuada
seems to me that this question not is adequate

Also, across all dialects of Spanish, indirect object clitics can optionally co-occur with non-pronominal full NP indirect objects, as in (28),¹² and in some dialects of MSp, clitics also appear co-indexed with certain kinds of direct object NPs (see Suñer 1988 for useful discussion).

- (28) a. Mandé una carta a Marta
sent.1Sg a letter to Marta
'I sent a letter to Martha'
- b. Le_i mandé una carta a Marta_i
her sent.1Sg a letter to Marta

The various accounts of these phenomena differ in detail (cp. Jaeggli 1982, Borer

¹¹. Clitic-doubling (at least with pronominal arguments and IOs) is also found in Catalan and in many dialects of other Romance languages, such as non-standard dialects of Italian or French.

¹². It is interesting to observe that indirect object doubling as in (27)b is strongly preferred by most speakers to the lack of doubling in (27)a. See relevant discussion of this issue in section 6.2.

1983, Suñer 1988); however, they all coincide in analyzing the clitic as some kind of affix that must obligatorily govern the argument position; that is, the clitic itself is a non-argument.

With a negligible number of apparent exceptions (and these are mainly cases of Clitic Left Dislocation constructions (CLLD) (see Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1991a, and Chapters 3 and 4)), NPs and coindexed clitics do not co-occur in the same sentence in the OSp texts. In Chapter 5 I will discuss in detail the gradual increase in the frequencies of constructions involving clitic-doubling with personal pronouns that started to be more conspicuous in Middle Spanish (MdSp) and which became obligatory in MSp. Note, however, that we still find constructions like the ones in (25) as late as the mid 16th century, as in the example below from *La Vida del Larillo de Tormes*, written around 1554.

- (29) Pues sepa V.M. que **a mi** llaman Lázaro de Tormes,
 so know-IMP your mercy that me call.3PI Lázaro de Tormes
 '*My name is Lázaro de Tormes, Sir*'

In summary, the interpolation facts and the complementarity of clitics and argument NPs together call for an analysis which treats OSp clitics as X^{\max} categories. For this reason I will adopt the hypothesis that OSp clitics are arguments whose positions at S-structure are derived via movement to specific X^{\max} adjunction sites at the left periphery of IP. The specific differences in the status of OSp and MSp clitics in the grammar and their characterization will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.3.6. Interpolation

2.3.6.1. Interpolation and 2P

The interpolation examples are clearly problematic for an analysis such as the one which was illustrated in (6). In order to incorporate the patterns in (20) and those in (24), we must modify the strict requirement in (6) that the value of P2 be AFTER. To start out, observe the patterns of cliticization illustrated by the examples in (30) (bold and italics are added for expository purposes).

- (30) a. Amigo Aynart, **yos** prometo que oy en este dia...
 friend Aynart, I=you promise that today in this day
 '*My friend Aynart, I promise you that today...*' (*EE-II.12v*)
- b. **mas quel** diessen a los freyres del Temple
 but that=him gave-3rd-Pl to the friars of-the temple
 '*but rather they should give it to the friars of the temple*' (*GCU.1*)
- c. Y que **assil** pusiesse sortijas doro
 and that thus=him put rings of-gold
 '*and that he should put golden rings on him in this manner*' (*GE-I.209r*)

- d. *tomol* *consigo* *por compannero*
 took=it with-him for company
 'He took him with him as a companion' (EE-II.4r)
- e. *la manol* *ban besar*
 the hand=him went kiss
 'they were going to kiss his hand' (PMC.298)
- f. *ca* *nol* *osan dezir nada.*
 because not=him dare say anything
 'because they do not dare to tell him anything' (PMC.30)

The spelling in these examples illustrates the fact that clitics in OSp were clearly enclitic from a phonological perspective; that is, they needed to lean on a phonologically overt element to their left, which acted as their prosodic *hosts*. As these examples also show, the lexical category of the host element is totally irrelevant for the purpose of phonological liaison. Recall that one of the fundamental assumptions in Klavans' model was that syntactic and phonological constraints on clitics operated independently. Thus, by separating the syntax and phonology of clitics, Klavans' model permits syntactic attachment to a given constituent, while allowing for phonological attachment to words which are not necessarily part of that constituent. If we now go back to the examples in (24), we see that they all have one characteristic in common: they are all part of subordinate clauses introduced by an overt complementizer. Philologists working on the subject of clitic placement in Old Romance languages (e.g. Chenery 1905) have frequently observed that interpolation phenomena such as those illustrated in (24) are almost exclusively confined to subordinate contexts. Here it is useful to turn again to HG. In HG, as we observed above, both of the configurations in (31)a and b below are possible; hence, Taylor's analysis had to allow for the possible alternation of the values BEFORE and AFTER for P2 in Klavans' model. Taylor noted, however, that constructions like those in (31)a constitute the great majority of the cases in her data, whereas those of the type in (31)b, occur in only approximately 7% of the cases.

- (31) a. *hote =hoi* *Zeus kudos edōken;*
 when him Zeus glory gave
 'when Zeus gave him glory'
- b. *oud'* *ei* *mala* *=min* *kholos hikoi* -
 not-even if very-much her anger come
 'not even if anger should come upon her very strongly'

For both OSp and HG, there is a strong correlation between the choice of the value BEFORE in P2 and the presence at the left edge of the sentence of an overt element outside the IP domain. Consequently, the following hypothesis could be entertained. We might assume that the default value for P2 is in fact BEFORE rather than AFTER,

but that the setting for P2 takes a different value whenever a possible conflict with the value adopted by P3 could arise.¹³ This could be perhaps formalized by positing the existence of some kind of PF filter that would rule out configurations where clitics don't have a viable phonological host to their left (see discussion in 4.1.2.2.1 and 5.4.1). Thus, since we have seen that the value for P3 is ENCLITIC in OSp, as is the case for HG, alternations like those in (32) are predicted to emerge.

- (32) a. *quando oyeron la fuerte menaza que=**les** dios fiziera...*
 when heard-3rd-Pl the strong threat that=them god made...
 'when they heard the strong threat that God made them...' (GE-I.214v)
- b. *dios =**le** dio grant vengança*
 god him gave great revenge
 'God conceded him a great revenge' (EE-II.21r)

In the case of (32)b, P2 cannot assume the default value, BEFORE, since the clitic would be in a position where it lacks a phonological host, thus conflicting with the required value for P3, ENCLITIC. In (32)a, on the other hand, the clitic can be positioned according to the default value for P2, since the complementizer outside the IP domain is a possible host for encliticization. Some additional evidence for the adoption of BEFORE as the default value for P2 could come from the fact that clitics, although in some extremely rare occasions, may even take the value BEFORE in root clauses, provided that phonological material lies to the left of the minimal IP boundary, as in (33).¹⁴ The following examples are from Rivero (1991).

- (33) a. *Dixo Elbet: -Señor, por qué =**me** =**lo** non dices?*
 said Elbet: -Sir, why =me =it not say.2Sg
 'Elbet said: Sir, why don't you tell me?' (CD 284)
- b. *Nin =**me** yo pornía en tan grandes grandías - dixo*
 nor =myself I put in such big bignesses - said.3Sg
 'Nor would I indulge into such largess -he said' (ZIF.156)

¹³. This is, of course, the situation hypothesized for the period in which the 2P clitic system existed in its most "pure" form. As argued in the Chapter 1, however, the first available texts in OSp represent a state which already diverges in noticeable ways from the grammatical system that will be posited here to have characterized the earlier stages of this language. In some of the texts, the number of examples where the value of P2 is AFTER in embedded environments is at least as high, or even higher, than those where P2 is set for BEFORE. Hence, no conflict with the value adopted for P3 could be invoked to explain these patterns. See Chapter 5 for more discussion of these issues.

¹⁴. Of course, only after the phrase structure for OSp is analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4 will we be able to draw specific conclusions about the analysis of the examples in (33). For instance, in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.4) evidence will be provided that at least some wh-elements in questions occupy Spec(IP); hence, not all of the examples involving a wh-element followed by a clitic necessarily constitute cases describable as P2:BEFORE. Concerning the analysis of examples such as (33a), pay specific attention to the discussion of the possible differences in the syntax of *por qué* and other wh-elements.

The hypothesis that cliticization takes the default value BEFORE for P2 whenever it does not clash with the only permissible value for P3 is an attractive one and would allow us to incorporate a much wider range of data in a model such as (3) in a less stipulative manner.

Taking P2:BEFORE as the default would render this analysis of OSp clitics very close to that proposed by Halpern (1992) for 2P clitics. Very roughly, Halpern concludes, given the evidence provided by the languages he examines, that the familiar second position is obtained via a rule, which he labels *prosodic inversion*, that moves the clitic after the first phonological word in those contexts where no constituent is available to serve as a phonological host for the clitic. For OSp, we would simply have to say that such a rule places the clitic after the first phrasal constituent, thus obtaining the necessary distinction between 2W and 2D clitic systems. However, this similarity between the two analyses is slightly illusory, and in section 4.1 of Chapter 4, I will argue more extensively against a this type of prosodic approach to account for the distribution of OSp clitics. Here, I will just mention that such a prosodic rule, were it to be posited, would have to apply even in contexts where its structural description is not met, as in the examples in (34), which appear in the same texts as do examples such as (24) and (33). In these examples, the clitic appears to take the P2 value AFTER, despite the presence of a complementizer that could serve as a prosodic host (and therefore license the default P2 value BEFORE).

- (34) a. dizien que dios =les enuiaua angel que=los guiaua.
 said.3Pl that god them send angel that=them guided
 'They said that God had sent them an angel to guide them' (GE-I.214v)
- b. ca no=l osan dezir nada.
 because not=him dare.3Pl say anything
 'because they don't dare to tell him anything' (PMC.30)

I will show in Chapter 5 that this variation can be explained as a reflection of the instability of the system, i.e. at the time the first extant texts were written, the processes by which the 2P clitic system evolved into the existing system were likely to have already started. As many authors have pointed out (eg. Chenery 1905, Ramsden 1963), interpolation patterns appear only in the earliest texts and disappear almost completely by the middle of the 15th century. We will see that the decline in the occurrence of interpolation marks the first step in the transition from OSp to middle Spanish, signaling profound changes in the syntax of this language with implications that go well beyond the clitic system.

To summarize, the facts reviewed so far lead me to adopt an analysis of OSp clitics which is the same as that proposed by Taylor for HG, as in (19). That is, I take clitics in OSp to be elements of an X^{\max} category, more specifically NPs/DPs which adjoin either to the right or to the left of the first XP position dominated by the (minimal) IP projection (presumably via a mechanism akin to scrambling); or else, in certain cases, substitute into Spec(IP). The syntactic analysis developed in the

subsequent two chapters will be used to justify this analysis of clitics and to show that it stands up to apparent counterexamples. I now finish this chapter by making a few more observations about the implications of the interpolation data for the analysis of OSp clitics.

2.3.6.2. Interpolation Beyond Romance

The variation in the possible sites of cliticization, which is represented by the choice of different values for P2 in the model we have adopted, is not restricted to HG and OSp, but rather seems to be not uncommon among languages with 2P clitic systems. Klavans (1982), for instance, had to propose a possible alternation in the values of P2 for Ngancara, which has 2P clitics. More recently, Pintzuk (1991) has likewise shown that Old English had a system of pronominal clitics that can be described using the same model and the same basic parameter values as those proposed in Taylor 1990 for HG, i.e. P1:INITIAL in the IP domain, and P2:BEFORE/AFTER.

In view of these facts, the analysis of 2P clitics that has been adopted here makes an interesting prediction: if we find a language with a system of clitics similar to that of OSp and which also has a comparable syntax, this language will also have interpolation patterns analogous to those in (24). This prediction is in fact borne out. As will become clear in the following chapter, OSp and Old English had remarkably similar syntax, both languages manifesting V2 phenomena analogous to those found modern Yiddish and Icelandic. (36)-(37) illustrate the similarities in the distribution of clitics in OE (examples from Pintzuk 1991) and in OSp. Examples from HG are added to further highlight the parallelism in clitic distribution across these languages.

(35) DOMAIN: IP, P1:INITIAL, P2:AFTER. (ROOT CLAUSES)

- a. dios =le dio grant vengança (OSp)
 god =him gave great revenge
 '*God conceded him a great revenge*' (EE-II.21r)
- b. God =him worhte þa reaf of fellum (OE)
 god =them wrought then garments of skins
 '*then God made garments of skin for them*'
- c. Tudeidēi =min egōge daiphroni panta eiskō (HG)
 son-of-T =him I valiant in-all-ways liken
 '*I liken him in all ways to the valiant son of Tudeus*'

(36) **DOMAIN: IP, P1:INITIAL, P2:BEFORE. (SUBORDINATE CLAUSES)**

- a. que =**vos** esta mi carta mostrara (OSp)
that =you this my letter showed
'that he showed you my letter'
- b. thaet =**him** ireнна ecge mihton helpan aet hilde (OE)
that =him swords' edges might help in battle
'that the swords' edges might help him in battle.'
- c. hote =**hoi** Zeus kudosedōken; (HG)
when =him Zeus glorygave
'when Zeus gave him glory'

(37) **DOMAIN: IP, P1:INITIAL, P2:AFTER. (SUBORDINATE CLAUSES)**

- a. si dios =**lo** non fizies... (OSp)
if god =it not did...
'if God did not do it...' (GE-I.3r)
- b. thaet tha Deniscan =**him** ne mehton thaes ripas forwiernan (OE)
so-that the Danes =them not could the harvest refuse
'... so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest'
- c. oud' ei mala =**min** kholo shikoi -(HG)
not-even if very-much =her anger come
'not even if anger should come upon her very strongly'

From the perspective adopted here, it comes as no surprise to find configurations bearing a striking resemblance to interpolation in languages such as Old English or HG. Indeed, given the facts discussed so far, the very choice of the term *interpolation* is rather misleading and reveals some biases that diachronic work should try to avoid. As noted by Ramsden (1963), much of the work in the area of Romance linguistics has operated on the assumption that what we are doing when we study the distribution of clitics in OSp is comparing the behavior of elements of the same linguistic category at two different chronological stages. The term *interpolation* thus betrays an implicit assumption in all these works -- namely, that clitics must necessarily form some kind of morphological unit with the verbal head, the implication being that some extraneous element is introduced, 'interpolated', thus breaking the "natural" link that must exist between clitics and verbs.

However, we have seen how drawing on the results of work carried out within research traditions where such biases do not exist can contribute to a better understanding of clitic phenomena in OSp. The benefits of taking the line of inquiry we have adopted here are twofold. On the one hand, we are better equipped to

provide an account that sheds light on some of the most recalcitrant aspects of OSp. In this chapter, I have shown that the comparison with HG can yield some essential insights into the nature of the OSp clitic system, and in general into the kind of phenomena associated with Wackernagel's Law. Furthermore, the observation of clitic distribution patterns in a language such as Old English reveals that the configuration we know as interpolation is by no means exceptional once we situate it within the larger context of languages exhibiting 2P clitics.

We now turn to the examination of the word-order patterns that characterized OSp. As will become immediately clear, the differences between the grammars of OSp and MSp go well beyond the syntax of their clitic systems.

Chapter 3

Verb Second Phenomena in Old Spanish

3.1. Introduction

The primary goal of this chapter is to present a general characterization of the phrase structure of OSp. Once this is established, I will go on to examine its interaction with the clitic system that was identified in Chapter 2. This chapter, however, provides an analysis only of constructions involving strings where the clitic precedes the tensed verb (Cl-V_[+finite] strings). A complete account of the syntactic distribution of OSp pronominal clitics will not be carried out until Chapter 4, where I will motivate and develop a unified analysis for cases where the clitic follows the tensed verb.

In the first section, I will discuss evidence from the word order configurations found in the earliest available OSp texts and argue that OSp was a *verb-second* (V2) language. More specifically, I will show that V2 effects were achieved in OSp through a single instance of verb movement to INFL (V⁰-to-I⁰), and topicalization to the specifier of IP. Thus, the V2 effects found in OSp suggest an underlying syntax which is remarkably similar to that of Yiddish and Icelandic, as recently described by Diesing 1990, Santorini 1989, and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990. Given that one of the crucial properties distinguishing these languages from other V2 languages such as German is the fact that V2 patterns are not restricted to root environments, I will henceforth refer to the type of V2 associated with Yiddish and Icelandic as *symmetric* V2. The languages associated with the standard V2 analysis (Den Besten 1978, 1983), i.e. those which achieve V2 effects via topicalization to Spec(CP) and double verb movement from V⁰-to-I⁰ and I⁰-to-C⁰, will be referred to as *asymmetric* V2 languages.

Following this discussion, I will examine a number of exceptions to the strict V2 order found in the OSp texts and argue that they are in fact compatible with the basic analysis developed here. A comparison with similar data from other well known V2 languages will follow, which will show that the display of rigid verb-second configurations is a recent innovation restricted to a small subset of the modern Germanic languages. The goal will thus be to show that the V2 word order pattern is only the superficial manifestation of a set of structural properties characterizing a well-defined group of languages which do not all adhere to the requirement that the tensed verb appear exclusively as the second element in a superficial string of constituents. This may seem a trivial point but it is necessary to emphasize it here given the misunderstanding that often accompanies the use of the label “V2.”

Once this analysis is justified, I will show how the combination of the analysis

of OSp as a symmetric V2 language with the analysis of clitics advanced in the previous chapter leads to a straightforward solution to the problem of clitic ordering. I will flesh out this solution by focusing on examples such as those in (1), leaving the solution for the specific problem posed by the configurations (2) for the next chapter.

- (1) a. Confessar =**se** deuen los xpistianos de sus pecados;
Confess [se] must the christians of their sins
'The Christians must confess their sins' (Leyes.8r)
- b. &' siempre=**l** fuerdes rebelles del dia que =uos yo començe aconnosçer
and always-him were.2Pl rebellious from-the day that you I started to know
'And from the very day I became acquainted with you, you have always been rebellious to him' (GE-I. 325v)
- c. Esto=**t** lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonso
this-you challenge.1Sg here before-the king don alfonso
'I will challenge you on this in front of king Alfonso' (PMC.3344)
- d. Tu=**lo** otorgaras a guisa de traydor
you-it relinquish in way of traitor
'You will relinquish it as traitors do' (PMC.3350)
- (2) a. Respondio=**les** el que lo non farie
Answered-them he that it not would-do.3Sg
'He responded that he would not do it' (GCU.6)
- b. E respondio=**l** don Pelayo en guisa. et dixo=**l**;
and answered-him don Pelayo in this way, and said-to him
'And Don Pelayo responded, and he told him' (EE-II.3r)
- c. E despues mando =**lo** fazer a sus discipulos;
and after ordered it to-do his disciples
'And afterwards he told his disciples to do it' (Leyes.4v)

In Chapter 4 it will be shown that these $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ strings can be attributed to independently motivated cases of double verb movement from V^0 -to- I^0 and I^0 -to- C^0 typically found in other symmetric V2 languages.

3.2. Word Order in Modern Spanish and Old Spanish

To begin the discussion of the phrase structure of OSp, I will compare the basic word order facts of OSp with those of Modern Spanish (MSp, or Spanish). These word order facts will reveal some deep differences in their fundamental syntax, differences which support the claim that OSp, unlike MSp, is V2.

3.2.1. Modern Spanish

It is often said that Spanish is a language with a rather flexible word order; for example, it is well known that subjects can precede or follow the verb, as in (3) a and b. In light of examples such as those in (3c), one might even be tempted to argue that OV word orders are allowed as well.

- (3) a. Marta ha comprado un Mac
 Marta has bought a Mac
'Marta bought a Mac'
- b. Me lo dijo Marta
 me it said Marta
'Marta told me about it'
- c. A Juanjo no lo quiere nadie
 Juanjo not him want nobody
'Nobody loves Juanjo'

We will discuss in more detail the issue of the syntactic positions of subjects in the next chapter. As for the relative positions occupied by object NPs, object and adjunct PPs, and various VP modifying elements, careful consideration forces us to conclude that word order in MSp is not as flexible as it might seem at first. Observe, for instance, the contrasts between the examples in (4) and (5).

- (4) a. Montserrat Caballé cantó esa aria maravillosamente
 Montserrat Caballé sang that aria wonderfully
'Montserrat Caballé sang that aria wonderfully'
- b. Nuria volvió andando desde Cornellá porque no habían autobuses
 Nuria returned walking from Cornellá because not there-were buses
'Nuria came back from Cornellá on foot because there were no buses'
- c. Los invitados querían visitar el otro pabellón
 the guests wanted to visit the other pavilion
'The guests wanted to visit the other pavilion'
- d. Esos chorizos abrían las puertas de los coches con una horquilla para el
 these hoodlums opened the doors of the cars with a hairpin for the
 pelo
 hair
'These hoodlums opened up car doors with hairpins'

- (5) a. *esa aria cantó Montserrat Caballé maravillosamente
that aria sang Montserrat Caballé wonderfully
- b. *visitar querían los invitados el otro pabellón
to visit wanted the guests the other pavilion
- c. *?con una horquilla para el pelo abrían esos chorizos las puertas de los
with a hairpin for the hair opened these hoodlums the doors of the
coches
cars
- d. *?maravillosamente cantó Montserrat Caballé esa aria
horribly sang Montserrat Caballé that aria
- e. *?desde Cornellá volvió Nuria andando porque no habían autobuses
from Cornellá returned Nuria walking because not there-were buses

The generalization emerging from these examples is that objects, non-finite verb forms, and most¹ adverbial and PP adjuncts cannot occupy preverbal positions in

¹. I say "most" because there is some variation in the relative positions that adjuncts can occupy within the sentence, depending on factors such as the type of predicate involved, the class of adverb itself, and the discourse context of the specific utterance. The example in (i), for instance, is quite acceptable for all the native speakers I have consulted; however, this possibility is not available for all locative adverbials, as the oddness of (ii) shows:

- (i) En esa tienda compra mi padre todos sus discos
in that store buys my father all his records
'My father buys all his records in that store'
- (ii) ?*A Barcelona vino Juan Pablo
to Barcelona came Juan Pablo

The facts are thus somewhat complicated and in need of further exploration; however, it will be sufficient for our purposes to see that there are obvious contrasts between OSp and MSp in this regard.

Spanish, whether or not the subject precedes the verb.²

It is well known that objects are licensed in pre-verbal positions in Spanish only if a pronominal clitic coindexed with the object NP is present. (6) illustrates this point.

- (6) a. esa aria la cantó Montserrat Caballé maravillosamente
 that aria_{<i>} it_i sang Montserrat Caballé wonderfully
 ‘*Montserrat Caballe sang that aria wonderfully*’
- b. a Merche_{<i>} le_i regalaron un seiscientos
 to Merche her gave.3Pl a six-hundred
 ‘*Someone gave Merche a model six-hundred car as a present*’

². There is one particular construction where object NPs and PPs, all kinds of adverbial expressions and even non-finite verb forms are allowed in pre-verbal positions in Spanish. In this construction, the intervention of a coindexed clitic is not required when an NP object precedes the tensed verb, as illustrated by the examples in (i) through (iv). The small caps are meant to represent the distinctive intonational contour characterizing this construction; unless the constituent in initial position is given significant prosodic prominence, these sentences are not acceptable.

- (i) BOLEROS canta él
 boleros sings he
 ‘*He sings BOLEROS*’
- (ii) MARAVILLOSAMENTE cantó esa aria Montserrat Caballé
 wonderfully sang that aria Montserrat Caballé
 ‘*Montserrat Caballé sang that aria WONDERFULLY*’
- (iii) VOLAR querría yo
 to fly would-want I
 ‘*I want TO FLY*’
- (iv) CON ANTICONGELANTE se emborrachan los rusos
 with anti-freeze [se] get-drunk the rusians
 ‘*the Russians get drunk WITH ANTI-FREEZE*’

Such sentences fulfill discourse functions markedly different from those assigned to the examples in (3),(4) and (6). Whereas the utterance of sentences like (3a) and (6) is only felicitous in contexts where the left-dislocated object cannot be interpreted as focal material, the preverbal object in examples like (i) is always interpreted as the focus of the sentence and not as a topic.

Although some authors argue that these sentences are derived through an instance of move- α which places the constituent bearing prosodic prominence in its S-structure position, this approach is not totally uncontroversial. Vallduví (1990), for instance, has argued that in these examples the initial constituent remains in its base generated position, with the rest of the sentence being extraposed. I leave this question open and refer the reader to Vallduví 1990 for arguments against the movement analysis of focalized constituents.

The construction in (6) is known as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD).³ Cinque (1990), Iatridou (1991a), and Demirdache (1991) have argued that the initial, or ‘dislocated’, object in CLLD must be base generated in its S-structure position adjoined to CP/IP. Using arguments analogous to those offered by Cinque and Iatridou in relation to similar data in Italian and Greek, we conclude that the grammaticality of examples like those in (7) indicates that the adjunction site for the dislocated object in CLLDs must be external to IP. In these examples, not only subjects or sentence modifying adverbial expressions can intervene between the initial direct object and the verb, as in (7a-b), but also, as is illustrated in (7c-e), the initial object can be separated from the mandatory coindexed clitic by a CP boundary. Furthermore, the dislocated NP can be anti-subjacent to the argument position with which it is (referentially) related. This is clearly the case in (7e).

- (7) a. esa aria_{< >} Montserrat Caballé la_i cantó horrorosamente
 that aria Montserrat Caballé it sang horribly
‘That aria Montserrat Caballe sang horribly’
- b. esa canción_{< >} todas las noches me la cantaba mi madre antes de irme a dormir
 this song all the nights me it sang my mother before of go to sleep
‘This song my mother sang to me every night before going to sleep’
- c. A Nuria_{< >} [_{IP} no sabe nadie todavía [_{CP} quién la_i va a invitar
 Nuria not knows nobody yet who her is going to invite
‘Nobody knows who is going to invite Nuria’
- d. ¿a tu padre_{< >} cuando lo_i operan?
 your father when him they-operate on
‘¿When is your father going to undergo surgery?’
- e. ¿Y este plato_{< >} a quién me contaste que dijo tu madre que conocía
 this dish who me told.2Sg that him said your mother that knew.3Sg
 un hombre que lo_i sabía preparar?
 a man that it knew to prepare
‘As for this dish, to whom did you tell me that your mother had told she knew a man who knew how to prepare it?’

Given these facts, I conclude with Cinque and Iatridou that the structure of simple

³. The ‘< >’ around the subscripts indicates that this coindexation is not the result of a movement chain.

CLLD⁴ sentences is as in (8).

- (8) [_{CP/IP} Esa aria_{<i>} [_{CP/IP} la_i cantó_j Montserrat Caballé t_j ec_i ...]]]

To summarize, the facts discussed above indicate that Spanish does not generally allow objects, infinitives, or VP-modifying adjuncts to precede the tensed verb. In the CLLD construction, the initial element is not an argument but rather an adjunct, interpreted as old information, i.e. not as part of the focus of the sentence.

Thus Spanish word order possibilities differ from those in English in two major ways. In English: a) subjects are restricted in most cases to preverbal position, and b) topicalization of NPs is possible, as illustrated by the contrast with the equivalent Spanish example in (9).

- (9) a. This city Nancy knows very well
 b. *Esta ciudad Nancy conoce muy bien.
 this city Nancy knows very well

This being said, however, both English and Spanish cluster together in diverging from the word order patterns found in languages such as German, Dutch and Icelandic. The examples in (10) and (11) illustrate various word orders that naturally occur in root

⁴. I am assuming as is currently standard (Contreras (1991), Suñer (1991) among others) that in Spanish post-verbal subjects such as those in (8) remain in their base generated position internal to VP, the tensed verb moving past it to occupy the INFL position at S-structure. Some support for this view can be derived from facts such as (i)-(ii). These examples show that in Spanish, as in French but unlike in English, VP modifying adverbials and quantifiers like *todos* can intervene between the main verb and its complement, signalling that V⁰ has raised from its base generated position to a different position at S-structure, arguably I⁰.

- (i) Conozco un poco esta ciudad
 know.1Sg a bit this city
 'I know this city a little bit'
- (ii) Los policia_s golpearon todos al indefenso automovilista mientras la gente miraba impasible
 the policemen beat-up all the helpless driver while the people watched unmoved
 'All those cops beat up the helpless motorist while the rest watched unmoved'

I am being deliberately imprecise about the nature of the structural relationship existing between the clitic and the coindexed argument position. Since the goal of this discussion is to decide on the status of the initial NP, it is not relevant here to resolve the question of whether the coindexed argument position is a *pro* or a trace created by movement of the clitic to its S-structure position.

contexts in two representative Germanic languages, namely German and Icelandic⁵ (German examples from Uszkoreit 1987; (11a-c) are from Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, and (11d) from Sigurðsson 1990).

- (10) a. Peter **hat** den Mann gesehen
 Peter has the man seen
'Peter has seen the man'
- b. Heute **habe** Ich ein Fahrrad gekauft
 today have I a bicycle bought
'Today I bought a bicycle'
- c. Diese Frau **habe** Ich nie vorher gesehen
 this woman have I never before seen
'I have never seen this woman before'
- d. Zustecken **sollte** der Kurier den Brief nachher einem Spion.
 to slip was-expected the courier the letter later to a spy
'The courier was later expected to slip the spy the note'
- (11) a. Ég hef aldrei hitt Maríu
 I have never met Mary
'I have never met Mary'
- b. Maríu hef ég aldrei hitt.
 Mary-ACC have I never met
'I have never met Mary'
- c. Sennilega hafa einhverjir stúdentar stolið smjörinu
 probably have some students stolen the-butter
'Some students have probably stolen the butter'
- d. Keypt hafa thessa bók margir stúdentar
 bought have this book many students
'Many students have bought this book'

In German and Icelandic, as in most Germanic languages with the exception of English, a wide range of constituents besides the subject can occupy the initial position immediately preceding the tensed verb in a main clause. When this happens, the

⁵. In section 3 I will discuss some of the basic differences between the phrase structures of German and Icelandic. As will become clear, even though the examples in (10) and (11) are very similar on the surface, the phrase structures of the different Germanic languages and the mechanisms through which they achieve Verb-second effects are not homogeneous.

subject cannot occur in a pre-verbal position and must obligatorily follow the tensed verb. This contrasts with the Spanish examples in (7a-b) above, where we saw that subjects and certain adverbial expressions can intervene between the NP in first position and the verb. Note that, unlike in Spanish, the topicalization of an object NP in German or Icelandic does not require the presence of a clitic coindexed with the preposed element. This phenomenon has been traditionally known as *subject inversion*, and is currently associated with the verb-second constraint, to which we now turn. In what follows, we will see that, surprisingly, the word order configurations of medieval and Renaissance Spanish patterned more with those of languages like German than with those of modern Spanish and English.

3.2.2. Old Spanish⁶

3.2.2.1. Romance Subject Inversion vs. Germanic Subject Inversion

A cautionary note is needed before we go on, concerning the issue of subject inversion. Traditionally, authors have made a clear distinction between Germanic subject inversion and Romance subject inversion or 'free inversion' (Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986, Adams 1987). However, with the advent of the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Kitagawa 1986, Koopman and Sportiche 1988, Fukui and Speas 1986, among others), views on the status of post-verbal subjects in Romance have undergone a substantial revision. In particular, there is increasing support for the view that, except for cases where the subject is dislocated or extraposed via Heavy-NP shift, the syntactic position of post-verbal subjects in indicative clauses is their base generated position internal to VP, the inflected verb having raised to INFL via obligatory V⁰-to-I⁰ movement (see e.g. Contreras 1991 for Spanish, Bonet 1989 for Catalan, and Saccon 1992 for Italian). Consequently, the syntactic mechanisms responsible in Germanic and modern Romance for generating S-structures with post-verbal subjects are much less distinct than were previously assumed. No additional rule of subject postposing is

⁶. In this chapter I will use the label "OSp" fairly loosely to refer both to OSp proper (which I take to be the period up to approximately the beginning of the XVth century, also referred to as medieval Spanish) and to Renaissance Spanish (approximately the XVth to XVIIth centuries). Labels such as OSp and Middle Spanish are sometimes used by authors; however, the use of these classifications can be fairly misleading since, unlike in the area of French or English historical linguistics, there is no agreement about the periodization of the different stages in the development of the Spanish language based on reliable linguistic criteria. Some of the relevant differences between the syntax of medieval and renaissance Spanish will be made explicit in Chapter 5. As will become clear, the grammar described in the following sections is an idealization that applies much more closely to the earliest texts (from the XIIth to the end of the XIVth century), the deviations from this idealization becoming increasingly prominent as time goes by. Therefore, statements such as "OSp is a V2 language" cannot be interpreted in an absolute manner; they will most precisely apply to the earliest texts. However, since many of the relevant properties to be discussed here are shared by all the texts until well into the XVIIth century, I will use examples from all periods from the XIIth to the XVIIth century indiscriminately as they fit the goals of exposition. As will become clear in Chapter 5, some of the sentences presented below could be assigned more than one underlying structure.

needed in Romance, and in both groups of languages "inversion" is achieved by means of the tensed verb raising above the position occupied by the subject at S-structure. The only differences are the specific positions occupied by subjects and verbs in these configurations in the two groups of languages. Indeed Yiddish, Icelandic and, as we will see shortly, also OSp hardly differ from modern Romance languages such as Spanish or Italian in this respect. Santorini (1989), Diesing (1990), and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) have argued that post-verbal subjects in Yiddish and Icelandic appear in their base generated position internal to VP, the verb having moved up only to INFL.⁷

Nonetheless, there are some very noticeable contrasts in the overall distribution of subjects in the OSp texts versus MSp. To see this, let us examine more carefully some of the inversion patterns found in the OSp texts. The post-verbal subjects in examples such as those in (12), involving initial adjuncts, sound very awkward to a native speaker of MSp. Although (12a) is, strictly speaking, grammatical, all native speakers consulted strongly prefer the word order in (12b).

- (12) a. Despues **quiso** S.M. ver algunas ciudades del estado de Milan
 afterwards wanted his majesty see some cities of the state of Milan
 ‘His majesty wanted to see some cities in the state of Milan afterwards’ (CV.29)
- b. Despues S.M. **quiso** ver algunas ciudades del estado de Milan
 afterwards wanted his majesty see some cities of the state of Milan
 ‘His majesty wanted to see some cities in the state of Milan afterwards’

Similar judgements apply to the following examples. If such examples appeared in the same contexts in modern Spanish texts, the subjects would most likely appear in a pre-verbal position.

- (13) a. **Deste lugar de Vigeva** fue S. M. a Alexandria de la Palla
 from-this place of Vigeva went his majesty to Alexandria de la Palla
 ‘From this place called Vigeva his majesty went to Alexandria de la P.’ (CV.30)

⁷. Furthermore, in addition to post-verbal subjects in situ, at least some Germanic languages also exhibit postposed subjects, just as do the Romance languages Catalan, Italian and Spanish, thus reducing the differences between the two groups of languages, at least superficially, even further. An Icelandic example from Sigurðsson (1990:52) appears in (i):

- (i) Ég visi ekki að færu til Grænlands svona mörg skip
 I knew not that went to Greenland so many ships
 ‘I didn’t know that so many ships went to Greenland’

- b. **A deciocho deste mes de mayo** se alboroto la gente comun de Barcelona
 in eighteen of-this month of may [se] rioted the people common of Barcelona e
 contra algunos soldados que **alli** tenia S. M
 against some soldiers that there had his majesty
 ‘On the 18th of May the common people of Barcelona rioted against some soldiers
 his majesty had there’ (CV.31-32)
- c. **El dia de San Felipe y Santiago** dio S. M. la Orden del Tuson al Serenisimo
 the day of saint F. and S. gave H.M the Order of-the Tuson to-the very serene
 Principe don Felipe, su hijo,
 prince don Felipe, his son
 ‘On Sts. Felipe and Santiago’s Day, his majesty conferred the order of Tuson to
 Prince Felipe, his son’ (CV.31)
- d. **des que Archadio fue muerto**, recibio Sidigernis la guarda del ninno
 when Archadio was died, received Sidigernis the guardianship of-the child
 ‘When Archadio died, Sidigernis received the guardianship of the child’
 (EE-I.125v)
- e. **por le fazer plaser** mando el rrey fenchar de agua rrosada aquella grand albuhera
 for him make pleasure sent the king fill-up of water pink that big pond
 ‘In order to please her, the king had that pond filled up with pink water’
 (Lucan.139)

Finally, observe the following examples of typical OSp narrative. In these cases, where more context has been added, the differences in the distribution of subjects with respect to MS_p become even more visible. All the underlined subjects in following two paragraphs appear in a position where they would only be interpretable now as the focus of the relevant sentence. Yet the larger context in which these sentences occur makes it clear that these subjects are not part of the focus of the sentence; they are better characterized as *topics* in the sense of Reinhart 1982, or *links* in Vallduví’s (1990) terms, not subject to a focal interpretation.⁸

⁸. In section 3.4.2 I will claim that the underlying position of the underlined subjects in (13) can, in most cases (we will see later on in Chapter 5 that some of these examples can in fact be ambiguous between two different underlying structures), be claimed to be different from that of the underlined subjects in examples in (14) below. I will argue that in the latter examples, which are instances of a construction known as Narrative Inversion in the Germanic literature, the subject is not in its base generated position internal to VP, but rather has been topicalized to Spec(IP). The verb in these environments precedes the subject because it raises to COMP in an additional instance of verb movement (I⁰-to-C⁰).

- (14) a. despues que=l_{cl} fallaron, rogaron=le_{cl} que =les diesse la llave.
after him found.3Pl begged.3Pl-him that them gave.3Sg the key

Respondio=les el_{cl} que lo non farie; e tanto =le_{cl} rogaron
 Responded-them he that it not would-do *and so much him begged.3P*

y=l_{cl} dixieron que [...] e estonçes demando=las el_{cl} a aquel freyre
and to-him told.3Pl thatand then demanded-them he to that friar

e tomo=las e....

and took-them and

'After they found him, they begged him for the keys. He responded that he would not do it, and they insisted and pestered him so much...and then he asked this friar for them and he took them and...' (GCU.6)

- b. mas fizo ge_{cl} lo otorgar el santo Obispo_{cl} con la sandalia quel dio
but made.3Sg him-it admit the saint Bishop with the sandal that-him gave

& fizo el papa_{cl} penitencia & dixo sant Antidio_{cl} la missa en su logar
 & made the pope penance & said saint Antidio the mass in his place

& consagro la crisma & tomo una partida della pora si. & espidiosse del papa

& consecrated the host *took a piece of-it for self & took leave from-the pope*

'but the Bishop Saint Antidio made him admit it by presenting him with the sandal.

And the pope did penance and Saint Antidio said the mass for him and consecrated

the host and took a piece for himself. Then he bade farewell to the pope.' (EE-I.126r)

All of the above examples show that despite the fact that both OSp and MSp exhibit subject inversion, their overall syntactic systems must differ in some way; otherwise, we would have no reason to expect the contrasts noted above to obtain.

With this comment on inversion made, and with some background provided on the basic word order patterns prevalent in Spanish, we are in a better position to examine the distinctive characteristics of the OSp phrase structure.

3.2.2.2. Verb Second Phenomena in OSp

We start by observing the configurations illustrated in (15) and (16). (15) shows that, as is the case in MSp, subjects in OSp can occupy the sentence initial position immediately preceding the verb. The examples in (16) show that objects can also appear in initial position, preceding the tensed verb without the presence of a coindexed clitic. The contexts from which these examples are taken also make it clear that these are not the focus constructions discussed in footnote 2.

- (15) a. Et el padre le dixo quel plazia ende mucho si ...
and the father him told that-him pleased of-this much if..
'*And his father told him that he would like it very much if..*'
- b. E el rrey le començo a maltraer diziendo que...
and the king him started to rebuke saying that...
'*And the king started to rebuke him saying that...*' (Lucan.148)
- (16) a. Grande duelo avien **las yentes christianas**;
great grief had the peoples christian
'*The christian people experienced great grief*' (PMC.29)
- b. este logar mostro **dios** a abraam
this place showed God to Abraham
'*God showed Abraham this place*' (GE-I.62v)
- c. Uino & agua **deue** el clerigo mezclar en el caliz
wine & water must the priest mix in the chalice
'*The priest must mix wine and water in the chalice*' (Leyes.13v)
- d. A Micer May, que era enbaxador en Roma, **hizo** S.M. Vicechancellor
Micer May, who was ambassador in Rome, made H.M. vicechancellor
'*His majesty made Micer May, who was ambassador in Rome, vicechancellor*' (CV.27)
- e. Al que contra mi peccare **dessatare** yo del mio libro dela uida
whoever against me sinned untie.FUT I from my book of-the life
'*I will dismiss from my book of life all those who sin against me*'
(GE-I.214r)

Similarly, in (17) we see that a wide range of sentential and VP modifying constituents, including PPs and all kinds of adverbial expressions, can appear in initial position immediately preceding the tensed verb. In (17)g we even see that a quantifier modifying the coordinate AdjP found after the verb has been topicalized. Again, as is the case when topicalized objects are involved, if a subject appears, it follows the verb.⁹

- (17) a. A priessa **cantan** los gallos e quieren quebrar albores
hurriedly sing the roosters and want.3PI to break the dawn
'*The roosters sing hastily for they want the new day to arrive*' (PMC.235)

⁹. OSp was also a pro-drop language; therefore, it is not possible to determine the position of subjects at S-structure in every case. In section 4 I will briefly discuss pro-drop in OSp in connection with Old French, a closely related language also characterized as V2 and pro-drop. In Chapter 4, I discuss exceptions to these patterns where subjects precede another constituent before the tensed verb.

- b. dalli **fueron** ellas Sennoras luengo tiempo
of-there were they ladies long time
'they were the queens of those lands for a long time' (EE-I.137)
- c. ansi escribio la Emperatriz cartas a las Audiencias
in-this-manner wrote the empress letters to the courts
'and the empress wrote letters to the courts in this fashion' (CV.23)
- d. Despues quiso S.M. ver algunas ciudades del estado de Milan
afterwards wanted his majesty see some cities of the state of Milan
'His majesty wanted to see some cities in the state of Milan afterwards' (CV.29)
- e. deste Antidio cuentan las estorias que=l auino assi una uegada que...
of-this Antidio tell the stories that-him happened thus one time that...
'And history tells us about this Antidio that once upon a time this happened to him' (EE-I.126r)
- f. & alli dixo nuestro sennor ami aquella ora que nol ouiessemos miedo.
& there told our lord to-me that time that not-him had fear
'and our Lord told me there at that time that we should not fear him'
(GE-I.321v)
- g. Mas tanto fueron los godos nobles de coraçon. & sabidores & atreudos [...]
but so-much were the goths noble of heart and knowledgeable and daring [...]
'But the Goths were so noble, and skilled and brave [in war that...]'
(EE-I.127v)
- h. por =le fazer plaser mando el rrey fenchir de agua rrosada
for her make pleasure ordered the king fill of water pink

aquella grand albuhera
that big pond
'In order to please her the king had the pond filled with pink water' (Lucan.139)

Finally, as the examples in (18) illustrate, non-finite verbal forms ((18a-d)), as well as certain kinds of participial adjectives ((18e)), can also occur in first position immediately followed by the tensed verb.¹⁰

- (18) a. bastir **quiero** dos archas
build want-1st-Sg two chests
'I want to build to chests' (PMC.85)

¹⁰. This construction, very similar to the Icelandic construction known as Stylistic Fronting, will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.3.2.

- b. Dexado **ha** heredades e casas e palacios
 left has.3Sg lands and houses and palaces
 ‘*He has abandoned lands, houses and palaces*’ (PMC.115)
- c. Passando **van** las sierras & los montes & las aguas
 passing go.3Pl the sierras & the mountains & the waters
 ‘*They are going past sierras, mountains and rivers*’ (PMC.1826)
- d. refechos eran amos.
 replenished were.3Pl both
 ‘*both of them were replenished*’ (PMC.173)

If we compare the word orders in the OSp examples in (16) through (18) with those from German and Icelandic in (10) and (11), we see that, at least on the surface, there are enormous similarities among them, and sharp contrasts with Spanish and English. I now turn to additional OSp data supporting its inclusion among the V2 languages.

3.3. Symmetric and Asymmetric V2

In view of recent developments within Germanic syntax, the suggestion that OSp can be classified as a V2 language needs to be made more specific. As has been recently shown, the V2 effects manifested by languages such as Yiddish and Icelandic are different from those associated with German, Dutch and mainland Scandinavian languages (see Diesing 1990, Santorini 1989, and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990). In the following sections, I will compare OSp with these and other well known V2 languages to show that OSp patterns with the former group.

3.3.1. V2 in Dutch, German and Mainland Scandinavian Languages

Oversimplifying, V2 can be defined as the requirement that the inflected verb be the second constituent of a declarative clause, regardless of whether the first constituent is the subject. For extensive descriptions of this phenomenon as well as for alternative analyses, I refer the reader to the abundant literature following the seminal work of Den Besten (1983, first circulated in 1977), e.g. Thiersch 1978, Travis 1984, Platzack 1986, among others. Here we will only concentrate on the basic aspects of V2 that are relevant for the present discussion. The German examples in (19) are typical of the V2 phenomenon.

- (19) a. Hans **hat** den Mann gesehen
 Hans has the Man seen
 ‘*Hans saw the man*’

- b. Heute **habe** ich das Brot gekauft
 today have I the bread bought
'I bought the bread today'
- c. Diese Frau **habe** Ich nie vorher gesehen
 this woman have I never before seen
'I have never seen this woman before'

These examples show various word order possibilities in German root declarative clauses, with the fronting of different constituents to the position preceding the tensed verb.

In German and Dutch, the languages for which this phenomenon was first studied within current syntactic theories, asymmetries between main and embedded clauses with respect to verb-second effects are very noticeable. For these languages, V2 is distinctly a root phenomenon. In subordinate clauses, the finite verb is not in second position but is rather typically found at the end of the sentence. German examples (20) and (21) illustrate these asymmetries.

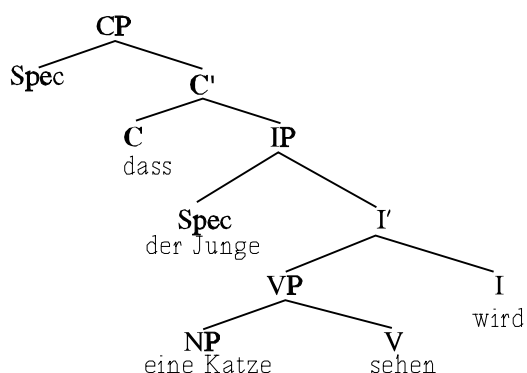
- (20) a. dass der Junge auf dem Weg eine Katze sehen wird
 that the boy on the way a cat see will
 'that the boy will see a cat on the way'
- b. *dass eine Katze wird der Junge auf dem Weg sehen
 that a cat will the boy on the way see
- (21) a. eine Katze wird Der Junge sehen
 a cat will the boy see
 'The boy will see a cat on the way'
- b. *Der Junge auf dem Weg eine Katze sehen wird
 the boy on the way a cat see will

In (20), a subordinate clause, we observe that the verb bearing the tense morphology must be in sentence final position; otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (20b). In main clauses, e.g. (21), the tensed verb is always in second position, again independently of which constituent is in first position. Any other configuration will be ungrammatical, as (21b) illustrates.

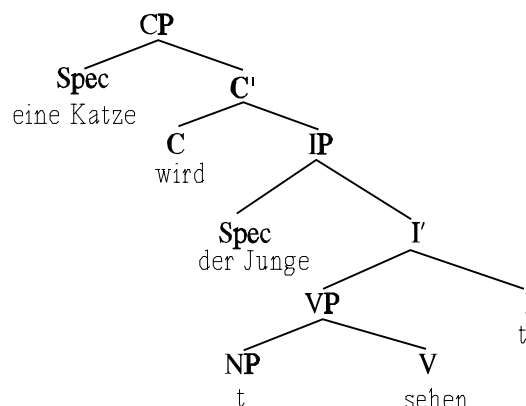
Standard analyses of V2 within GB, following Den Besten, account for the contrasts in (20) and (21) by assuming that the tensed verb in root clauses undergoes double verb-movement from its base generated position; first to the Infl node and then to the head of CP (V-to-I and I-to-C). Since in subordinate clauses C⁰ is lexically filled by a complementizer, verb movement into that position cannot take place and hence the verb must remain in I⁰, the right-most node in the trees below; as

a result V2 effects are not obtained in embedded contexts.¹¹ Thus, the underlying structures of the grammatical examples in (20) and (21) would be represented by the trees in (22) and (23), respectively.

(22)



(23)



On this analysis, the constituent preceding the verb in root clauses has moved into Spec(CP). This position is often referred to as the 'topic' or the XP position. Since it is not clear whether the discourse functions of this constituent entirely coincide with any of the roles usually associated with any of the competing definitions of topichood available in the discourse literature, I will tend to adopt the more neutral expression *XP position* in the rest of this work.

3.3.2. Yiddish and Icelandic V2

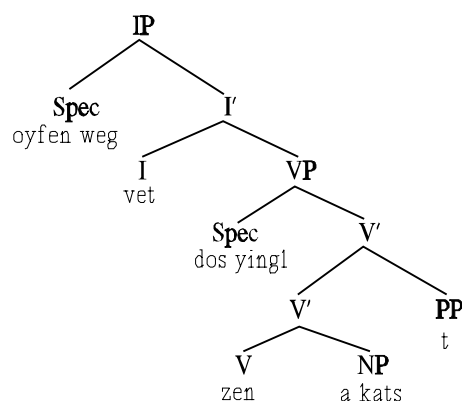
Not long after analyses like those in (22) and (23) were proposed, it was observed that Yiddish exhibited verb-second effects both in root and subordinate clauses. The examples in (24) and (25) (from Santorini 1989) illustrate the possible word orders in Yiddish root and subordinate clauses respectively.

¹¹. This asymmetric V2 is also characteristic of Mainland Scandinavian languages, which, unlike German or Dutch, are characterized by Infl-medial phrase structures. Thus, in these languages, the tensed verb is in second position also in subordinate contexts. In contrast with main clauses, however, the first position in most types of embedded contexts can only be occupied by a subject.

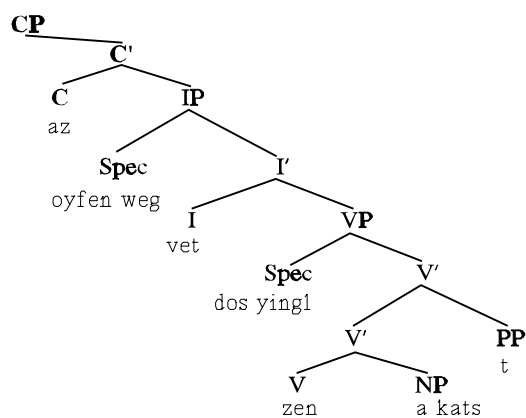
- (24) a. Dos yingl vet oyfn veg zen a kats
 the boy will on-the way see a cat
- b. oyfn veg vet dos yingl zen a kats
 on-the way will the boy see a cat
 'The boy will see a cat on the way'
- (25) a. az oyfn veg vet dos yingl zen a kats
 that on-the way will the boy see a cat
 'that the boy will see a cat on the way'
- b. nokh epes, vos oyfn hitl iz geven
 still something that on-the hat-DIMIN is been
 'something else that was on the little hat'
- c. ...ober der yid vos in Boston hobn mir gezen iz a groyser lamd
 ...but the man whom in Boston have we seen is a great scholar.
 'but the man we saw in Boston is a great scholar'

To accommodate these facts, an alternative analysis of V2 in Yiddish has been advanced by Diesing (1990) and Santorini (1989) which crucially assumes the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis. The basic differences between the German/Dutch and Yiddish systems are derived by making the two following assumptions. First, there is an essential difference in the specific position that tensed verbs can occupy at S-structure. The landing site for inflected verbs in root clauses in German and Dutch is C^0 , as proposed by Den Besten and others, see (22); whereas, in Yiddish, verbs move only to I^0 at S-structure, both in root and subordinate clauses, as (26) and (27) illustrate.

(26)



(27)



Second, they propose that in Yiddish, constituents other than subjects can occupy Spec(IP) and that this position is equivalent to the XP position, i.e. the ‘first position’ associated with Spec(CP) in German and Dutch. Spec(IP) is therefore a caseless, \bar{A} -position.¹² This analysis of V2 proposed for Yiddish has also been extended to Icelandic, which also exhibits V2 effects in subordinate contexts as illustrated in (28) (see Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990).¹³

- (28) a. *Ég held að smalann mini tröll taka á morgun*
 I think that the-shepherd-ACC will trolls take tomorrow
‘I think that trolls will take the shepherd tomorrow’
- b. *Jón spurði hvort þessum hring hefði þeir lofað mér*
 Jon asked whether this ring had someone stolen
‘John asked whether anyone had stolen this ring’
- c. *Ég spurði hvar henni hefðu flestir aðdáendur gefið blóm*
 I asked where her had most fans given flowers
‘I asked where the most fans had given her flowers’

As shown in both (25) and (28), subordinate V2 is not restricted in Yiddish or Icelandic to [-Wh] subordinate clauses, but is also possible in [+Wh] subordinate clauses. Thus, as more data from different languages is brought in by researchers investigating the issue of V2, it is becoming increasingly clear that the basic analysis that seems to work for German and Dutch is not applicable to all of the of languages manifesting these distinctive word order patterns.

If the V2 effects in OSp were restricted to cases such as those illustrated in (16) and (17) above, it would be appropriate to adopt an analysis like (22)/(23); indeed, this is the analysis that a number of authors have advanced to account for V2 patterns in OFr (Adams 1987, Vance 1989). However, this analysis makes the following specific prediction about languages like OSp. If a language is characterized by the same type of V2 effects as German and Dutch but is also INFL medial, we should not be able to find constituents such as objects or VP modifying material preceding INFL in a subordinate context. As discussed above, such configurations are possible in Yiddish and Icelandic because in these languages Spec(IP) can act as a landing site for non-subject constituents both in root and subordinate clauses, with the verb undergoing obligatory movement to I⁰. But embedded V2 effects are not predicted on the

¹². Diesing (1990) and Santorini (1989) disagree about the status of Spec(IP). Diesing proposes that Spec(IP) has a dual status, functioning both as an A-position, when it is occupied by a subject, and as an \bar{A} -position, when it serves as the landing site for elements other than the subject. Santorini argues that Spec(IP) in languages like Yiddish must always be an \bar{A} -position, independent of what occupies it.

¹³. Situating Icelandic among symmetric V2 languages is not a totally uncontroversial proposal. See Sigurðsson 1990 and Gísli Jónsson 1991 for arguments against treating (28) as a real instance of embedded V2.

standard V2 analysis proposed for the German/Dutch group.¹⁴

¹⁴. Embedded V2 is attested in certain contexts in asymmetric V2 languages. In the mainland Scandinavian languages, all of them characterized by INFL-medial phrase structures, we find the following paradigms with subordinate clauses. The following examples are from Norwegian.

- (i) a. Han sier/tror at han skal reise i morgen
 He says/believes that he shall leave tomorrow
'He says/believes that he shall leave tomorrow.'
- b. Han sier at i morgen skal han reise
 he says that tomorrow shall he leave
- c. *Han tror at i morgen skal han reise
 he believes that tomorrow shall he leave

Relative clauses in Norwegian behave like clauses selected by *tror*, 'believe':

- (ii) a. fisken som han skal koke i morgen
 fish.the that he shall boil tomorrow
'The fish that he shall boil tomorrow'
- b. *fisken som i morgen skal han koke
 fish.the that tomorrow shall he boil

So do adverbial subordinates:

- (iii) a. Han graater, selv om han skal reise i morgen
 he cries even though he shall leave tomorrow
'He cries even though he shall leave tomorrow.'
- b. *Han graater, selv om i morgen skal han reise
 he cries even though tomorrow shall he leave

These contrasts indicate that the availability of embedded V2 is dependent on the verb that takes the clause as its complement. Thus, in contrast with the Yiddish and Icelandic examples in (25b-c), and (28b-c), in Mainland Scandinavian languages constituents other than the subject cannot occupy any position preceding Infl in [+Wh] subordinate clauses. The fact that some languages allow for what seems to be V2 in [-Wh] subordinate clauses has led a number of authors (eg. Holmberg 1986, Vikner 1990) to propose that bridge verbs subcategorize for double CP structures (CP-recursion). Consequently, examples such as (ib) would not constitute real instances of subordinate V2, in the sense proposed for Yiddish and Icelandic, but would rather have structures like those in (iv).

- (iv) Han sier [_{CP} at [_{CP} [_{Spec} i morgen] [_C skal] [_{IP} han reise]]]

I wish to thank Peter Svenonius for these examples.

3.3.3. V2 in Old Spanish

3.3.3.1. Basic Analysis

The above-mentioned prediction is not borne out for OSp. Embedded verb-second effects are found not only in complements to verbs that arguably select double CP complements (see footnote 14), as in (29), but also in subordinate clauses for which no CP recursion analysis is available, as in (30). Note, incidentally, that OSp appears to be INFL-medial like Yiddish and Icelandic, as opposed to INFL-final.¹⁵

- (29) a. E diz que dalli adelante **fue** el Regno de los godos
and say that from-there forward was the kingdom of the goths
- et de los Sueuos destroydo et astragado por un muj grand tiempo.
and of the Schwabian devastated and ruined for a very great time
'And they say that the Goth and Schwabian kingdoms remained in ruins for a long time after that battle' (EE-II.2v)
- b. Cuenta la estoria que nueue meses **touo** el çercada la noble
says the history that nine months had he sieged the noble
- çibdat de valencia.
city of Valencia
'History says that he had the city of Valencia under siege for nine months'
(EE-II.218v)
- c. ...dixol ...que nunca **fiziera** el rrey cosa por =le fazer plazer
...told-him that never made the king thing for her make pleasure
'She told him that the king would never do anything to please her'
(Lucan.140)
- (30) a. el primero omne [que arco **fizo**]
the first man who bow made
'The first man that made a bow' (GE-I.61v)
- b. otro dia [que=les este buen mandado **dixo** Moysen].fizieron muy grand fiesta
other day that-them this good order told Moses. made.3Pl very big party
'The day after Moses had given them directions, they organized a big celebration'
(GE-I.216v)
- c. Quando esto **oyo** el Rey [...]
when this heard the king...
'When the king heard this...' (EE-II.144r)

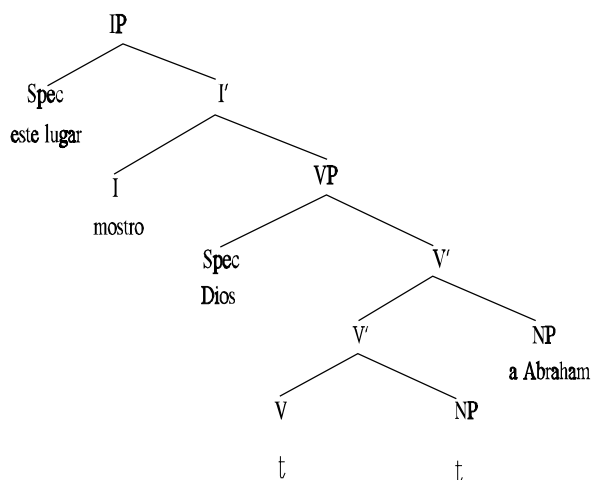
¹⁵Though see section 3.4.1 for some apparent counterexamples.

- d. la puxança & seniorio [que en el mundo **auja** el dicho tambureque]
 the power and dominion that in the world had the said tamurbeque
 'the power and authority that the aforementioned Tamurbeque had in the
 world' (Tamer.1r)

The examples in (30) show verb-second effects in relative clauses and subordinate clauses which are not complements of the restricted set of verbs licensing embedded V2 in Infl-medial asymmetric V2 languages, such as Norwegian. Thus the analysis in terms of CP recursion suggested for the Norwegian data in footnote 14 is not available here (see McCloskey 1992, and Iatridou and Kroch 1992, for a detailed characterization of syntactic environments licensing recursive CP structures). I therefore take these data to indicate that the wide range of constituents which are topicalized to the first position preceding the tensed verb in OSp land in a position internal to IP, namely Spec(IP). Thus an analysis like those proposed for Yiddish and Icelandic is well-suited to account for the word order patterns of OSp, and I will consider OSp to be a symmetric V2 language characterized by structures like (31). (31a) corresponds to a sentence like (16b) (V2 in a main clause); (31b), to examples like (30a) (V2 in subordinate clauses).

(31)

a)



b)

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Before leaving this section I want to call attention to two other distinctive aspects of OSp which have been the topic of recent research on diachronic syntax. One of these sets OSp apart from at least the most well known languages in the symmetric V2 group: This is the issue of pro-drop. OSp, unlike Yiddish and Icelandic, but like OFr, had referential null subjects. This is illustrated in the examples below,

representing patterns that are very frequent in the OSp texts.

- (32) a. esto **fazien** por razon de los ricos omnes
 this did-3Pl for reason of the noble men
 ‘*They did this because of the noble men*’
- b. miedo **auemos** que o es muerto o perdido.
 fear have.1Pl that or is.3Sg dead or lost.
 ‘*We are afraid that he is either dead or lost*’ (GE-I.212r)

In section 3.4.4, I will make a few descriptive observations about some of the most characteristic environments where null subjects occur and will briefly discuss some of the problems raised by the OSp data for current assumptions about the syntactic licensing of *pro*. This discussion is necessary because the connection between V2 and pro-drop has been a main focus of attention in the study of Old French (see Adams 1987, Vance 1989, among others); however, a detailed study of the grammatical constraints governing the distribution of *pro* is well beyond the scope of the present work, and the examination of data from this area will probably raise as many questions as it answers.

The second issue that needs to be addressed is the analysis of structures with fronting of non-finite verbs. As shown in (18) above, in some examples that, at least superficially, conform to the verb-second constraint, the first element is a non-finite verb form. Since the appropriate analysis of these examples has been the subject of some controversy in the V2 literature, specifically with respect to OSp (see e.g. Lema and Rivero 1990), I will examine these constructions in some detail. Again, as in the case of pro-drop, the point of the discussion is simply to situate the analytical problems posed by these constructions in connection with the issues that are at the center of this investigation. The problems posed by these examples are very complex, and their solution lies beyond the scope of this work. I will simply make a few remarks concerning some problematic aspects of previous proposals without attempting to provide a solution.

The main goal of the present work is not to present a complete study of the grammar of OSp but simply to provide enough analysis to allow for an account of the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitics and how it has changed across time. However, the minimal characterization of the OSp phrase structure attempted here would be incomplete without some description of the basic range of constructions involving pro-drop and non-finite verb fronting, along with discussion of the potential difficulties that some of the structures found in the texts raise for the present analysis of clitic placement. For this reason, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to these issues. I will first address the analytical problems presented by constructions involving fronting of non-finite verbs. Null subjects will be treated in section 3.4.4, as part of a larger section devoted to the examination of a range of examples that appear to violate the verb-second constraint.

3.3.3.2. Non-finite Verb Fronting Structures

3.3.3.2.1. Remnant Topicalization and Stylistic Fronting

As illustrated by the examples in (18), repeated here as (33), OSp allowed fronting of non-finite verbal forms.¹⁶

- (33) a. bastir **quiero** dos archas
 build want-1st-Sg two chests
'I want to build two chests' (PMC.85)
- b. Dexado **ha** heredades e casas e palacios
 left has-3rd-Sg properties and houses and palaces
'He has abandoned his properties, houses and palaces' (PMC.115)
- c. Passando **van** las sierras & los montes & las aguas
 passing go-3Pl the sierras and the mountains and the waters
'They are going past sierras, mountains and rivers' (PMC.1826)

Sentences with fronted non-finite verb forms appear in many V2 languages,¹⁷ as shown in (34) (examples from German, Icelandic and Yiddish, respectively; (34a) and (34c) are from Santorini 1992, (34b) from Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990).

- (34) a. Gelesen **had** er das Buch erst gestern
 read has he the book only yesterday
'He read the book only yesterday'
- b. Keypt **hafa** thessa bók margir stúdentar
 bought have this book many students
'Many students have bought this book'
- c. Zey hobn gemeynt, az gefinen **veln** zey im ba mir
 they have thought that find will they it on me
'They thought that they would find it on me'

Finding an appropriate analysis for this construction is not an easy task. A first

¹⁶. Lema and Rivero 1990 contains a detailed study of the different constructions in which a non-finite verb form precedes the tensed verb in OSp.

¹⁷. See Rivero 1990, 1991 for discussion of non-finite verb fronting in the Old Romance and Balkan languages. Fronting of past-participles is also found in Breton (Borsley 1990, Hendrick 1990).

observation suggests that what is fronted is the head of the non-finite VP. Yet, as we will presently see, the facts vary considerably from language to language, making it difficult to provide a unified analysis for all the sentences in (34).

For German examples like (34a), Den Besten and Webelhuth (1988) have proposed an analysis known as *remnant topicalization*, which involves scrambling of the arguments and other VP material out of the VP, and subsequent fronting of the VP shell, containing only the non-finite verbal head and the traces of the scrambled elements, to the XP position. The S-structure Den Besten and Webelhuth would assign to (34a) is thus (35).

(35) [_{VP} t_i Gelesen]_j hat er [das Buch]_i erst gestern t_j

This analysis is justified in German by the following facts. As illustrated by the examples in (36) ((36a-c) from Uszkoreit 1987), the first position in the sentence can be occupied not only by non-finite verb ((36a)), but also by the head of the non-finite VP accompanied by any combination of VP material ((36b-c)).

- (36) a. Zustecken sollte der Kurier den Brief nachher einem Spion.
 slip was-expected the courier the letter later to a spy
 'The courier was later expected to slip the spy the note'
- b. Einem Spion zustecken sollte der Kurier nachher den Brief
 to a spy slip was expected the courier later a letter
- c. Nachher einem Spion zustecken sollte der Kurier den Brief
 later to a spy to slip was-expected the courier a letter
- d. Mary ein Buch gegeben habe ich
 Mary a book given have I
 'I have given Mary a book'

Thus, examples such as (34a) and (36a) are treated as topicalizations of a VP to the XP position and do not significantly differ from other instances of verb-seconding involving other types of constituents.

Santorini (1992) has argued that the remnant topicalization analysis can also be applied to the Yiddish example in (34c). In support of her proposal, she presents the following data showing that scrambling of VP material is an option in Yiddish, a VO language.

- (37) a. Avrom hot Soren_i gegebn t_i a matone.
 Avrom has Sore given a present
 'Avrom gave Sore a present'

- b. Avrom hot [a matone]_i gegebn Soren t_i
 Avrom has a present given Sore
 'Avrom gave Sore a present'

The situation in Icelandic, however, is more complex. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990), although they do not explicitly mention the remnant topicalization analysis, have also argued that examples such as (34b) constitute instances of topicalization, i.e. regular V2 structures. There are some considerations, however, that argue against taking this approach in Icelandic. First, scrambling does not appear to be a productive mechanism in Icelandic, as it is in other languages: the possibility of fronting the non-finite verb accompanied by any combination of objects or adjuncts associated with the VP is not available in Icelandic. Second, as observed by Maling (1990), Icelandic examples like (34b) also exhibit a fundamental property: they all involve what Maling refers to as a *subject gap*. The subject gap that licenses the non-finite verb fronting may arise as a result of postposing the subject, as in (34b), extracting it, as in (38a-b) below, or when a null subject is involved, as in (38c-d) (only expletive, i.e. non-referential, null subjects are allowed in Icelandic). Consequently, this construction has been dubbed *Stylistic Fronting* (henceforth SF) to differentiate it from similar constructions in other Germanic languages, and its analysis is usually extended to examples involving the fronting of some adverbs, particles and adjectives.

- (38) a. Allt sem sagt **hefur** verið satt
 everything that said has been is true
 'Everything that has been said is true'
 (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990)
- b. þetta er maðurinn sem skrifað **hefur** margar smásögur
 this is the-man that written has many short stories
 'this is a man who has written many books' (Maling 1990)
- c. þegar komið **var** til Reykjavíkur
 when arrived was to Reykjavik
 'when one arrived in Reykjavik' (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990)
- d. Honum mætti standa á sama, [hvað sagt **væri** um hann.]
 him (DAT) might stand on same what said was about him
 'It might be all the same to him what was said about him' (Maling 1990)

These restrictions have led some authors (e.g. Jónsson (1991), Santorini (1992)) to reject the view that SF is related to the topicalization processes responsible for V2

configurations.¹⁸ Instead, both Jónsson and Santorini propose that SF involves adjunction of a lexical head to INFL rather than movement to Spec(IP). However, while this alternative proposal accounts for the differences between SF and similar constructions in the other Germanic languages, it remains somewhat puzzling that SF is incompatible with topicalization of other elements to the Spec(IP) position. This fact, as Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) suggest, would rather seem to support the view that SF and topicalization are a unitary syntactic process. In spite of its rather unique traits, SF shares a number of significant properties with topicalization (again, understood here as movement of an XP to the XP position to form a V2 structure), so that it is indeed tempting to pursue the direction taken by Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990) and investigate the possibility of classifying it as a subtype of V2.

It is also worth noting that the head adjunction analysis of SF raises some significant analytical problems on its own. For instance, as pointed out to me by Kjartan Otosson (p.c.) the fronted non-finite verb in an SF construction may cross any number of intervening verbal heads. When the fronted elements are verbal particles, they come from the lowest verb, i.e. the main verb. Furthermore, SF structures have other properties which have not been discussed in the literature, which also suggest a closer relationship between SF and topicalization than is implied by Maling's (1990) influential work. For example, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson (p.c) observes that while it is undeniable that SF in modern Icelandic requires a subject gap, we should not ignore the fact that topicalization is also often sensitive to the presence of a subject gap. It is not difficult, for instance, to find examples where topicalization ranges from marginal to unacceptable in a subordinate clause with a definite subject, but becomes acceptable if the clause has a subject gap. In relative clauses, for instance, topicalization is impossible if a definite subject is present, but if the clause has a subject gap, i.e. the subject is relativized, then topicalization becomes acceptable. As the contrasts in (39) indicate, topicalization in these contexts patterns with SF, requiring a subject gap to be licensed (examples from Rögnvaldsson, e-mail p.c.).

- (39) a. *H'er er madhur sem 'i morgun gaf 'eg b'ok
 here is a man whom this morning gave I a book
- b. H'er er madhur sem 'i morgun gaf m'er b'ok
 here is a man who this morning gave me a book
 '*Here is a man who gave me a book this morning*'

¹⁸. Another difference between topicalization and SF is that whereas the acceptability of extraction out of clauses with topicalization is questionable for some speakers, clauses with SF allow extraction freely (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990).

- c. H'er er madhur sem gefidh **hefur** m'er b'ok
 here is a man who given has me a book
 'Here is a man who has given me a book'

As Rögnvaldsson points out, this similarity is rather puzzling if we take SF and topicalization to be two entirely different processes (head movement plus adjunction and structure-preserving fronting of an XP, respectively).

Thus, the analysis of SF remains problematic. However, for our purposes it has been sufficient to identify the properties of SF in order to compare it with similar facts in OSp.

A first look at the OSp data in (33) suggests that it resembles SF more than the remnant topicalization described for German. Many of the examples of non-finite verb preposing that I have examined involve null subjects, both in main clauses, as in (33), and in subordinate clauses, as in (40) below.

- (40) a. Pero los sus siruientes delos sacerdotes & ...diz la biblia
 but the their servants of-the priests & ... says the bible

que comer **podien** deste pan.
 that eat could of this bread
 'But the Bible says that the priests' servants could eat of this bread'
 (GE-I.260v)

- b. Hya pues que adexar **auemos** fijas del campeador
 INTRJ. since that leave have.3Pl daughters of the campeador
 'Since we must abandon the campeador's daughters' (PMC.2661)

- c. tod aquel que ayudar non **fuesse** a los Infantes.
 all that who help not were the princes
 'All those who were not going to help the princes' (EE-II.90r)

However, although less frequent, examples similar to those in (33) and (40), but with overt subjects are also found in the OSp texts ((41)). Note that since the subject appears immediately after the tensed verb, this sentence would not meet the subject gap condition by having an extraposed subject.

- (41) E mostro que dispensar **puede** el obispo con los clerigos de su obispado
 and

and showed that dispense may the bishop with the clergy of his bishopry
 'And he showed that the bishop may confer with the clergy from his bishopry
 on administrative matters of the church' (Leyes.24v)

(41) thus might be more closely related to remnant topicalization than to SF. In fact, a position similar to this is taken by Lema and Rivero (1990) (henceforth L&R). On

their view, OSp had a productive process of VP preposing that would be responsible for examples such as (40) and (41), as well as for the fronting of passive participles, among other things. They claim, however, that this mechanism is essentially different from that licensing the examples in (42) below, which involve the perfect auxiliary *aver*. L&R propose that the source of the latter is a different kind of movement, which involves neither "maximal projections nor heads".¹⁹ They explicitly relate the latter structures to fronting in Old French perfects and Icelandic SF. However, the analysis of these facts, as L&R themselves observe, is a complex matter. For one thing, they contrast with SF in not requiring a subject gap, as (42a-b) show.

- (42) a. Ca ciertamente, si éstas son vacas, perdido **he** yo el entendimiento
 Since really, if these are cows, lost have I the reason
 'Really, if these are cows, I must have lost my mind' (*Lucan.176*)
- b. dicho =lo **auemos** nos ya en esta estoria.
 said it have we already in this story
 'We have already said it in this story' (*GE-I.264v*)
- c. los que provado =lo **an**
 the who proven it have-3pl
 'the ones who have proven it' (*Cor.8*) (*L&R*)

L&R distinguish such examples from their VP-preposing (which they relate to VP-preposing, including remnant topicalization, in German), by pointing out that fronting of the perfect participle fails to manifest at least two properties they associate with VP-preposing. First, they find no examples where the perfect participle is fronted across several Aux elements in the movement path, while both infinitives and passive participles in OSp can. Second, unlike OSp infinitives and passive participles, the OSp perfect participle cannot move across a negative marker; in their view negative markers are heads of a NegP projection, and since nothing should block movement of an XP over a Neg head, they take this to indicate that the perfect participle is not fronting as an X^{max} category. The example in (43) illustrates these two properties for the OSp passive participle:

- (43) Ordenado no **deue seer** ningun sieruo;
 ordained not must be no serf
 'no serf must be ordained' (*Leyes.40r*)

¹⁹. They say this because perfect participle fronting, in addition to lacking the properties of VP-preposing, lacks the identifying characteristics of the type of head movement they argue to be possible in this context, what they refer to as *Long Head Movement* (LMH), which will be discussed in the next section.

These differences led them to propose that examples like (42) must be related to Icelandic SF, and not to the remnant topicalization as proposed for examples such as (40), despite the fact OSp perfect fronting contrasts with Icelandic SF in that the verb in the latter may cross any number of intervening verbal heads.

L&R provide the examples repeated here in (44) to support their argument that the examples like (40), (41), and (43) are the result of VP-preposing.

- (44) a. [D'aquend essir] non puedo
 [from here exit] not can.1Sg
'I cannot come out of here'
- b. Que ninguno [fazer plaser a Dios] non puede
 that nobody make pleasure to God not can
'Since nobody can please God'
- c. Et sy ... su vezina tan hermosa fuese que
 and if... her neighbor so beautiful were that
- [desalabar su ferrosura] no puede..
 disdain her beauty not can
'And if her neighbor should be so beautiful that her beauty cannot be dismissed...'

However, it is not altogether clear that the syntactic mechanisms responsible for the derivation of these examples are also the source of (40) and (41); the evidence for remnant topicalization in OSp is inconclusive. All of the putative examples of full VP preposing, like those in (44), involve a negated modal or semi-modal, and none of them provides evidence that VP material can be stranded after the tensed verb, as was shown to be the case with German in (36). In section 3.4.1 I will discuss data suggesting that sentences like (44a-c) could be lingering examples of a formerly INFL-final phrase structure in the grammar of OSp.

In addition, constructions very similar to those in (44) are also possible in modern Spanish, as in (45). Yet, as L&R observe, structures such as those in (40) and (41) are no longer available.

- (45) a. Cocinar tan bien como Merche no puedo,
 cook so well as Merche not can.1Sg
- pero si que se preparar un curry muy bueno
 but yes that know.1Sg prepare a curry very good
'I can't cook as well as Merche, but I prepare a very good curry'

- b. Salir del edificio no puedo, pero me han dado absoluta
go-out of-the building not can.1Sg, but me have.3Pl given absolute

libertad para moverme por cualquiera de sus habitaciones y pasillos.
freedom to move-self by any of its rooms and corridors
*'I cannot leave the building, but I am free to walk around any of its rooms
and corridors'*

Thus, while L&R's claim that some mechanism of VP preposing was available in OSp could in fact be correct, this does not necessarily show that the examples in (40)-(41) and (43) are the result of the same syntactic mechanism responsible for the structures in (44).

Interestingly, although OSp perfect participle fronting is different from modern Icelandic SF in not requiring a subject gap, Old Icelandic (OIce) was just like OSp in this respect, as the examples in (46) illustrate ((46c) is from Bernstein 1897, and (46)a-b from Rögnvaldsson 1992).

- (46) a. Sagt hefi eg það er eg mun segja
said have I it that I will say
'I have already said my last word on this' (Svarfdæla saga, p. 1812)
- b. Vita skyldir þú fyrst hvað þú vildir
know should you first what you want
'You should first know what you want'
(Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, p. 1172)
- c. kennir hann, [at brotinn var lærleggrinn]
recognizes he that broken was thigh-bone
'He recognized that the thigh bone was broken' (Gylf. 57, 12-14)

The existence of these constructions in OIce together with the OSp constructions in (40)-(43) raises further questions about the appropriate analysis of verb-fronting structures in general. Faarlund (1990) and Rögnvaldsson (1992) have pointed out that in spite of the lack of subject gaps, OIce resembles modern Icelandic in that fronting of the non-finite verb with only some of its complements or modifiers does not appear to be an option, thus also distinguishing these constructions from remnant topicalization in other Germanic languages. Much of the motivation for analyses such as those of Jónsson (1991) or Santorini (1992) is lacking in the OIce counterparts, yet as is the case in OSp, a remnant topicalization analysis is not warranted for these examples either.

To summarize, non-finite verb fronting manifests some of the properties associated with V2 topicalization. First, there is complementary distribution between

topicalization of (other) XPs and fronting of non-finite verb forms.²⁰ Thus if we exclude the examples in (44), which appear to involve VP-preposing, we do not find in the OSp corpus examined here a single example where an element that could be claimed to have topicalized to the XP position is immediately followed by a non-finite verb form that could be also claimed to have been fronted. We would expect that if the non-finite verb were adjoined to I⁰, as Jónsson and Santorini argued, Spec(IP) would remain available to receive topicalized elements and thus such examples should be attested. Since a subject gap is not necessary in these structures, the analysis that various authors have suggested for modern Icelandic SF, in which Spec(IP) is occupied by a null expletive subject, cannot be adopted in OSp or OIce. Furthermore, we have also noted that the fronted verbal element can cross more than one verbal head in its path, thus raising some doubts about the characterization of this syntactic operation as an instance of head movement.

Second, in OSp we have evidence from the distribution of clitics indicating that the non-finite verb form cannot be adjoined to I⁰. In the previous chapter, we saw that OSp clitics are X^{max} categories adjoined to an A-bar position to the left of INFL. As the examples in (47) illustrate, clitics can appear between the non-finite verb and the inflected verb, which is arguably in I⁰.

- (47) a. Ca departir =uos **quiero** yo lo que muestra este signo.
 because explain you want I what shows this sign
 ‘Because I want to tell you the meaning of this sign’ (EE-II.54v)
- b. Confessar =se **deuen** los xpistianos de sus pecados;
 confess selves must the christians of their sins
 ‘Christians must confess their sins’ (Leyes.8r)

If the non-finite verb were adjoined to INFL, we would expect it to systematically follow the clitic, rather than precede it.

On the other hand, as noted above, the crucial type of evidence that we find in German, namely the fact that we can show that the non-finite verb can be fronted

²⁰. As L&R and Rivero (1991) observe, in some cases we find some constituents preceding the non-finite verb; however, as they argue, there is compelling evidence that these elements are base generated outside the CP/IP boundary rather than placed in their S-structure position via movement. Hence these would not be real instances of topicalization. For example, in (i) we see that the initial NP is a left-dislocated constituent, as indicated by the presence of a coindexed clitic acting as a resumptive pronoun after the fronted non-finite verb. See L&R and Rivero 1991 for discussion of similar data, section 4 of this chapter, and Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the range of elements that can be base generated outside the domain where V2 effects are computed.

- (i) [& la razon por que esto fue] dicha =la auemos ya.
 & the reason why this was said it have.1Pl already
 ‘And whe have already mentioned the reason why this happened’ (GE-I.35r)

accompanied by any combination of VP constituents, is not available in OSp. We only find examples such as (44), where all the constituents associated with the VP are fronted with the non-finite form, and a modal or semi-modal appears in sentence final position following negation; or, examples that remind us of SF in OIce,²¹ where only the head of the non-finite VP appears fronted. In conclusion, we see that many of the characteristic traits of the OSp phrase structure are by no means unique to this language. As far as the general topicalization patterns, OSp resembles all those languages classified as symmetric V2 languages; with regards to constructions involving fronting of non-finite verb forms, OSp displays remarkable similarities with some of the lesser studied Germanic languages such as OIce.

3.3.3.2.2. Split Futures and Conditionals

Before leaving the discussion of the fronting of non-finite verbs, I would like to comment on a third class of constructions that has received considerable attention both in the work of traditional Romance philologists and in current theoretical syntax. These are the analytic (or *split*) futures and conditionals. Split futures and conditionals also manifest the fronting of a non-finite verb. As the examples in (48) and (49) illustrate, futures and conditionals could be constructed in OSp in two ways. On the one hand, as illustrated in (48), the infinitive could be fronted to a position preceding a finite auxiliary. The auxiliary used to express future tense, (48a), is related etymologically to Latin *habeo* ‘to have’, and could be said to be more or less equivalent to future auxiliaries such as English *will*. In (48b), we have a similar structure, this time involving the auxiliary *ien*, with the meaning of a conditional auxiliary verb more or less equivalent to English *would*. In other cases, however, futures and conditionals do not seem to differ significantly from futures and conditionals in modern Spanish. As seen in the examples in (49), from the same text as the examples in (48), OSp also appears to have synthetic forms, i.e. those where the marking of future and conditional is expressed by verbal suffixes.

- (48) a. Dezir=uos **he** la verdad
 tell-you FUT.1Sg the truth
 ‘I will tell you the truth’ (PMC.947)
- b. conbidar =le **ien** de grado mas ninguno non osava
 invite him COND of will but no one not dared
 ‘they would gladly invite him, but none of them dared’ (PMC.21)

²¹. It is not clear that the OIce construction in (46) has the same underlying structure as SF in modern Icelandic, although some authors (e.g. Rögnvaldsson (1992)), noting that there is no evidence in OIce to support a remnant topicalization analysis of this construction, have suggested that it be related to SF. However, if a unified analysis of the OIce and modern Icelandic data is to succeed, the contrast in the obligatoriness of the subject gap is a notable fact to be explained.

- (49) a. Mio Cid querra lo que sea aguisado
 Mio Cid wants-FUT what be fitting
 'Mio Cid will want whatever is fair' (PMC.133)
- b. non =vos osariemos abrir
 not you dare.1Pl-COND open
 'We would not dare to open the doors of our homes to you' (PMC.44)

The split futures and conditionals are distinguished from the synthetic ones by the fact that a clitic intervenes between the fronted infinitive and the auxiliary; the synthetic futures and conditionals are distinguished from the split ones in (48) by the presence of an additional constituent at the beginning of the sentence: in the case of (49a), a subject; and in the case of (49b), a negative marker.

L&R and Rivero (1991), building on a previous proposal by Lema (1989), have argued that the examples in (49) involve *incorporation*, in the sense of Baker 1988, of the infinitive into the future and conditional auxiliaries. They call the syntactic operation involved in deriving the examples in (49) Short Head Movement (SHM). For (48), they propose that the head of the non-finite VP undergoes head movement directly to C⁰, thus skipping I⁰ in an apparent violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis 1984, Baker 1988, Chomsky 1986). They call this Long Head Movement (LHM). L&R justify LHM as an independent mechanism of verb fronting, different both from VP-preposing and from the operation responsible for perfect participle fronting, on two grounds: a) LHM, unlike their VP preposing (though like perfect participle fronting), cannot take place across negation; and b) LHM, unlike perfect participle fronting and their VP preposing, is restricted to root environments.

They conclude that these properties can be accounted if LHM involves head movement to C⁰. Assuming that negation in OSp is the head of a NegP, the differences between LHM and other verb frontings would follow naturally, since, first, the head status of negation would block head movement from V⁰ to C⁰ and, second, no C⁰ would be available in an embedded clause for LHM to take place (see Lema and Rivero 1989 and Roberts 1990 for suggestions concerning how apparent violations of the ECP and the HMC resulting from crossing the head of IP could be handled). Finally, according to L&R, LHM is triggered as a last resort mechanism to prevent the clitic from being the first element in the clause.

While I will not attempt to provide an alternative analysis for the constructions in (48), or contest all of L&R's basic descriptive observations, I would like to point out a number of problems with their account in the hope of stimulating further research on the various types of verb-fronting constructions found in Old Romance. In particular, I want to argue against the conception of LHM as a last resort mechanism to prevent violation of the syntactic filter via which some authors propose to capture the facts falling under the descriptive generalizations known as WL/TML. L&R, Rivero (1991), Cardinaletti and Roberts (1992), and others posit a filter in Old Romance which prevented pronominal clitics from occurring as the first overt element

in a CP. Since I will deal in more detail with the empirical and conceptual problems raised by the postulation of such filter in Chapter 4, section 4.1, I will only consider here some of the problematic aspects of LHM as a syntactic operation.

First, according to L&R, both LHM and SHM are restricted to structures involving either future or conditional auxiliaries. Other types of verbs such as modals and semi-modals do not trigger them. Thus, in spite superficial similarities, they take the underlying structures of the examples in (50) to differ fundamentally from those in (51). Whereas both examples in (50) involve topicalization of an XP, the example in (51a) would be derived via movement of the head of the VP to C⁰, and the one in (51b) would involve movement only to I⁰.

- (50) a. Confessar =se **deuen** los xpistianos de sus pecados;
 confess selves must the christians of their sins
 ‘*Christians must confess their sins*’ (Leyes.8r)
- b. bastir **quiero** dos archas
 build want-1st-Sg two chests
 ‘*I want to build to chests*’ (PMC.85)
- (51) a. Dezir=vos he la verdad
 tell-you FUT.1Sg the truth
 ‘*I will tell you la verdad*’ (PMC.947)
- b. Mio Cid querra lo que sea aguisado
 Mio Cid want.FUT what be fitting
 ‘*Mio Cid will want whatever is fair*’ (PMC.133)

There is also a significant difference between (51a) and (51b). The presence of a clitic is crucial to differentiate LHM from SHM. If no clitic appears to the left of INFL, the non-finite head will incorporate into I⁰; if, on the contrary, a clitic appears in a clause initial position, the non-finite head will move to C⁰ to avoid the formation of an illegal string that would result in violation of WL. Thus, in the examples below, the infinitives marked with a superscripted *x* and those bearing a superscripted *y* are argued to occupy different positions in the phrase structure: those with *x* are in C⁰, whereas those with *y* are in I⁰.

- (52) a. Yo se que aaron tu hermano es omne bien razonado
 I know that Aaron your brother is man well reasoned
- & salir^x =te a arec'ebir & ser^ya mucho alegre contigo.
 &go-out you FUT.3Sg receive & be.FUT very merry with-you
 'I know your brother Aaron is a reasonable man and will go out to
 welcome you and will be glad you came' (GE-I.148r)
- b. Et =uos luego por la grand mannana confessar^x =uos **edes** de todos
 and you later for the big morning confess you be.FUT of all
- uuestrs peccados muy bien. y recibir^y**edes** el cuerpo y la sangre
 your sins very well. and receive.FUT.3Sg the body and the blod
 'and later on that great morning you will very well confess all your sins
 and receive the body and the blood' (EE-II.24v)
- c. Otra razón =te dir^y-é
 Other reason you will-tell-1SG
 I will tell you another thing (Cor 25)
- d. enxemplos =te dar^y-ia mill
 examples you give-COND1sg thousand
 I would give you a thousand examples (Cor 23)

Whether one agrees or not with the incorporation analysis proposed by L&R to account for the infinitives superscripted with *y*, it seems indisputable, given the well-known evolution of futures and conditionals in Romance, that, at least in some of these cases, the *y* superscripted forms could be properly analyzed as part of the INFL-verb complex. Given the set of assumptions adopted here, this seems certainly the correct approach for examples such as (52c-d). In these two instances of V2 a constituent has been topicalized, arguably to Spec(IP); thus, the infinitives must occupy the I⁰ position, incorporated with the raised V⁰. Note also that they occur after the clitic, indicating that the verbal complex remains in I⁰. The analysis of the “infinitive” forms marked with *y* in (52a-b), however, is less clear. Here no other element is found occupying the clause initial position, and it could be argued that the string has two possible analyses. If we exclude spelling as an unreliable diagnostic for syntactic structure, we have no way of knowing whether *ser* and *recibir* occupy the same position as *salir* and *confessar* in the preceding conjuncts, (on L&R's view, C⁰), or whether they are instead incorporated to the verbal complex in I⁰; the only difference between them aside from the phonological contraction indicated by the spelling is the absence of the clitic. Since, as we saw in the case of the clitics, the phonology and the syntax could operate independently from one another, we could formulate a hypothesis that avoids LHM in cases where the non-finite verb form is clause initial (setting aside for the moment the objections that split futures and

conditionals are blocked across a negation and are claimed to be a root phenomenon, objections to which I return below). Suppose that during the period from which the first available written texts originate, and for reasons that are unknown, OSp had developed two different ways to form futures and conditionals, one involving fronting of infinitival VPs to Spec(IP), and another carried out via suffixation of inflectional morphology expressing futurity or conditionality to the verbal head (in L&R's proposal, incorporation of a non-finite head to the tensed auxiliary). This alternative would allow us to posit, in principle, that the *y* superscripted infinitives in (52a-b) are occupying the same syntactic position, although admittedly the analysis of the form *sera* would be ambiguous between two possible underlying structures: one with VP fronting, hence simply phonological contraction but no incorporation; and the other where *sera* is occupying a single syntactic node, arguably I⁰. Eventually, speakers would have reanalyzed all the strings where an infinitive form immediately preceded the auxiliary as involving incorporation, and this in turn would have finally resulted in the total disappearance of the VP-fronting alternative in futures and conditionals independently of whether a clitic is present or not. It is interesting to note in this respect that there is some variation in the spelling of these constructions. For example, in (53) the infinitive *ser* immediately precedes the tensed auxiliary *yen*, and yet they are written as distinct units.

- (53) ...non =las puede leuar sinon ser yen ventadas
 not them can carry otherwise be COND.3Sg discovered
 'He could not carry them, because if he did they would be discovered'
 (PMC.116)

If, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, orthographic norms were hardly regulated and spelling tended to mirror the pronunciation of the author, such variation suggests that two possible underlying structures were available to speakers before the final reanalysis of these strings as synthetic forms. Thus together with the form *dizre* 'I will say', illustrated in (54) we find also in the texts the spellings *dire*, *dezir* *he*, and *dizire*, although we have no way of deciding whether the spelling reflects a synchronic variation between the two structures as opposed to a mere reflection of a previous stage, before the reanalysis took place, where only the analytical form was available (with the infinitive and auxiliary occupying different syntactic positions).

- (54) ...dizre adelant
 ... say-FUT.1Sg
 'I will say...' (GE-I.336v)

Further evidence against relying too much on the spelling to decide on the appropriate analysis of a given structure is provided by examples such as (55). In these examples, the fronted infinitive, the clitic, and the conditional auxiliary appear contracted in a single word in the manuscripts.

- (55) a. Et Almançor darlie todo so poder. Et el uuscar =nos ye
and Almançor give-him-COND all his power. And he search us COND

por esta Razon mucho mal
for this Reason much evil

'And Almançor would give him all his power. And for this reason, he would try to give us a lot of trouble' (EE-II.90v)

- b. Et si uieremos que =nos atiende & non a miedo de nos; entenderemos
and if saw.1Pl that us heeds and not has fear of us; understand.1Pl.will

que fue la cosa fecha por iuego. & dexarlemos.
that was the thing made for game & leave-him.will

'And if we realized that he heeds us and does not fear us, we will understand that the thing was done as a game and will leave him'

(EE-II.85v)

Clearly an incorporation analysis cannot be maintained in this case because of the properties we have already attributed to the clitic, raising further questions as to whether it can be extended to the totality of the cases where a contraction process takes place in absence of a clitic. Since I will argue in the next chapter that LHM cannot be a last resort mechanism to provide prosodic licensing for the clitic, it begins to look desirable to eliminate it on grounds of parsimony.

A more substantive reason to worry about the LHM analysis is that, contrary to what L&R claim, it is not restricted to independently motivated root environments. Although L&R recognize that analytic futures and conditionals appear in subordinate clauses, they propose that all such cases be analyzed in terms of CP recursion (recall the discussion in section 3.3; and see specially section 4.2.1.3.2 below for a more extensive discussion about CP recursion in OSp). However, embedded LHM is not restricted to those predicates allowing for embedded V2 in otherwise asymmetric V2 languages, which have been shown to constitute a semantically coherent class (e.g. McCloskey 1992, Iatridou and Kroch 1992). In (56a), we see an analytic conditional occurring in the context of an irrealis complement selected by the verb *temer* 'be afraid', a verb which does not fall into the semantic category of CP recursion verbs and which fails to license embedded V2 in asymmetric V2 languages. In (56b), we see an analytical conditional appearing inside a subordinate clause headed by *por que* 'because'.

- (56) a. por que se temie que se vernien los almorauides & querer se yen apoderar
because *se* feared that *se* come.COND the almoravids & want *se* COND of

dela uilla
of-the town

'Because he was afraid that the almoravids would come and would want to capture the town' (EE-II.214r)

- b. La otra razon es por que si los clerigos fiziessen algun enganno. poder los
 the other reason is because if the clergymen did some deception be-able them
 y en apremiar por derecho de sancta elesia. & fazer gelo emendar
 COND urge by right of saint church and made them-it mend
*'The other reason is because, if the clergymen were involved in some wrongdoing,
 they could invoke the law of the church and have them
 comply'* (Leyes.37r)

Some further evidence that the facts analyzed with LHM are not be restricted to root environments comes from the example in (40b), repeated in (57). L&R analyze such examples as instances of VP preposing. On their view, VP preposing can be licensed only by Modals, which are *lexical* AUX, whereas LHM is licensed only by the future and conditional auxiliaries, which are *functional*. Thus, they take the auxiliary *auemos*, etymologically related to Latin *habeo*, to be lexical rather than functional.

- (57) Hya pues que adexar **auemos** fijas del campeador
 INTRJ. since that leave have.3Pl daughters of the campeador
'Since we must abandon the campeador's daughters' (PMC 2661)

To justify this distinction, L&R argue that elements such as *auemos* in (57) are modals with obligative character, a semantic nuance they claim is absent in the future tense. However, this claim is not uncontroversial. Many authors have argued that forms such as *auemos/(h)emos*, *auedes/(h)edes*, etc. alternated as modals in medieval Spanish and that, for a long time, the expression of futurity and that of obligation were indistinguishable. Observe, for instance, the following examples where the context makes it clear that constructions otherwise not distinguishable from putative LHM must be construed as expressing necessity or obligation. Note also the use of imperative forms together with LHM-like forms in the same discourse, without apparent transition, further indicating that the interpretation of these constructions is that of some sort of command or instruction. I will use the non-comittal AUX to mark the use of this auxiliary verb here.

- (58) a. Si yendo por carrera fallares en aruol o en tierra nio de aue & la
 if going by path find.SUBJ in tree or on land nest of bird & the

madre yaziendo sobre los pollillos& sobre los hueuos non =la tomes.
 mother laying over the chicks & over the eggs not it take.IMP

Mas dexar =la as yr
 but leave it AUX go

'If by any chance you are walking around and find bird nest, whether it is on a tree or on the ground, do not take it, rather you must leave it alone' (GE-I.331r)

- b. Ardera este sacrificio en el altar toda la noche hasta la mañana.
burn.AUX this sacrifice on-the altar all the night until the morning...

el fuego siempre sobre el altar. & vestirse se **a** un sacerdote
the fire always over-the altar & dress himself AUX a priest

la túnica. ... & tomará a la mañana de sobre el altar las cenizas que
the robe ... & take.AUX in-the morning from on-the altar the ashes that

se y fizarán. & dexar =las **a** collechas cerca del altar.

se there make.SUBJ & leave them AUX gathered near-the altar

& 'uaya et dexa estos vestidos con que estubo a fazer
& go.3Sg.IMP and leave.IMP these dresses with which
was.3Sg to make

el sacrificio que son sanctos & tome otros
the sacrifice that are wholly & take.3Sg.IMP
*'the sacrifice shall burn continuously during the night until the next
morning, always on top of the altar, and a priest shall wear the robe...and
in the morning he shall collect the ashes of the sacrificed animal and leave
them piled near the altar, and he must leave the wholly clothes he used for
the sacrifice and put on different ones [designed for this purpose]'*

(GE-I.231r)

Finally, one cannot even choose to stipulate CP recursion in contexts where it is not independently motivated in order to account for putative LHM, without doing violence to the notion that it is a root phenomenon. The reason is that one of the clearest examples of a root phenomenon in OSp, namely $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ ordering, is not attested even in the most clear CP recursion environments. This contrast between putative LHM and $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ ordering is particularly troublesome insofar as L&R, Rivero (1991), and Cardinaletti and Roberts (1992) explicitly adopt the view that the syntactic processes responsible for $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$, like LHM, are triggered as a last resort to satisfy WL/TML; thus, we are left with the question of why LHM would be able to apply as a last resort in contexts where the latter processes could not. As noted above, this approach to satisfying WL/TML will be discussed in the next chapter. Since we can conclude on the basis of the above that the LHM facts are not clearly a root phenomenon, the most noticeable remaining distinction between them and other cases of infinitival verb fronting is that a negation cannot intervene between the infinitive and the future/conditional auxiliary in the former, while it can intervene between the infinitive and (e.g. modal) auxiliary in the latter. But notice that in this respect the split futures and conditionals resemble perfect fronting in OSp and SF in Icelandic. Although at this point I am not able to offer an alternative analysis that is free of

problems, I believe that it is worth further research to see whether three different structures (VP-preposing vs. SF vs. LHM) are necessary to account for all the data discussed above. Such an investigation should ideally be tied to the study of similar constructions in OIce: they are all constructions which exhibit to a greater or lesser extent some of the characteristics of VP topicalization, but whose analysis is difficult due to the fact that only the non-finite head appears to be fronted and no remnant topicalization analysis is independently motivated.

L&R's extensive research on OSp non-finite verb fronting constructions has drawn attention to interesting contrastive patterns which call for a principled explanation, and in spite of the problems discussed above, their analysis remains the only existing attempt to account for the fact that analytical futures and conditionals do not co-occur with negation and do not seem to appear in as wide a range of embedded contexts as the rest of the constructions discussed in the previous sections. I have not found, for example, any instance of an analytical future or conditional inside a relative clause. Thus, any future study of this class of constructions should have as one of its goals to provide a principled explanation for the descriptive observations offered by these authors.

3.4. Apparent Exceptions to V2

We have identified OSp as a symmetric V2 language by showing that it manifests the root and embedded word order patterns that characterize the languages of this group. In the examples below, we will nonetheless see some constructions which present an apparent challenge to this basic claim. The following sections are devoted to showing that these counterexamples are only apparent and that the basic analysis proposed above can be maintained. The discussion will involve extensive comparison with similar structures found in other languages for which a V2 analysis is uncontroversial. We will see that, in fact, most of these patterns are the rule, rather than the exception, once we take into consideration data from a wider range of V2 languages. Interestingly, once diachronic data are introduced in the picture, we see that the more strict adherence to superficial verb-secondness exhibited by modern Germanic dialects (and only a subset of those, at that) must in fact be seen as a rather recent development. Consequently, the "blind" superficial count of verb position that typically serves as one of the main diagnostics in determining whether a language is a legitimate member of the V2 class should be perhaps relegated to a less prominent position in the essential characterizations of basic syntax of this language group. This may seem hardly worth saying given that the field's main concern is the study of the internal structure of the sentence and its constituents, and not the description of mere superficial word arrangements. But resorting to strict word count as a test for classifying a language as V2 or non-V2 is quite widespread both in casual and not so casual characterizations of this phenomenon.

Since OSp fails in many cases to comply with strict verb-secondness both in main and embedded clauses, discussion of some of the most characteristic patterns of exceptions becomes necessary to show not only that these patterns are shared by many

V2 languages, but also to emphasize that OS_p does indeed have the core set of properties which classify it as a V2 language. Perhaps the conclusion to be reached after the following discussion is that the label V2 itself is not the most appropriate to describe the syntax of this group of languages. However, I will not propose any alternative term here. Rather I simply remind the reader about the traps involved in the uncritical use of descriptive labels in syntax and ask him/her to be cautious in interpreting my use of the term.

Let us now list the different exceptions to the strict V2 pattern which will be examined in this section. In (59) we see that the tensed verb appears as the final element in the clause, following two constituents; a subject and an object in (59a) and a subject and a predicative clause in (59b).

- (59) a. E desde el negro esto dixo, ...
and when the black-man this said, ...
'And when the black man this said' (Lucan.148)
- b. Sy...su vezina tan hermosa fuese que ...
if... her neighbor so beautiful were that ...
'if her neighbor was so beautiful that...' (Cor.130)

The sentences in (60) are also apparent counterexamples to the V2 claim since the tensed verb appears in first position immediately followed by the subject.

- (60) a. & **fizo** el papa penitencia & **dixo** Sant Antidio la missa en su lugar & consagro
& did the pope penance & said sant Antidio the mass in his place & consecrated
la crisma
the host
'And the pope did penance & S. A. said the mass in his place and consecrated the host' (EE-I.126r)
- b. E **cuenta** Sigeberto en su estoria que tan grandes poderes de moros passaron [...] and recounts Sigeberto in his history that such great powers of moors passed ...
'And Sigeberto tells us in his history that such big armies of moors came [with him..].'
(EE-II.2v)

Also problematic are the examples in (61)-(64). Here the tensed verb is not in second position, but rather in third, or even in fourth, position. It is not uncommon to find in the OS_p texts that the verb follows the subject or any of the other constituents that can be topicalized to the XP position in a V2 structure, and that this element is in turn followed by a single adverb, as in (61); temporal clauses, adverbial phrases, or other types of background setting sentential modifiers, as in (62) and (63) respectively; or left-dislocated NPs or PPs, as in (64).

- (61) a. E entretanto el hermano de Mahomad llego al rrey
and meanwhile the brother of Mahomad arrived to the king.
'and meanwhile Mahomad's brother arrived to the king' (Alf11)
- b. Et despues el rey caso con la hermana del rey de chipre
and afterwards the king married with-the sister of-the king of Cyprus
'and afterwards the king married the sister of the king of Cyprus' (Tamer)
- (62) a. E despues que la rreyna fue muerta, el ynfante don Juan, fiijo
and after that the queen was dead, the prince don Juan, son

del rrey don Fernando, estaua en Seçilia
of-the king don Fernando, was in Sicily
'and after the queen was dead, the prince Don Juan, son of the king don Fernando, was in Sicily' (Atal.267r)
- b. Esse anno otrossi fue Çulema con su huest a Romania.
This year also went Çulema with his army to Romania
'and that year King Çulema of the Alaraves also went with his army to Romania' (EE-II.3v)
- (63) a. Et en los tales fechos como este, los que dan consejo querrian que
and in the such deeds as this, the-ones that give advice wanted that the la

conquista...
conquest...
'Concerning these kinds of events, the advisors wanted that the conquest...'
(Alf11)
- b. E en este año, vispera de Todos Santos, en Cordoua e en todos
and in this year, eve of all saints, in Cordoba and in all

sus terminos, toda la tierra trimio dos vezes, vna tras otra.
its terms all the earth shook two times, one after other
'and, this year, on the night before All Saints day, there were two tremors, one after another, felt across the whole territory of Cordoba' (Atal.267r)
- (64) a. & esto, dicho =lo_i e ya.
& this said it have.1Sg already
'and I have said this alrady' (GE-I.302r)

- b. El uaso_i si fuere de Madero lauar =lo_i **edes** con agua.
 the glass if were of wood wash it have.2Sg with water
 'If the cup were made of wood, you would wash it with water'
 (GE-I.315v)
- c. & dell obolo_i quanto es dicho =lo_i **auemos** nos ya en esta estoria.
 & of-the mite how-much is, said it have.1Pl we already in this story
 'As for how much constitutes a mite, we have already said it in this story'
 (GE-I.264v)

Finally, the data in (65) is potentially problematic. In these examples, the verb appears initially in the embedded clause and there is a null subject. We will see that such examples are unpredicted on the analysis of pro-drop and V2 advanced in Adams 1987, which accounts only for configurations such as those illustrated in (66), also very frequent in the OSp texts. The underscored segments serve here only to provide a more graphic presentation of the nature of the problem on Adams' account; hence, I do not want to commit myself, for the time being, to any specific analysis of these data as far as the structural position of *pro* is concerned.

- (65) a. & leuad =le dellas. & doblado ell auer [que ___fallastes en los sacos.]
 & take to-him of-them & doubled the maoney that found.3Pl in the bags
 'and give back to him, doubled, the money you found in the bags'
 (GE-I.105r)
- b. & uieron ellos [que ___aurien tan buen anno o meior]
 & saw they that have.COND.3Pl so good year or better
 'and they realized that they would have as good a year or even better'
 (GE-I.101r)
- (66) a. esto **fazien** ___ por razon de los ricos omnes
 this did-3Pl ___ for reason of the rich men
 'They did this because of the rich men'
- b. miedo **auemos** ___ que o es muerto o perdido.
 fear have.1Pl ___ that or is.3Sg dead or lost.
 'We are afraid that he is either dead or lost' (GE-I.212r)

The issue of pro-drop in OSp will be examined in section 3.4.4.

Data such as these have frequently led authors to claim that OSp and similar languages have totally free word order, or that they are non-configurational. However, recent work in theoretical syntax has shown that in many cases, the apparently unlimited possibilities manifested by many such languages are reducible to orderly and rather constrained grammatical systems. As noted in the first chapter, the usual difficulties involved in linguistic research are intensified in the study of non-extant

languages, since native speaker intuitions are not available to test the validity of specific hypotheses. Traditional descriptive and statistical studies often present a very perplexing picture of the syntax of such languages, and are many times of little or no help for the purpose of capturing linguistic generalizations. But the study of diachronic data is not so different from the study of living languages; it is only when we explore the data within an adequate theoretical framework that we can grasp a more coherent picture of word order and structure in any given language. A case in point is the recent investigation of the syntax of Old English (OE), which shows that it can be productively analyzed as V2 language and that apparent exceptions can be accounted for in a principled manner. van Kemenade 1987, Kiparsky 1990, and Pintzuk 1991, although presenting alternative analyses of OE phrase structure, demonstrate that we can and must do away with the notion that OE had almost unconstrained word order (Baugh 1951).

As mentioned, the above patterns of facts are not uncommon in many languages for which the label of V2 is hardly in doubt. Let us therefore now examine each exception in more detail. The following sections are not intended to provide an exhaustive description of all the possible word orders found in the OSp texts. Nor it is my goal to present an adequate analysis for each one of the constructions found in the OSp texts which does not conform to the basic claims laid out above. In some cases I will be able to provide evidence that a class of counterexamples is compatible with a V2 analysis; in other cases, I can only show that while no obviously compatible analysis is available, similar contradictory data is widely attested in other languages for which a V2 analysis is well-established. Due to the scarcity of some of the relevant data in the extant texts, the solution to many of these problems may very well prove elusive. Consequently, the goal of this section is a more modest one: I simply wish to emphasize that strict adherence to a superficial constraint requiring that the tensed verb be second in the clause is not a necessary manifestation of the relevant syntactic properties associated with V2.

3.4.1. Verb-Final Clauses

If the structural position occupied by the tensed verb at S-structure is I^0 and topicalization is an operation that places constituents only in the XP position, Spec(IP), the examples in (67) are unaccounted for unless something else is said ((67b-c) are from Lema and Rivero 1991).

- (67) a. E desde el negro esto dixo, ...
 and when the black-man this said, ...
 ‘and when the black man said this...’ (Lucan.148)

- b. Sy [su vezina tan hermosa fuese] que desalabar su ferrosura no puede
if... her neighbor so beautiful were that disdain her beauty not can...
'if her neighbor should be so beautiful that her beauty cannot be dismissed'
(*Cor.130*)
- c. Que ninguno fazer plaser a Dios non puede
that nobody make pleasure to God not can
'Since nobody can please God' (*Cor 47*)
- d. que yo so ciego o vos desnudo ides
that I am blind or you naked are
'that either I'm blind or you are naked' (*Lucan.148*)
- e. e quantos con el en la barca estauan
and those-who with him on the boat were
'and all those who were with him on the boat' (*Atal.272r*)
- f. o en qual guisa quier que =lo el auer podie
or in which way want that it he have could
'or in whichever way he could have it' (*EEII*)
- g. ...et dexar muger et hijos & quanto yo en el mundo he
...and leave wife and children & whatever I in the world have
'and to leave my wife and children and whatever I have in this world'
(*EE-II.249r*)

In the examples in (67), the tensed verb appears at the end of the clause preceded by more than one constituent in what appears, at least for some of the cases, to be an INFL final phrase structure. However, examples of this kind are fairly rare in the OSp texts and amount to a negligible proportion of the database used for this investigation. Hence it is not possible to say anything reliable about them, other than that it is not altogether clear that all of them could be subsumed under a single analysis. It is possible, for instance, that at least some of these sentences involve topicalization of an XP, with the NP representing the subject of the clause being a dislocated constituent outside the domain where V2 effects are computed (see section 4.2.3 for a more detailed discussion of these facts).²²

However, although it is clear that already by the time of the earliest extant texts, from XIIth-XIIIth centuries, OSp can be classified as an INFL-medial language, some of the examples above could be the reflection of the last stages of an INFL-final phrase structure that had been in competition with an INFL-medial phrase structure before finally dying out. This is, of course, pure speculation and I am not in any

²². Lema and Rivero (1990) suggest something like this for (67b-c), arguing that both examples involve preposing of the underlined VPs, with the preceding subject adjoined outside IP.

position to defend this hypothesis. Nevertheless, it could be supported in view of the findings of Pintzuk (1991), who shows that variation in the surface position of the tensed verb in OE is best explained by the hypothesis of alternating INFL-medial and INFL-final phrase structure with obligatory movement of the verb to INFL. Variation in surface word order in OE is then analyzed as a reflex of synchronic variation in underlying phrase structure (see van Kemenade 1987 for an alternative analysis of this variation). Compare the different structures illustrated by the examples (68) and (69), from Pintzuk 1991.

- (68) a. ealle men **magon** libban mid þe
all men may live with you
'All men may live with you...' (GD (C) 65.1-2)
- b. & of heom twam **is** eall manncynn cumen
and from them two is all mankind come
'And all mankind comes from the two of them' (WHom 6.52)
- (69) a. þæt man hine ferian ne **mihte**
that one him carry not might
'...that one might not carry him...' (ÆLS 25.545)
- b. hu ða æþelingas ellen **fremedon**
how the princes deed-of-valor performed
'...how the princes performed a deed of valor' (Beo 3)

We find similar variation in the positions occupied by the tensed verb in OIce. OIce, like Icelandic, can be described as a symmetric V2 language with INFL-medial phrase structure. Consider the examples in (70), from Bernstein 1897.

- (70) a. þetta **veitti** sauðamaðrinn honum
this granted the-shepherd to-them
'The shepherd granted them this' (Olafs 271, 11)
- b. þessa penníngha **hefir** þú samandregit
those pennies have you gathered-together
'you have gathered those pennies' (Olafs. 256, 18-19)
- c. konúngi **gjörðist** forvitni mikil
to-the-king made-itself animosity great
'The king became greatly aggravated' (Olafs. 145, 11-12)

Although SVO is the most common pattern in embedded environments, as in the

examples in (71) (taken from Rögnvaldsson 1992), topicalization of non-subjects is not unfrequent in the OIce texts. As illustrated in (72), also from Bernstein 1897, a fairly wide range of constituents, including arguments, adverbs and adjunct PPs typically modifying the VP, can be topicalized in non-root environments where an analysis in terms of CP recursion does not seem applicable.²³

- (71) a. því að Gunnar mun eigi gera mér mein
because Gunnar will not do me harm
'because Gunnar will not do me harm' (*Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 188)
- b. þá er Sveinn hafði verið konungur þrjá vetur í Noregi...
when Sveinn had been king three winters in Norway...
'When Svein had been the king of Norway for three years...'
(*Ólafs saga helga*, p. 553)
- (72) a. ef honum **væri** nökkut gjört til úfriðar
if by-him were anything done for war
'If anything were done by him for the war' (*Eyrb.* 90,29)
- b. ok spyr, hvernig hánun **þykkir** ferð sín orðin
and finds-out, how to-him seems journey his having-become
'and he finds out how his journey seemed to him to have turned out'
(*Gylf.* 67, 17)
- c. ..Englands, er áðr **höfðu** átt hans
...of England, which earlier had seized his
ættmenn ok frændr
kinsmen and friends
'...of England, which his kinsmen and friends had seized earlier'
(*Olafs.* 114, 20-21)
- d. ef þeim **er** ills af hánun ván
if to-them is of-evil from him hope
'if there is hope that he will cause some harm to them' (*Gylf.*42,9)

However, alongside (70)-(72), we find sentences like those in (73), which appear to have INFL-final phrase structure (examples from Rögnvaldsson 1992).

- (73) a. Og er þeir gengið höfðu um hrið...
and when they walked had on a while...
'And when they had walked for a while...' (*Grettis sg. Ásmundarsonar* 988)

²³. As seen in (72) c and d, subject extraposition was also available in OIce, presumably a process akin to Heavy NP Shift in the case of (72c).

- b. ...og kvaðst enginn maður þetta gera vilja
 ...and said no man this do want
 ‘and everybody said that they did not want to do this’

(*Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, p. 1407)

Thus, OIce is similar to OE in manifesting what appears to be some degree of alternation between INFL-medial and INFL-final structure. Recent work by a number of researchers (e.g. Santorini (1989), Kroch (1989a,b), Pintzuk (1991)) has shown that the *double base hypothesis* can be productively used to make sense of some of these puzzling patterns and to achieve some valuable insights in the nature of language change. It seems quite possible that a similar analysis could be given for OSp.

I now turn to a better known and more extensively studied type of exception, known as *declarative V1*, which has attracted the attention of a number of authors working on the syntax of Yiddish and Icelandic.

3.4.2. V1 Declaratives

The examples in (74) are exceptional in that no constituent appears to have topicalized to the XP position, thus leaving the tensed verb as the first element in the sentence.

- (74) a. & **fizo** el papa penitencia & **dixo** Sant Antidio la missa en su lugar
 & did the pope penance & said sant Antidio the mass in his place
- & consagro la crisma
 & consecrated the host
 ‘And the pope did penance & S. A. said the mass in his place and consecrated the host’ (EE-I.126r)
- b. E **cuenta** Sigeberto en su estoria que tan grandes poderes de moros passaron [...] and recounts Sigeberto in his history that such great powers of moors passed [...] ‘And Sigeberto tells us in his history that such big armies of moors came with him...’ (EE-II.2v)
- c. **Meçio** mio çid los ombros y engrameo la tiesta:
 moved mio çid the shoulders and shook the head
 ‘The Cid moved his shoulders and shook his head’ (PMC.13)
- d. **Fablo** el Rey don alfonssso & dixo esta razon
 spoke the king don alfonssso and said this thought
 ‘Then the King don Alfonso spoke and said thus...’ (PMC.1866)

Although most modern Germanic dialects do not allow verb-initial declarative

sentences (V1), notable exceptions being Yiddish and Icelandic,²⁴ V1 appears to have been rather common in many of the old Germanic languages. Santorini (1989) observes that there seems to be a correlation among V2 languages allowing for verb-second effects in subordinate clauses and those permitting V1 declarative clauses in root contexts. This observation was made in view of the fact that the two well known symmetric V2 languages, Yiddish and Icelandic, have V1 as well, illustrated in (75) and (76), while it is not attested in other Germanic languages. The Yiddish examples in (75) are from Santorini 1989 and the Icelandic examples in (76) are from Sigurðsson 1990.

- (75) a. hot der yidisher zelner oyfgehoybn dem biks un...
 has the Jewish soldier up-lifted the gun and...
 ‘so the Jewish soldier took his gun and...’
- b. Iz er gegangen in shtot
 is he gone to town
 ‘so he went to town’
- (76) a. Kom Ólafur seint heim
 came Olaf late home
 ‘Olaf came home late’
- b. Hafði Ólafur lesið bókina
 had Olaf read the-book
 ‘Olaf had read the book’

V1 declarative clauses are also attested in OFr and OE (OFr examples from Vance 1989, OE examples from Pintzuk 1991).

- (77) a. Plurent Franceis pur pitet de Rollant.
 weep the-French for pity of Roland
 ‘The French weep out of pity for Roland’
- b. dist len que ce est veritez
 said they that this is true
 ‘They said that this is the truth’
- (78) a. hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu tonumen ti
 had the king his army in two divided
 ‘The king had divided his army in two ...’

²⁴. As Sigurðsson (1990) observes, V1 structures are also found in Faroese (restricted to *og*- ‘and’ clauses) and in dialects of modern ‘Continental Germanic’.

- b. weardh theah thaet wif dha forspanen thurh dhaes deofles lare
 was nevertheless that woman then seduced by the devil's counsel
 'Nevertheless, that woman was then seduced by the devil's counsel ...'

OIce V1 has been extensively discussed by philologists and typologists (e.g. Holm 1967, Rieger 1968); Yiddish V1 has been studied a bit more recently by linguists working on discourse (e.g. Weinreich 1981). Although a precise characterization of the discourse function of declarative V1 is still lacking, most authors agree that declarative verb-first clauses appear in a rather restricted set of discourse environments. The most widely held view is that the primary function of V1 is to formally mark the existence of some type of link with prior discourse, as evidenced by the fact that verb-first word order in declarative clauses is never found discourse-initially (e.g. Thraínsson 1986, Sigurðsson 1990, Santorini 1989). Most authors also point out that these constructions are found primarily, though not exclusively, in narrative style. Others have noted that this specific type of inversion typically follows a coordinating conjunction such as *ok* in OIce (Hallberg 1965). For instance, Sigurðsson (1990), reporting on earlier work, observes that the proportions of sequences of the type *ok*+SV and *ok*+VS are 10% vs. 90% in the sagas he examined. In his more recent work on declarative V1 structures, although not directly concerned with discourse considerations, Sigurðsson has highlighted some of their general functional roles. He notes, for instance, that in modern Icelandic,

Declarative V1 orders in main clauses are, in general, prompted by strong discourse cohesion (or continuity...[.] and] are most common in particularly cohesive texts, such as modern memoirs of various sorts, narrative letters and diaries, some argumentative texts, many folk tales, and most of the Old Icelandic sagas. (Sigurðsson 1990:45)

Their primary role is, then, to contribute in some way to the advancement of the narrative, although he admits that

discourse cohesion is a rather unspecific and broad term. It seems to involve various factors, such as 'presupposition', 'maintained situation', 'consequence', 'explanation' and even 'cause'. (ibid.)

Sigurðsson's observations relate mainly to one specific type of V1 declarative traditionally referred to as Narrative Inversion (NI). The following excerpts are

representative of the discourse environment where NI appears in Yiddish.²⁵

- (79) *er vil* vern a gazlen. Gezogt is gezogt. **Hot er** zikh ongeton in a groysn zak,
he wants to become a robber. Said is said. Has he self put on a big sack,

un **hot** ongebundn a hak on der zayt, **genumen** tales-un-tfilin, un **iz** gegangen
and has tied an axe on the side, took prayer-stuff, and is gone

in vald. **shteyt er** in vald, un vart...

into the woods, stands he in the woods, and waits...

*'...he wants to become a robber. And that's that. So, he put on a big sack and tied an
axe to the side, gathered his prayer books, and went into the woods. Then he stood
there and waited...'*

Although quite restricted in modern Icelandic, the use of NI constructions was very frequent in the OIce texts. A quantitative study of NI carried out in Platzack 1985 reveals that VS(X) patterns constitute a fairly high proportion of the declarative main clauses in the OIce texts²⁶ (ranging from 22% to 31% in some of the most representative sagas). Noting the significant numbers of sentences in which the verb appears in first position in the OIce sagas, Bernstein (1897:31) observes: 'On almost every page instances of inversion are found in which no verb modifier precedes the subject'.²⁷ Bernstein's description of this construction is perhaps illustrative of the reaction of many traditional Germanic philologists. He refers to this V1 as *rhetorical*

²⁵. Santorini (1987) notes that V1 declaratives do more than maintain the cohesiveness and continuity of the narrative. She points out that very often verb-first word order has a conclusive force. This particular function of V1 is illustrated below. In section 4.2.2 in Chapter 4 we will examine similar functions accomplished by V1 in OSp.

- (i) Ick bin do, **iz** er dortn
I am here, is he there
'I am here, therefore he is there'
- (ii). Zey hobn beyde gehat gedint in soldatn, **hobn** zey gekent shishn
they have both had served in soldiers have they been-able shoot
'They had both served as soldiers, so they knew how to shoot'

²⁶. The real percentages are likely to be even higher for reasons that will become clear later on. As we will see in the discussion of OSp V1 declaratives Chapter 4, there are good reasons to think that many of the clauses superficially manifesting verb-second word order have the same structure as V1 declaratives. Such cases of apparent V2 mainly involve cases where the constituent in first position is a typical background-setting adverbial expression such as a temporal clause, or one of a restricted class of discourse connectives more or less equivalent to English *then* (in OIce *þá*).

²⁷. Bernstein extends the notion 'verb modifier' to cover both VP adverbials and object NPs.

inversion in order to differentiate this type of 'inversion' from the type found in V2 structures, for which he chose the term *inversion proper*; he adds:

[rhetorical inversion] may in the majority of cases be reduced to the law of analogy; in others to the omission of an understood adverbial expression of inverting power; in others, again, to the picturesqueness and vividness of the style.²⁸

The following two excerpts illustrate the typical environment in which NI constructions are found in the Old Icelandic texts.

- (80) a. **Bjorn nam** Þóru á brott ok hafði heim með sér á Aurland; **váru þau** þar Bjorn took Þóru away and had home with self in Aurland; were they there um vetrinn, ok **vildi Bjorn** gera brúðlaup til hennar. in the winter, and wanted Bjorn make wedding to her.
'Bjorn took Þóru away to his home in Aurland. They stayed there during the winter, and then Bjorn decided he wanted to marry her'
- b. **enn of miðja nótt** **varð** landskjálfti mikill, **gekk** **jörðin**
but in middle night happened earthquake big moved the-earth
undir þeim skykkjum ok **skalf** **húsit**
under them tremulously and trembled the-house
'But in the middle of the night, a big earthquake occurred, the earth was shaking under them and the house trembled' (Gylf. 58, 13-14)

Compare now the type discourse environments in which V1 declaratives appear in Yiddish and Old Icelandic with the following paragraphs from Old Norse. Intuitively, we observe that the use of V1 constructions in narratives, illustrated by examples such as (72a), repeated in (81) with more context added, contributes the same sense of narrative cohesiveness associated with NI in the literature.

²⁸. These "adverbial expression of inverting power" are very often instantiated by the discourse connector *þá*. Most traditional studies have observed that V1 declaratives occurred in the vast majority of cases after a coordinating conjunction such as Old Icelandic *ok* and have related these examples to those introduced by *þá* because the two have the same discourse functional properties. Very often the first sentences in a string of V1 declaratives are introduced by *þá* or similar particles. I will have more to say on the role of these elements in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.

(81) & **fizo** el papa penitencia & **dixo** sant Antidio la missa en su logar
& made the pope *penance* & *said saint Antidio the mass in his place*

& **consagro** la crisma & **tomo** una partida della pora si. & **espidiosse** del papa
& consecrated the *host* & took a part of-it for self & took leave from-the pope

& **salio** fuera & **caualgo** enel diablo & **llego** a su Obispado
& went out & rode on-the devil & arrived to his Bishopric
'*And the pope did penance and Saint Antidio said the mass for him and consecrated the host and took a piece for himself. Then said farewell to the pope, went out and rode the devil, and arrived to his bishopric.*' (EE-I.126r)

A careful observation of the discourse environments where these V1 structures appear in the OSp texts makes it very clear that they closely fit all the descriptions associated with NI in traditional and contemporary studies. Given all the structural similarities that have been shown to exist between OSp and the languages represented in the examples above,²⁹ it is reasonable to hypothesize that this type of V1 declarative is also derived by the same basic syntactic mechanisms.

Perhaps the most interesting characteristic of NI is that it is a root phenomenon, in Emonds' (1976) terms, in languages which otherwise do not exhibit the root/subordinate contrasts observed in asymmetric V2 languages. The observation that NI is restricted to root environments has been made by a number of authors (e.g. Sigurðsson 1990), Platzack 1985, Diesing 1990, Santorini 1989 among others), and most of them have coincided in relating it to another well-known V1 configuration: root yes/no questions. However, the analysis of NI and the specific relationship that is postulated to exist between V1 structures and the general V2 constraint vary among authors. For instance, in the more traditional view of V2 as a homogeneous phenomenon, i.e. one that would not accept the distinction between symmetric and asymmetric V2 in the terms defined above, NI would simply have the same underlying structure as a regular V2 clause with the only difference being that Spec(CP) would not be lexicalized (Sigurðsson 1990). Røngvaldson & Thráinsson (1990), on the other hand, adopt a position which is similar in spirit, but which is consistent with their analysis of Icelandic V2 as involving only V⁰-to-I⁰. They propose that the verb remains in INFL and that Spec(IP) remains empty. (Incidentally, they propose the same analysis for main clause yes/no questions.) A third group of authors has proposed that NI, and V1 declaratives in general, involve I⁰-to-C⁰ even in languages which do not achieve V2 via I⁰-to-C⁰ (e.g. Santorini 1989, Pintzuk 1991).

There are in fact a number of considerations that indicate that NI constructions are best analyzed in terms of verb-movement to C⁰. Perhaps one of the most explicit

²⁹. This observation would apply also to OFr, if Dupuis' (1989) proposal to classify it as a symmetric V2 language turn out to be correct. See, however, Adams (1987) and Vance (1988) for arguments that V2 in OFr was achieved via I⁰-to-C⁰, hence grouping OFr with asymmetric V2 languages.

proposals to account for the syntax of NI in terms of I⁰-to-C⁰ is that of Sigurðsson 1990. Sigurðsson discusses evidence showing that NI constructions, besides having the discourse function described above, have some additional distinguishing properties. Thus, he notes that although some V1 can be found in subordinate contexts in Icelandic and OIce, these differ significantly from NI in a number of respects. For instance, one crucial difference between NI and other V1 structures (see also Kossuth 1980) is the information status of their subject NPs. Sigurðsson shows that whereas the subject of NI structures is a *topic*, i.e. old information,³⁰ and thus instantiated mainly by personal pronouns and definite NPs, in other V1 configurations the subject represents *new information* and is an indefinite NP. Furthermore, he observes that whereas the word order pattern associated with NI is exclusively VS, other V1 configurations frequently exhibit VXS orders, with X representing in many cases more than one constituent (see (82d)). The examples in (82), from Sigurðsson 1990, illustrate some representative cases of V1 structures different from NI.³¹ Sigurðsson 1990 also provides the examples in (83), to show that topic subjects are not allowed in the same kind of environments. Compare these with the examples in (75) through (81), where the subjects are definite NPs immediately following the tensed verb in a root clause.

- (82) a. Því er sennilegt að verði mikil rigning á morgun
 thus is likely that will-be heavy rain tomorrow
 ‘Thus, it is likely that there will be heavy rain tomorrow’
- b. Ég veit ekki hvers vegna kemur enginn póstur
 I know not why comes no mail
 ‘I do not know why no mail comes’
- c. Hann spurði hvort væri eitthvert hótél í bænum
 He asked whether were any hotel in the-town
 ‘He asked whether there was any hotel in the town’

³⁰. Here I follow Sigurðsson in his use of the term *topic*. As widely noted in the discourse literature mere identification of *topic* with *old information* is problematic, since representing old information is not sufficient in itself for a particular constituent to qualify as a topic (see Vallduví 1990 for an extensive critique of the use of these notions in the literature). Note, however, that this is irrelevant in reference to the present discussion, for Sigurðsson observations would also obtain for most alternative definitions of the notion *topic*, or for Vallduví’s *link*.

³¹. V1 configurations are also possible in Icelandic in constructions involving expletive subjects, as shown by the example in (i), from Sigurðsson (1990).

- (i) Ég veit ekki hvers vegna kemur ekki að þessu
 I know not why comes not to this
 ‘I do not know why it does not come to this’

- d. Hafa [t] sennilega [stolið smjörinu] einhverjir stúdentar
 have [t] probably stolen the-butter some students
 ‘Some students have probably stolen the butter’
- (83) a. *Ég vissi ekki að færu skipin til Grænlands
 I knew not that went the-ships to Greenland
- b. *Því er sennilegt að verði rigningin á morgun
 thus is likely that will-be the-rain heavy tomorrow
- c. *Ég veit ekki hvers vegna kemur enginn María
 I know not why comes Maria
- d. *Hann spurði hvort væri hún í bænum
 he asked whether were she in town

He shows that examples such as those in (82) are also found in Old Icelandic, e.g. (84).

- (84) Ek sa...at scino við .XII. spjot
 I saw...that flashed 12 spears
 ‘I saw...that there were 12 spears flashing’

Old Icelandic also has some examples of this other type of V1 configuration.

Thus, NI can be distinguished from other types of V1 both on functional and syntactic grounds. Only NI serves the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of the narrative by linking the interpretation of a given clause to the context described by the immediately preceding clause. Only NI structures are strictly a root phenomenon. And only in NI must subjects be definite NPs immediately following the tensed verb.

Given the root/subordinate asymmetries characterizing NI, Sigurðsson concludes that it is derived by the same strategy responsible for general subject-verb inversion (SVI) characterizing most of the Germanic languages and for subject-AUX inversion (SAI) in English; he assigns a different analysis to the other types of V1.³² He assigns the structure in (86) to examples such as (76b), a typical case of NI, repeated below as (85). As mentioned above, similar analyses have been proposed for NI in Yiddish (e.g. Santorini 1989), and Old English (van Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991).

- (85) Hafði Ólafur lesið bókina
 had Olaf read the-book
 ‘Olaf had read the book’

³². Specifically, he proposes that examples such as (82) are bare IPs whose specifier position has not been lexicalized.

(86)

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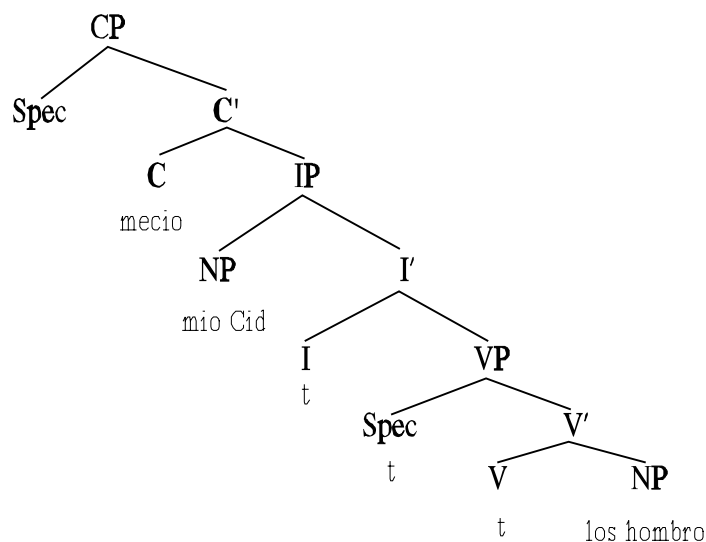
In fact, there is additional evidence that I^0 -to- C^0 is available even in languages where it is not involved in the generation of V2 structures. As Rönngvaldson & Thráinsson (1990) point out, despite the fact that, in their view, NI involves only V^0 -to- I^0 , the availability of I^0 -to- C^0 as a productive syntactic mechanism in the grammar of Icelandic appears to be the most straightforward way to account for the contrasts observed in (87). These examples show that there is complementary distribution between complementizer and verb in one type of conditional clause. Following a proposal by Holmberg (1986) to account for similar facts in Swedish, they argue that since the complementizer occupies C^0 in sentences such as (87a), the verb cannot move there; hence, it must remain in I^0 , following the subject. In sentences such as (87b), however, the verb can move to C^0 since the complementizer is missing. The ungrammaticality of (87c) indicates that there is a correlation between the absence of a complementizer and the possibility of V1 in the clause.

- (87) a. Eg fer [ef Jon getur ekki komid]
 I leave [if John can not come]
 'I am leaving, if John cannot come'

- b. Eg fer [geti Jon ekki komid]
 I leave [can John not come]
 'I am leaving, if John cannot come'
- c. *Eg fer [ef can Jon ekki komid]
 I leave if can John not come
 'I'm leaving, if John can't come'

I will follow Santorini 1989, Sigurðsson 1990, and Pintzuk 1991 in taking NI to be analyzed as in (88).

(88)



By extending this analysis of NI to OSp we now have a way to make sense of the puzzling mismatch between the information status of the subject NPs and their relative positions with respect to the tensed verb in examples such as (14a), repeated in (89a), from the point of view of the native speaker of modern Spanish. Vallduví (1990), in a detailed study of the correlations between structural positions and information status of different sentence constituents in Catalan, has shown that subjects interpreted as focus remain in their base generated position internal to VP, whereas non focalized subjects must move to a position preceding the tensed verb at S-structure (in which case they are what he calls *links*), or else extrapose to the right of IP (in which case they are *tails*; see his work for explication of these classificatory terms). For the most part, his observations can be extended to cover the surface distribution of subjects in Spanish sentences. Thus, non-focal subjects appear as expected in a preverbal position in the Modern Spanish example in (89b). The underlined subject NPs in the OSp excerpt, however, follow the tensed verb in spite of

the fact that they are the most likely topics or links.

- (89) a. rogaron=le_i que =les diese la llave.
after him found.3Pl begged.3Pl-him that them gave.3Sg the key

Respondio=el_i que lo non farie;
Responded-them he that it not would-do
'After they found, they begged him for the keys. He responded that he would not do it.' (GCU.6)

- b. cuando lo_i encontraron, le_i rogaron que les diese la llave y él_i les
after him found.3Pl begged.3Pl-him that them gave.3Sg the key he them

respondió que no lo haría
responded that it not would-do

Assuming that NPs serving as links move out of VP in OSp, ostensibly to occupy the XP position, the analysis of (89a) would not differ significantly from that of (89b). The only difference would be that the position occupied by the tensed verb in the OSp sentences is C⁰, whereas in modern Spanish it is I⁰. Thus, the actual S-structure position of subjects would be the same³³ whether they occur post-verbally in (89a) or preverbally as in (89b); hence, their interpretation as non-focal elements in both cases. If we adopt this analysis, a simple explanation for the apparent mismatch between the informational content of the subject NPs and their relative position with respect to the tensed verb in (89a) becomes available,³⁴ and we can account for why post-verbal subjects in NI are discourse-functionally similar to pre-verbal subjects in modern Spanish. The syntactic mechanism responsible for NI is no longer productive

³³. Note, however, that a number of authors, (e.g Contreras 1991 for Spanish, Vallduví 1991 for Catalan) have argued that pre-verbal subjects are not in Spec(IP) but rather adjoined outside IP.

³⁴. One frequent exception to the general rule that the subject is interpreted as non-focal material is the first clause in a sequence of NI constructions. This is illustrated in (i) below, where the context from which the example was extracted makes it clear that the subject of the first conjunct is not likely to be interpreted as a link. Note, however, that in this case the subject NP is not immediately following the tensed verb, hence not occupying the Spec(IP) position.

- (i) lidio con ellos Mariano un adelantado de la cibdat de Arles. & priso a Crosco.
fought with them M. a governor of the city of Arles and caught Crosco and

& fizo =lo traer preso
& made him bring prisoner

'Mariano, a governor from the city of Arles, fought with them and caught Crosco and had him made him a prisoner and brought before him' (EE-I.127v)

in these contexts, thus leading the native speaker of modern Spanish to posit that the subject has remained in its base generated position, and hence incorrectly to try to assign it the discourse function associated with VP-internal subjects.

I will comment further on the semantics and discourse constraints associated with NI in Chapter 4; for now, the important conclusion is simply that these constructions represent the same phenomenon, and arguably share the same structure, in all the languages we have discussed. I now turn to another exception to the strict V2 order, one which has received relatively little attention in the Germanic syntax literature (though see Thráinsson 1986).

3.4.3. V3 Constructions

Perhaps due to the fact that the study of V2 within generative linguistics was first popularized by research on Dutch and German (den Besten 1978, 1983), the strictness of the V2 order has been the main criterion by which V2 languages have come to be identified. Consequently, patterns such as those in (90) and (91) might lead one to doubt that OSp is a V2 language. In (90) we see single adverbials preceding the element which is presumably in the XP position, and in (91) we see a variety of material, including phrases of different lengths, also providing counterexamples to the strict V2 order.

- (90) a. E entretanto el hermano de Mahomad **llego** al rrey
and meanwhile the brother of Mahomad arrived to-the kind
'Meanwhile, Mahomad's brother arrived to the king' (Alf11)
- b. Et despues el rey caso con la hermana del rey de chipre
and then the king married with-the sister of-the king of Cyprus
'and then the king married the sister of the king of Cyprus' (Tamer)
- (91) a. estando en Valladolid, los que eran de la parte del infante don Juan
being in Valladolid, the-ones that were of the party of-the prince d.J.
prendieron a Juan Furtado de Mendoça,
seized Juan Furtado of Mendoça,
'While they were in Valladolid, the party of d. J. seized Juan Furtado of Mendoça, who belonged to the party of the prince d. E.' (Atal.267r)
- b. y en este tiempo el rrey don Jaimes de Aragon **tenia** çercada a Almeria.
and at this time the king don Jaimes of Aragon had sieged Almeria
'And by that time, King don Jaimes of Aragon had Almeria under siege'
(Alf11)

I will show that OSp is not alone among V2 languages in allowing for a restricted class of constituents, such as those appearing in sentence initial position in the examples in (90) and (91), to adjoin to positions external to IP or CP.

If we look closely at languages other than modern High German or Dutch, it is not difficult to find such exceptions, varying considerably from language to language, even in otherwise "well-behaved" V2 languages. For instance, (92), from Swedish, exemplifies the fact that a fairly restricted set of adverbials can intervene between the element in first position and the tensed verb in that language.

- (92) Han bara **skrattade** åt mig
 he just laughed at me
'He just laughed at me'

Maling (1980) and Thráinsson (1986) have noted similar facts in Icelandic. Maling, for instance, observes that although V2 is the general rule in embedded clauses, the finite verb sometimes occurs in third position due to the interpolation of an adverb between the first element and the verb. The following examples from Maling 1990 illustrate this point:

- (93) a. eins og hann varð rólfær... að hann dag og dag **varð** lasinn.
 just as he became r. that he now and then become sick
- b. þegar ég loksins **fann** lagið
 when I finally found the-tune
- c. þegar ég síðast **hitti** hann
 when I last met him
- d. þegar mér allt í einu datt í hug að
 when to-me suddenly occurred that

Maling observes, however, that not all adverbial expressions can occur in such configurations. This is reflected by the contrasts in grammaticality shown in (94).

- (94) a. ?þegar ég í fyrsta sinn **hitti** hann
 when I for the first time met him
- b. *þegar ég með Siggu **hitti** hann
 when I with Sigga met him

Thráinsson (1986) points out that these adverbial expressions have considerable freedom of occurrence. Besides appearing between the XP and the finite verb, they also occur in other positions, as in the following (from Thráinsson 1986).

- (95) a. þegar ég **hitti** loksins Jón
when I met finally Jon
- b. þegar ég **hitti** Jón loksins
when I met Jon finally
- (96) a. Jón hefur oft [_{VP} **lesið** þessa bók]
Jón has frequently read this book
- b. Jón hefur [_{VP} **lesið** þessa bók] oft
Jón has read this book frequently

Although this kind of exception is rare in most other modern Germanic languages, it is interesting to note that it was fairly frequent in texts from earlier periods. Pintzuk (1991), for instance, discusses similar data in OE. She notes that there is a restricted class of adverbs (mainly discourse connectives such as the equivalents to modern English *thus*, *so*, *then*, and temporal markers such as *before* or *after*) which are distinguished from other adverbial expressions by their greater distributional freedom.³⁵ They can occur preceding the element in first position, both in main and subordinate clauses:

- (97) a. swa Drihten sylfa **wæs** sprecende þurh witgan
thus Lord self was speaking through prophet
'Thus the Lord himself was speaking through a prophet'
- b. þe ær nan folc ne **mehte** mid gefeohte gewinnan
that before no people not could in battle overcome
'that no people could overcome in battle before'

They can also be found between the XP and the finite verb:

- (98) a. mid þy ða **ongon** firenlust weaxan
with that then began riotous-living increase
'With that, riotous living then began to increase.' (Bede 48.27)
- b. ðæt se cyning swa **wære** efnblissende
that the king thus was feeling-pleasure
'... that the king thus was feeling good ...' (Bede 62.17-18)

³⁵. In order to account for the fact that these adverbs behave like pronominal clitics, i.e. they do not count for position in the computation of V2, Pintzuk proposes that in OE these adverbs were optionally syntactic clitics.

In Old French we also find a restricted set of adverbials that could precede the element in the XP position, thus causing the finite verb to be in third position. Vance (1989) observes that in the earliest texts, these adverbs are mainly restricted to the following finite list: *sanz faille* 'without fail', *neporquant*, *nequedant*, *neporec* 'nevertheless', *certes* 'certainly', *apres* 'after', *onques* 'never', *por Dieu* 'by God', *espoir* 'perhaps'. (99) below illustrates examples involving these adverbials.

- (99) a. et sainz faille ele **estoit** de trop grant biauté pleinne
and without fail she was of very great beauty full
'and surely she was full of very great beauty'
- b. et neporquant as paroles que la reine i aprist
and nevertheless at-the words that the queen there learned
- conut** ele veraiement qu'il estoit filz Lancelot
knew she truly that-he was son Lancelot
'and nevertheless from the words that the queen heard there she knew for sure that he was the son of Lancelot'

The situation in OSp is not substantially different from that in these languages: we again find a restricted set of adverbials which exhibit a somewhat greater distributional freedom. The examples below involve the adverbs *despues* 'after' and *estonçes* 'then', some of the representative members of this group.

- (100) a. estonçe los mas altos omnes dela corte **fizieron** llamar a sus hermanos
then the most high men of-th court made call his brothers
'then the noblest men in the court had his brothers called' (EE-II.21v)
- b. E despues, el rrey don Juan **fue** poderosamente sobre
and after the king don Juan went powerfully over
- el jnfante don Enrrique, que estaua en Alburquerque
the prince don Enrique, who was in Alburquerque
'And after that, the king Enrique went with all his might against prince Enrique, who was in Alburquerque at the time' (Atal.267r)
- (101) a. Ell estonçes **llego** muj grand hueste et fue contra Yuçaf Alhacri
he then took very big army and went against Yuçaf Alhacri
'Then he gathered a big army and fought with Yuçaf Alhacri'
(EE-II.11v)

- b. Josep **fizo** estonces fazer por las cibdades...
 Josep made then do around the cities
'Then Josep had people go around the cities to do..'
 (GE-I.101r)

A slightly different kind of exceptional pattern involves the appearance of a temporal clause or other background setting expression preceding a sentence in which a subject or other constituent has been topicalized to the XP position, leaving the finite verb in third position. It is not uncommon to find a sequence of more than one expression, with the finite verb in fourth or even fifth position:

- (102) a. estando en Valladolid, los que eran de la parte del infante don Juan
 being in Valladolid, the-ones that were of the party of-the prince d.J.

prendieron a Juan Furtado de Mendoça,
 seized.3PI Juan Furtado of Mendoça,
'While they were in Valladolid, the party of d. J. seized Juan Furtado of Mendoça, who belonged to the party of the prince d. E.' (Atal.267r)
- b. E desde que el rrey Yzmael fue finado, el alguazil enbio a dezir a Ozmin...
 and when the king Yzmael was deceased, the marshall sent to tell Ozmin
'And once king Y. was dead, the marshall sent a message to Ozmin telling him that...' (Alf11)

Incidentally, such patterns are also a fairly common trait of Germanic languages at earlier stages, both in symmetric and asymmetric V2 languages. (103)-(106) illustrate how temporal and other types of sentence modifying adverbial phrases could often precede the element in the XP position in languages which otherwise were characterized by V2 effects. The examples in (103), from Pintzuk 1991 illustrate this

pattern in OE.³⁶

- (103) a. þæs cyninges tidum se Arrianisca gedwola wæs upcumen
 that king's time the arian heresy was arisen
'The Arian heresy arose in that king's time'
- b. & fullice .lxx. wintra syðð on an wæs se ðeodscype
 and fully 70 years afterwards continually was the nation
 eall geðeowod under heora feonda gewealde
 all enslaved under their enemies' power
'And for fully 70 years afterwards, all the nation was continually enslaved under their enemies' power...'

This example³⁷ from van der Horst 1981 shows the same thing in Middle Dutch:

- (104) alse Joseph reet Maria **ghinc**
 when Joseph rode Mary walked
'When Joseph rode, Mary walked'

The same pattern also appears in Old High German (examples from Lenerz 1984).

- (105) a. Thanan tho Zacharias **uuard** gitruobit thaz sehenti,...
 from-then-on there Zacharias was dimmed the seeing
'Zacharias' eyesight was dimmed from then on'

³⁶. Furthermore, Pintzuk 1991 has also shown for OE that temporal clauses and left-dislocated constituents also occur in association with constructions where the verb has moved from I to C. This is illustrated in the examples below (see Pintzuk 1991 for detailed motivation of the I⁰-to-C⁰ analysis of these constructions). In Chapter 4 I will show that such a possibility also existed in OSp.

- (i) ða onsaegdnysse, þa ðe fram eow deoflum wæron agoldene,
 the sacrifices, which by you devils were offered,
 ne magon hi dham underdheoddum gefulltumian
 not can they the devotees help
'The sacrifices, which you offered to devils, they can't help the devotees ...'
- (ii) tha under þæm þa bestael he hine on niht onweg
 then meanwhile then stole he him in night away
'Then, meanwhile, he stole away in the night ...'

³⁷. I wish to thank Beatrice Santorini and Jack Hoeksema for bringing these facts to my attention.

- b. Dés náhtes an mînemmo bétte **uórderota** íh mînen uuine
 the-Gen night-Gen at my bed demanded I my lover
'In the night I longed for my lover in my bed'

Finally, similar data are found in the OFr texts (examples from Vance (1989)).

- (106) a. Et quant il sont issu de Kamaalot si **chevauchent** tant
 and when they are gone-out of C. thus ride so-much

 qui'l sont en la forest
 that they are in the forest
'And when they went out of Camelot, thus they rode so far that they came into the forest'
- b. quant il voient qu'il ne remandroit, il =l'en **lessent** aler
 when they see that-he not would-stay, they him-from-there let go
'When they saw that he would not stay, they let him go'

Thus we see that in all these languages, which otherwise obey the verb-second constraint, a restricted set of constituents could be found preceding the XP position, presenting apparent counterexamples to the V2 analysis. Similar data have been discussed in detail in a recent study of the general constraints governing adjunction structures by McCloskey (1992). As he observes, in many languages a class of adverbial expressions, coinciding to a large extent with the class of elements described in Jackendoff 1972 as having a left-peripheral position in S as one of their canonical sites of attachment, can more or less freely adjoin to IP or VP, and also, with some more restrictions, to CP. Since this issue will be crucial to determining the appropriate characterization of the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitics in OSp, I will leave a more detailed discussion of it for the next chapter. There, I will review in more detail the results of McCloskey's study.

Here I just want to suggest that one obvious way to handle these kinds of

counterexamples is to treat these constituents as sentence adjuncts,³⁸ i.e. constituents positioned outside the clausal structure, defined as IP or CP depending on the specific language and construction involved, and therefore outside the domain where V2 effects are computed. Examples where the adverbial is placed between the XP and the finite verb are more problematic, since in these cases the adverb cannot be adjoined to IP or VP, and proposing that they are adjoined to the finite verb in I⁰ is problematic due for theory internal reasons: Since these adverbial expressions are usually assumed to head their own maximal projection, such adjunction structures could result in violation of the putatively universal constraint against adjunction of X^{max} categories to X⁰ categories. However, I will leave this issue unresolved and turn now to the discussion of pro-drop and its interaction with V2.

3.4.4. V2 and pro-drop in OSp

The OSp texts contain a number of examples where a non-subject appears to have topicalized to the XP position, but where the subject is not overtly expressed. Some of these examples are illustrated below.

- (107) a. esto **fazien** por razon de los ricos omnes
 this did-3Pl for reason of the noble men
 ‘*They did this because of the noble men*’
- b. miedo **auemos** que o es muerto o perdido.
 fear have.1Pl that or is.3Sg dead or lost.
 ‘*We are afraid that he is either dead or lost*’ (GE-I.212r)

Examples of this kind are also typical of OFr (Adams 1987). In OFr, V2 configurations with overt subjects such as those in (108) alternated with similar configurations where the subject is phonologically null (109). These examples have been borrowed from Adams 1987.

³⁸. In the transcription of the examples given below, the adjunct-like character of these clauses is emphasized by the presence of a comma. However, punctuation is highly unreliable as a diagnostic when medieval texts are concerned. Sometimes original manuscripts lack any punctuation at all. When punctuation is present it can be highly unsystematic, or at best, it does not coincide with modern punctuation conventions. Thus periods, colons and semi-colons may function similarly in medieval texts. In some cases, for instance, a period is used to mark a division between breath groups. In other cases, punctuation marks are introduced merely to fill out the remaining space at the end of a line in order to create an even right margin. I would like to thank John Nitti from the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies for making this information available to me. Furthermore, the fidelity of the text used by the linguist to the original manuscript greatly depends on the quality of the edition. Thus it is not uncommon to find in otherwise extremely dependable editions that the editor has added commas or other punctuation marks because s/he felt it was necessary to facilitate reading.

- (108) a. A cel conseil **ot** Nichodemus amis
at that meeting had Nichodemus friends
'Nichodemus had friends at that meeting' (R.Gr. 26)
- b. Einsint **aama** la damoisele Lancelot
thus loved the young lady Lancelot
'Thus the young lady loved Lancelot' (M.A.38)
- c. Sor un foier **est** Guillelmes montez
on a hearthstone is Guillaumes climed
'Guillaumes stepped up onto a hearthstone' (Ch.N. 5, 123)
- (109) a. Si sai ___ bien, fet li roi
so know.1Sg well, said the king
'"I know well," said the king' (M.A. 9)
- b. Or =te comandons ___ a Dieu, fet messires Gauvains
now you recommend to God, said Sir G
'Now we recommend you to God, said Sir Gawain' (Queste, 152, 4)
- c. Par desus **seclerent** ___ une pierre
on top fixed.3Pl a stone
'They hid the opening with a stone' (Roman du Graal pp. 26-27)

Adams (1987) accounts for these by positing that directionality of government is a parametric choice. The category *pro* in OFr, which according to this view is taken to occupy a position after the finite-verb (this indicated by the underscore in her examples), would be licensed by government from the verb-INFL complex to the right. Since Adams analyzes OFr as an asymmetric V2 language, *pro* in examples such as those in (109) is taken to occupy the the Specifier of IP. This position is governed by the verb-INFL complex in C^0 , which formally licenses the occurrence of *pro*.³⁹ This analysis cannot be extended without modification to OSp, since the tensed verb in constructions such as those in (107) has been argued to occupy INFL, not COMP. We could, however, maintain the directionality of government account by slightly modifying Adams' proposal. Thus, we could posit instead that *pro* in OSp is licensed to appear in the base position for subjects internal to VP by government of the verb-INFL complex in I^0 to its right. This in turn predicts that *pro* drop should also be possible in subordinate clauses, since the same structural relationship can obtain in these contexts as well.

³⁹. This analysis of V2 in OFr, however, is not entirely uncontroversial. Dupuis (1989) argues that OFr was a symmetric V2 language with a phrase structure very similar to that proposed here for OSp.

This prediction is borne out by the examples in (110) through (112). Note that, as with overt subjects, there does not appear to be any contrast between different types of subordinate environments with respect to the possibility of topicalization. In (110) we have null subjects in sentences involving topicalization of different types of constituents to the XP position in sentential complements. In (111), we have the same pattern in adverbial clauses. And in (112), we see it in the context of relative clauses involving extraction of non-subject arguments. Note that the same range of constituents observed in typical V2 structures can also occupy the XP position in clauses with phonologically null subjects.

- (110) a.dizen mios adaliles [que de Alfoz de Lara son naturales.]
 ..say my guides that from Alfoz of Lara are.3Pl natural
'My guides tell me that they are from Alfoz of Lara' (EE-II.91v)
- b. lo que no querrie [que a el fiziessen.]
 the what not wanted.COND that to him did.3Pl
'What he did not want them to do to him' (Leyes.2r)
- (111) a. quando tan grand muchedumbre uieron dello
 when so great quantity saw.3Pl of-it
'When they saw such great quantities of that thing...' (GE-I.101r)
- b. los legos llaman al derecho del padronadgo cuemo spirital o
 the lay call the right of-the patronage as spiritual or
 ayuntado a spirital. [Ca si puramientre fuesse spirital] no lo podrien[...]
 close to spiritual because if purely were.3Sg spiritual not it could.3Pl
*'The laymen consider the right of patronage as a spiritual or almost
 spiritual law, because if it were purely spiritual, they could not...' (Leyes.92v)*
- (112) a. que ell auer [que por el pan dieran] **trayen** alli daquela guisa
 that the money that for the bread gave.3Pl brought.3Pl there in-that way
*'[when they saw] that they were bringing the money they had paid for the
 bread in such a way' (GE-I.104r)*
- b. las carracas et naos [que ally tenjan] eran nabios mas pesados }
 the boats and ships that there had.3Pl were ships more heavy
'the boats and ships that they had there were heavier' (Tamer.11r)

Adams' analysis also correctly predicts pro-drop in NI. As noted above and illustrated in the examples in (113), a typical feature of NI constructions is to have a definite NP, most of the time a personal pronoun, acting as the topic of the sentence. Since the

subject, when it is phonologically expressed, occurs in a post-verbal position, it is reasonable to assume that *pro* can also occur immediately following the verb (the assumed position of *pro* is indicated by the underscores in (113)). Since the finite verb is taken to be in C^0 , we can conclude that *pro* is in the same structural position occupied by the overt subject, which in the specific case of NI we have taken to be Spec(IP). These are exactly the conditions proposed by Adams to allow licensing of null subjects in OFr: the verb-INFL complex in C^0 can also govern *pro* in Spec(IP), to its right.

- (113) & dixo **sant Antidio** la missa en su logar & consagro __ la crisma & tomo
 said saint Antidio the mass in his place & consecrated the host & took
 'and Saint Antidio said the mass for him and consecrated the host and took
 a...'
 (EE-I.126r)

However, the directionality of government analysis cannot account for the whole range of data involving null subjects in OSp and other languages with similar syntax. For example, the examples in (114) below are problematic for the analysis on various counts. First, as we noted above, if the directionality of government approach is to be maintained, we must allow the verb-INFL complex to govern the structural positions where *pro* can occur both from C^0 and from I^0 . This would cover the examples involving embedded topicalization and null subjects discussed above, since *pro* could be in its base generated position internal to VP and be governed from I^0 . However, in (114) through (116), in contrast to (110) through (112), no constituent has been topicalized to the XP position, leaving an empty position between the CP and the verb in INFL. This raises the obvious question of what position *pro* occupies in these examples. The immediate answer that comes to mind is that *pro* could be in Spec(IP), but this is evidently incompatible with Adams' account.

- (114) a. asmando que __ **podrien** con los godos des que fuessen todos ayuntados
 thinking that__ could.3Pl with the goths when were.3Pl all gathered
 'They thought that they could defeat the Goths once they gathered all their
 forces'
 (EE-I.127r)
- b. et da a entender que et que __ **ha** olvidado todo lo que fiz
 and gives to understand that.. and that __has forgotten all what did.1Sg
 'And he pretends that he has forgotten everything I did' (Lucan.138)
- (115) a. Et desque __ **llegaron** assu padre a Cananea.
 and when __ arrived.3Pl to-his father in Cananea
 'And when they arrived at their father's home in Cananea' (GE-I.101r)
- b. los fechos que =les auinieron [ante que __ **entrassen** las espannas]
 the deeds that them happened before-that __entered.3Pl the spains
 'The things that happened to them before they came to Spain' (EE-I.126v)

- (116) a. ...falle enel mio saco el precio [que ___ **di** por el pan].
 found.1sg in-the my bag the money that ___gave.1Sg for the bread
 'I found the money that I had paid for the bread in my bag' (GE-I.104v)
- b. & de cada aldea destas sacauan mucha vianda [que ___ **dauan** alos
 & from each village of-these brought-out.3Pl much food that gave.3Pl to-the
 dichos enbaxadores]
 said ambassadors
 'And the inhabitants of these villages brought out a lot of food, which they gave
 to the ambassadors' (Tamer.16r)

We cannot dismiss these facts as merely idiosyncratic to OSp and argue that OFr and OSp have two completely different syntactic systems, because patterns such as those in (114) through (116) are found in several languages whose phrase structures greatly resemble that of OSp, including OFr. Before examining the OFr data, however, I will examine data from two other languages which are relevant here because they exhibit V2 effects in embedded environments and have referential null subjects: OIce and Surselvan.

The characterization of the syntactic licensing of null subjects has been at the center of much recent research in Germanic (e.g. Platzack 1987, Haider 1991, Santorini 1992). The range of data usually considered in determining the appropriate analysis of the distribution of null subjects in the modern Germanic languages is significantly different from that usually considered for the modern Romance languages. While most modern Romance languages have referential null subjects, research on null subjects within Germanic has been restricted until fairly recently to expletive null subjects (hence the label *semi pro-drop* used by some authors), because the modern Germanic languages lack referential null subjects.

However, the assumptions that have traditionally been at the center of research in the two language families must be revised once diachronic data is taken into consideration. Not only it is the case that languages such as OFr and OSp manifest many of the syntactic properties typical of Germanic languages, but as recent work is showing, one of the most characteristic features of Romance, the licensing of referential null subjects, is also shared by at least some of the old(er) Germanic languages. This is illustrated in the following example from OIce (from Thráinsson and Hjartardóttir 1986).⁴⁰

⁴⁰. I am informed that instances of null subjects with referential interpretation are also found in Middle High German, as indicated by the following example.

- (i) so wil noch tün alles, daz ich vermach.
 thus want still to-do everything, that I like.
 'Thus I still want to do everything that I like' (et1-516)

I wish to thank Ann Bies for providing me with the Middle High German data.

- (117) a. ok greiáiz vel þeirra ferá og komu víá Grikkland
and goes well their journey and came.3Pl to Greece
'*And their journey went well and they came to Greece*' (Finn. 39:2)

The OIce example in (117) could perhaps be an instance of NI, with an underlying structure as the one suggested for the OSp examples in (113). Thus, the finite verb would be in C^0 , a position from which it can govern the Spec(IP), satisfying the necessary conditions for the formal licensing of *pro* which is posited to be in that position. However, as was the case in OSp, such an analysis is not available for the following examples (from Hjartardóttir 1987).

- (118) a. vill Magnus konungur nu hitta Harald konung og forvitnast [hvad ___ vill]
wants Magnus king now meet Harold king and ask what ___ wants
'*King Magnus now wants to meet king Harold and ask him what he wants*'
- b. skeggid var svo sitt [ad ___ la i knjam honum]
beard-the was so long [that ___ lay in knees him]
'*His beard was so long that [it] reached down to his knees*'

The fact that overt subjects and non-subject constituents can appear in the position preceding the finite verb in similar environments in OIce suggests that the XP position is not occupied by a wh-trace. This is illustrated by examples (72b) and c, repeated below as (119a-b).

- (119) b. ok spýrr, [hvernig hánú þykkir ferð sín orðin]
and finds-out, how to-him seems journey his having-become
'*and he finds out how his journey seemed to him to have turned out*'
(Gylf. 67, 17)
- a. ...Englands, [er áðr **höfðu** átt hans
...of England, which earlier had seized his
ættermenn ok frændr]
kinsmen and friends
'*...of England, which his kins men and friends had seized earlier*'
(Olafs. 114, 20-21)

Similar facts are noted by Sprouse and Vance (1992) for Surselvan, a dialect of Rhaeto-Romance. Surselvan exhibits V2 effects both in main and embedded clauses, as in (120). The data in (121) show that Surselvan is also a pro-drop language.

- (120) a. Ier **hai** jeu cumprau ina tastga
yesterday have I bought a bag
'*I bought a bag yesterday*'

- b. Jeu enquerel la tastga [ch'ier **haveva** miu frar cumprau]
 I look-for the bag that yesterday had my mother bought
 'I'm looking for the bag that my mother bought yesterday'

- (121) Ier has cumprau ina tastga
 yesterday have.2Sg bought a bag
 'Yesterday you bought a bag'

Interestingly, just as we have seen to be the case for OSp and OIce, Surselvan also has null subjects in embedded clauses where the finite verb appears in first position.

- (122) Jeu enquerel la tastga che havevel cumprau ier
 I look-for the bag that had-1Sg bought yesterday
 'I'm looking for the bag that I bought yesterday'

Returning now to OFr, as Adams herself notes in Adams 1987b, not all instances of *pro* in OFr occur in main clause V2 structures such as (109); null subjects are found in embedded environments, including those for which no CP recursion analysis is available. For example, Adams (1987b) discusses some OFr structures involving topicalization of an XP to a preverbal position, such as (123) (examples from Adams 1987b), in subordinate contexts other than sentential complements of bridge verbs. In (123a), a null subject is involved.

- (123) a. une amor que longuement ai *pro* servie
 a love that long have-1Sg served
 'a love that I have long served' (C.M. XI, cited by Foulet 314)
- b. Sire, s'a a la vostre bonté vousist mon pere prendre garde
 Sire, if-to the your good-will wished my father take guard
 'Sire, if my father wished to take precaution against your good will'

Examples with null subjects but no topicalization, also from Adams 1987b, are shown in (124).

- (124) a. Je sui le sire a cui [___ volez parler]
 I am the master to whom wish.2Sg to speak
 'I am the master to whom you wish to speak' (Ay. 4041)
- b. L'espee dont [___ s'estoit ocis]
 the sword with which himself-was-3Sg killed
 'The sword with which he killed himself' (Chast. 913)
- c. Quant [___ vit le roi]
 when sees.3Sg the king
 'When he sees the king' (Ay.204)

Adams (1987b), acknowledging the problems raised by these data, proposes that in examples such as those in (123) the verb governs a postverbal *pro* in Spec(VP), as suggested above for similar OSp constructions. For the more problematic structures in (124), she proposes that *pro* is also in Spec(VP), thus allowing the verb to govern it in the canonical direction. The Spec(IP) position remains empty in these environments (see Adams 1987b for details, including discussion of how the ECP is satisfied in these cases).⁴¹

I will not elaborate on this proposal, other than noting its highly stipulative nature (see also e.g. Vance 1989 and Hirschbühler 1991 for detailed critique). Not only is the licensing of an empty Spec(IP) left unexplained, but it is also unlikely that such a proposal can be extended to cover the other languages with much success. Note, for instance, the OIce example in (118b), where it is rather unclear that the complementizer can be posited to have semantic content, a crucial element in Adams' method of licensing empty Spec(IP). However, attempting to develop an analysis that can cover the range of data discussed above is something that I will not pursue further here. For more detailed discussion and proposals for analysis of similarly recalcitrant data, see Hulk and van Kemenade 1990, Hirschbühler 1991, Vance 1992, and references therein.

To conclude, the purpose of this section has been rather simple: to situate the description of some of the basic environments involving null-subjects in OSp within the larger picture of other languages which also have very similar constructions and are also characterized by null-subjects in similar environments. As more and more research on the syntax of old(er) or lesser known Romance and Germanic languages is conducted, it is becoming increasingly clear that many of the characteristic properties usually taken to separate the Romance and Germanic families are actually shared at least by some languages belonging to the different groups at an earlier stage. However, much research is still needed to determine the possible differences in the distribution of null subjects among all these languages, as well as the specific role played in licensing them, if any, by the syntactic mechanisms responsible for V2 effects.

The problems raised by these data indicate that pro-drop is a complicated and still poorly understood phenomenon. However, one of the most interesting results of recent diachronic studies in Romance and Germanic is that the differences between pro-drop in the earlier history of the two families are less than previously believed. The study of OSp is of special significance in the general debate initiated with the work of Adams (1987) and Vance (1989), and raises the question of whether there is still any justification for relating the syntactic mechanisms responsible for V2 phenomena and those responsible for the licensing of various types of null subjects. OSp adds yet another piece in the synchronic puzzle: French lost V2 and lost pro-drop; Icelandic preserved V2 and lost pro-drop (preserving only non-referential null-subjects), Spanish lost V2 and preserved pro-drop. Whichever analysis of the facts

⁴¹. Note that underscores in her examples, as copied here, thus represent not the position of *pro*, but rather the empty Spec(IP).

turns out to be correct, the results of the present investigation provide some support for Vance's (1989) critique of Adams' proposal: the loss of pro-drop in OFr cannot be correlated with the loss of V2.

3.4.5. Conclusion

In summary, given the above facts, it becomes clear that the notion of V2 must be relativized if it is to be useful at all as a descriptive term. None of the putative V2 languages discussed require that the finite verb be in absolute second position in main clauses. Rather, the common denominator crucially distinguishing them from languages such as Modern English, French, and Spanish, is the fact that in the framework adopted here they are characterized by obligatory verb movement (to INFL or to COMP depending on the group of languages) and by the availability of an A-bar position (Spec(IP) or Spec(CP)), that acts as a potential landing site for both subject and non-subject constituents. As we have seen, this is the only valid generalization that can be made if we are to continue to use V2 to characterize a single group of languages. Apart from this, the languages in this group differ considerably among themselves, including in whether they permit the construction known as V1 declarative, and in whether they allow a certain range of constituents to adjoin to positions external to IP or CP boundaries.

3.5. Clitics Revisited

Now that the essential aspects of the syntax of OSp have been delineated, we are ready to turn our attention back to the system of pronominal clitics, tackling some of the questions that were left unresolved in the previous chapter. I begin with the less problematic cases, configurations of the form XP-Cl-V_[+finite].

Recall that in the previous chapter pronominal clitics in OSp were classified as 2P clitics, following the typology proposed in Klavans 1982. Adopting the terminology used by Klavans, we saw that their syntactic distribution could be modelled by proposing that pronominal clitics had the values P1: INITIAL, exhibited variation between the values P2:BEFORE and P2:AFTER (mainly in embedded clauses), and were enclitic for phonological attachment, i.e. were P3:ENCLITIC.

Recall also that some modifications to Klavans' proposal for the 2P class were tentatively introduced in Chapter 2, to adapt it to more current theoretical assumptions. We noticed, for instance, that the variation between P2:BEFORE and P2:AFTER, although descriptively adequate, could perhaps be explained in a more principled manner by doing away completely with P2 and positing simply that clitics are placed by the syntax on the left edge of IP by default, except when this would result in a clash with phonological constraints requiring that clitics be encliticized to a preceding lexical element. Structures not conforming to this restriction would not be acceptable at PF. Since clitics are posited to be XPs, there is nothing that would prevent them from being able to adjoin on either side of another XP.

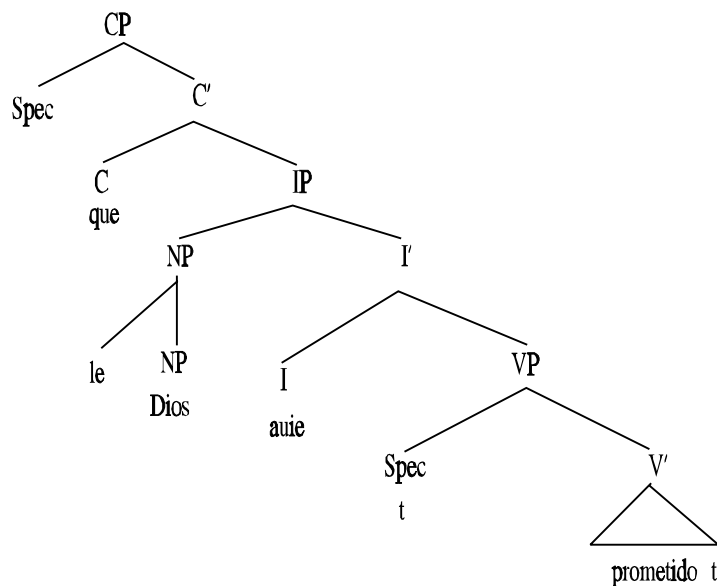
Pronominal clitics in OSp are thus prosodically deficient NPs restricted,

arguably due to phonological constraints, to appear to the right of an overt element that acts as its host for phonological attachment. As far as their syntax is concerned, they are invariably placed in a position at the left edge of IP by a special instance of move- α , presumably akin to *scrambling*. However, unlike the most well-known cases of scrambling, this process is obligatory in the case of clitics. In embedded contexts, since a lexically realized C^0 can provide the necessary host for phonological attachment, clitics can adjoin to the left of the first XP dominated by IP, thus winding up in a position adjacent to COMP and resulting in the pattern known as interpolation; in root environments, however, such adjunction structures clash with the phonological requirement of encliticization, and, as a consequence, only clitic adjunction to the right of the first XP dominated by IP is allowed.

Now that a more detailed characterization of OSp phrase structure has been laid out, we are ready to situate OSp clitics, so far simply shown to fit as 2P clitics within the parameters proposed in Klavans' model, within the particular context of OSp grammar. Projecting the descriptive model onto the phrase structure that has been motivated in this chapter, we obtain the structure (126) for (125).

- (125) que =le dios auie prometido
 as them God had promised
 'That God had promised him' (GE-I.60v)

(126)



Since an overt complementizer appears to the left of IP, it can act as a host for encliticization of *le*. Thus, the grammar allows the clitic to adjoin to the left of the subject NP occupying Spec(IP). In root environments, the situation is different. The structure assigned to an example such as (127) will be as in (128).

(127) la estoria =lo contara
 the history it tell.FUT.3Sg
 'History will tell us about it' (EE-I.1r)

(128)

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This model is less optimal than one would wish, since data such as that illustrated by the examples in (129) would seem to force us to introduce some stipulative statement equivalent to the proposed variation between BEFORE and AFTER in P2. This optionality involving the side of adjunction in embedded environments, while not absolutely damaging, should be explained in a principled manner. I will attempt to do so in Chapter 5, where a hypothesis about the diachronic reanalysis that took place in the system will be advanced. There I will suggest that structures such as (126) represent the original system of 2P clitics, presumably fully operative at a stage prior to the first extant texts written in Romance. The variation between configurations of the type illustrated by (125) and (129) is then seen as a reflection of the ongoing change that finally resulted in the total disappearance of the 2P system. For the time being, I will assume that the analysis of examples such as (129) is as in (130).

(129) a. dizien que dios =les enuiaua angel que=los guiaua.
 they-said that god them send angel that=them guided
 'They said that God had sent them an angel to guide them'
 (GE-I.214v)

(130)

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Note that this proposal bears a striking resemblance to the analysis proposed in Rudin 1988 for the distribution of *wh*-elements in multiple questions in languages such as Bulgarian and Romanian. Rudin argues that, in these languages, *wh*-expressions can either move into the Spec(CP) position, via substitution, or adjoin to another *wh*-phrase already in this position. See Rudin 1988 for details.

This is very close to what is argued here to be the case for OS*p* clitics. Though I have not discussed the substitution option for the clitic, it is arguably necessary in view of examples involving embedded contexts where the pronominal clitic is the only element appearing between the complementizer and the tensed verb, as in (131).

- (131) *si*=I pessasse del crebanto de los xpistianos
 if=him distressed of-the defeat of the christians
 '*if he was distressed by the defeat of the Christians*' (EE-II.2*v*)

What is most important to observe with respect to the similarities between the analysis of clitics defended here and Rudin's analysis of multiple *wh*-fronting in Bulgarian and Romanian is that one of the main justifications for Rudin's proposal is the need to account for the fact in these languages the order of fronted *wh*-words is fixed. Thus, in Bulgarian a nominative must precede an accusative *wh*-word, and whenever an indirect object *wh*-word is involved, the required order is subject, direct object, indirect object.⁴² She derives the differences between these languages and other multiple *wh*-fronting languages which permit flexible orders of the fronted *wh*-words by proposing

⁴² Rudin notes that the order of *wh*-words in Romanian is also rather fixed, with nominative *wh*-words always preceding non-nominative *wh*-words. She adds, however, that the order of accusative/dative *wh*-word combinations appear to be less strict than in Bulgarian.

that the latter do not allow multiple *wh*-expressions in (adjoined to) CP. Rather, for this other group of languages (e.g. Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Czech) she suggests a structure, previously suggested by Lasnik and Saito (1984), in which only the initial *wh*-word occupies the Spec(CP) position, and the non-initial *wh*-words are all adjoined to the IP projection. These facts are extremely relevant in the context of the present discussion because the fixed order of clitics (which appears to be categorical even in the earliest extant written records) has been one of the main arguments brought up against the general position defended here in the sense that OSp clitics are X^{\max} categories (e.g. Wanner 1991 contra Rivero 1986). Clearly, we would not want to suggest that *wh*-expressions in languages such as Bulgarian are X^0 categories. The facts discussed by Rudin lend thus additional support for the type of analysis defended here.

As a final note, an alternative treatment of the distributional patterns exhibited by 2P clitics is explored in Halpern and Fontana 1993. There, it is suggested that the variation in the positions occupied by clitics at S-structure can be accounted for by proposing two possible adjunction sites in the syntax. The contrasts observed between examples such as (132a-b) below are claimed to be derivable by allowing either adjunction of the clitic to IP, in the case of (132a), or to I', in the case of (132b). Alternatively, if a phrase structure such as that proposed in Pollock 1989 is adopted, the example in (132b) can be treated as involving adjunction of the clitic to another maximal projection below the subject position, perhaps the T(ense)P(hrase).

- (132) a. *quando oyeron la fuerte menaza que=les dios fiziera...*
 when heard-3rd-Pl the strong threat that=them god made...
 'when they heard the strong threat that God made them...' (GE-I.214v)
- b. *dios =le dio grant vengança*
 god him gave great revenge
 'God conceded him a great revenge' (EE-II.21r)

However, I will not pursue this analysis of the alternation in clitic ordering here. For the purposes of the current investigation, I have deliberately assumed a fairly conservative view of phrase structure which does not embrace the exploded INFL hypothesis advanced by Pollock, or later developments suggested in the *minimalist* framework advanced in Chomsky 1992; consequently, I would have to defend the alternative involving adjunction to I' to account for the facts in (35b). However, for lack of any independent evidence that could support this claim, I am not ready to defend here the controversial assumption that adjunction of an XP to an intermediate projection such as I' can be freely permitted in a constrained theory of syntax. Hence, I will maintain the analysis outlined above and represented by the trees in (128) and (130). In its most basic aspects, this analysis is essentially equivalent to those proposed in Taylor (1990), and Pintzuk (1991) to account for the syntactic distribution of pronominal clitics in Homeric Greek and Old English respectively.

We can now move on to configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl such as those

illustrated in (2) at the beginning of this chapter.

3.6. Conclusion

To conclude, I have shown that OSp is a language characterized by V2 effects both in main and subordinate clauses. I have proposed that the word order patterns found in OSp can be adequately accounted for by an analysis which is identical in its most basic attributes to that proposed in the recent literature for Yiddish and Icelandic. Furthermore, I have shown that the combination of the claims that have been motivated in this and the preceding chapters, i.e. that OSp had a 2P clitic system and a symmetric V2 syntax, provides a straightforward solution for part of the distribution of pronominal clitics in this language. Preverbal clitics are adjoined to the first X^{\max} position in IP (Spec(IP)), which we have called the XP position, with the tensed verb occupying INFL. In the next chapter we will see that configurations of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ are easily accounted for by independently motivated instances of verb movement from I to C: in these configurations, the clitic is in the same position, but the verb has advanced to COMP.

Chapter 4

Phrase Structure and Clitics in the Grammar of Old Spanish

4.1. Clitics Revisited: An Autonomous Verb-Movement Analysis

Having established the basic phrase structure of OSp, we are now in a better position to consider the problem posed by configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl. The following sections will be devoted to fully developing the basic idea that was hinted at the end of chapter 3, namely that the relative positions occupied by clitics and verbs in the period under study are best explained in terms of an independently available mechanism of verb-movement.

4.1.1. INFL to COMP and Clitic Placement

In the conclusion to the previous Chapter we saw that the analyses of clitic placement and phrase structure advanced in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, when combined make the prediction that $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configurations should only be possible in those environments where the verb occupies a position outside the IP domain. Given the framework that has been adopted, this position has been taken to be the head of CP, namely C. If we go back to the descriptive observation made concerning the types of constructions involving this specific order between tensed verbal elements and clitics, we see that this prediction is at least partially fulfilled. Recall that strings of the form $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl appeared in precisely two types of constructions for which an analysis involving I-to-C movement has been independently proposed in the literature: imperatives (Rivero 1991, Rooryck 1992)¹ and questions Rizzi (1991), Moore (1991).² The examples of imperatives and questions are repeated below:

- (1) a. *¿Pareçe=os, señor, bien que Hernando C. ansí nos aya traido engañados a todos?*
 seems-to you, sir, well that Hernando C. thus us has brought fooled to all
'Sir, does it seem fair to you that H.C. has brought us all here with lies?'
 (Bernal)

¹. This assumption is not totally uncontroversial. See Zanuttini (1991), Chapter 3, for an alternative view which treats imperatives as verbal forms lacking the functional projection TP.

². I-to-C has been assumed to be the correlate to Subject-Aux inversion in the GB framework only since the Barriers model, Chomsky (1986). In Moore (1991), I-to-C explicitly argued to be responsible for Aux-Subject inversion in Spanish. We can conjecture that this proposal can be extended to cover earlier treatments of Subject-Aux inversion in Spanish such as those in Rivas (1977) and Torrego (1984). In section 4.2.4 we will discuss evidence indicating that I-to-C is involved only in yes/no questions and not in wh-questions.

- b. ¿Miembra=*t* quando lidiamos çerca Valençia la grant?
 reminds-to-you when fought.we near Valencia the great?
 ‘Do you remember when we fought around Valencia the great?’ (PMC 3315)
- (2) a. tornad =*lo* al que uos el pan uendio
 give-back it to-the one who you the bread sold
 ‘give it back to the one who sold you the bread’ (GE-I.105r)
- b. vea=*lo* el Criador con todos los sos santos,
 see it the Creator with all the his saints
 ‘may the Lord see it, with all his saints’

Interestingly, this prediction is fulfilled in yet a third type of syntactic environment, in the construction known as *verb-first declarative*, attested in OSp but not in present Spanish. As we have observed, these structures have also been independently argued to involve verb movement from I-to-C in languages which otherwise do not exhibit the type of root/subordinate asymmetries that characterize the languages of the German/Dutch group, e.g. Yiddish, Icelandic, Old English and Old Norse. Thus, given the analysis of these root constructions outlined in the previous Chapter, we would expect that if object clitics were to appear in the type of environments where declarative verb-first clauses typically occur, they would do so in configurations of the

form $V_{[+finite]}-CI$. This is exactly what we find.³ A brief examination of medieval and renaissance texts reveals that the great majority of instances of $V_{[+finite]}-CI$ appear precisely in the context of the most characteristic (or at least most widely discussed) type of verb-first declarative clause: Narrative Inversion. Compare, for instance, the two samples of OSp narrative in (3) with the typical NI environments in Yiddish and Old Icelandic of examples (4)a and (4)b, focusing your attention on the contrast between the specific contexts in which the configurations superscripted with x and y appear.

³. Juan Uriagereka (p.c) observes that in texts such as "El Quijote", from the end of the XVIth century, there are a number of constructions exhibiting $V_{[+finite]}-CI$ configurations which do not appear in the typical narrative environments characteristic of V1 declaratives such as the NI construction. None of these cases were found in the representative samples from different periods that composed the data base for this study. However, if we look carefully through the texts, we can find instances of these types of structures even in the earliest texts. These structures appear in direct speech and are illustrated by the examples in (i)-(iii). Due to the fact that the present investigation concentrated mainly on the study of narrative texts for the reasons exposed in Chapter 1, data such as the examples in (i)-(iii) is extremely limited the corpus and hence the necessary evidence for deciding what their appropriate characterization may be is lacking. I will therefore leave the question open as to what is the most appropriate analysis for this kind of construction.

- (i) **Gradesco** =*lo* adios myo çid
 acknowledge it to-god my Çid
"I thank Good for this Mio Çid" (PMC)
- (ii) Oy =*me* mio sacerdot **manifiesto**=*me* aq<u>i' ante mio se<n>nor dios q<ue> so
 Listen to-me priest manifest myself here before my lord god that is
 en la tierra
 on the earth
"Listen to me my priest, I make myself present before my Lord God who is on earth"
 (GE-I.333r)
- (iii) Yo dixе : Diego de Ordas, **pareççe**=*me* que podemos apechugar con ellos
 I said: Diego de Ordas, seems to-me that can.3rdPI deal with them
"I said, Diego de Ordas, it seems to me that we should be able to confront them" (Bernal)

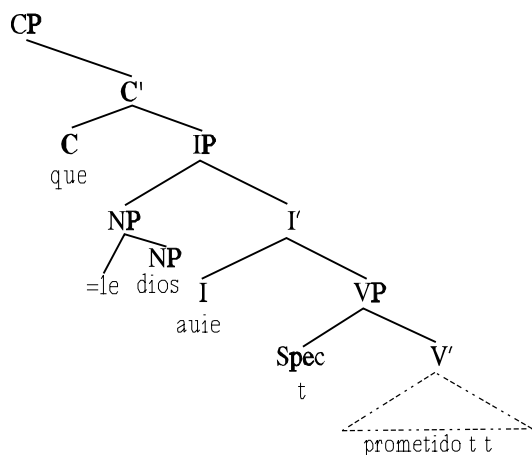
- (3) a. despues quel^x fallaron, rogaron=^{le}y que =^{les}x diesse la llaue. Respondio=^{les}y **el**
 after-him found.3P, begged.3P-him that them gave.3S the key. Answered-them he
- que lo^x non farie; e tanto =^{le}x rogaron y=^lx dixieron
 that it not would-do.3Sg and so much him begged.3P and to-him told.3Pl
- que se^x ouo de ...e estonçes demando=^{las}y **el** a aquel freyre e tomo=^{las}y
 that self had.3Sg to ...and then demanded-them he to that friar and took-them
- e dio con ellas en medio del palacio. fueron=^{se}y poral tesoro
 and gave with them in middle of-the palace. went-selves towards-the treasure and
- e sacaron ende dos coronas e leuaron=^{las}y al patriarca e **el** puso...
 took-out from-there two crowns and took them to-the patriarch and he put...
'After they found him, they =begged him for the keys. He responded that he would not do it, and so much they insisted and pestered him that he finally had to... then he requested them from that friar, and took them and, used them to get into the palace. Then they went to the treasure and took out two crowns from there, and they took them to the patriarch, and he put...' (GCU.6)
- b. mas fizo gelo otorgar **el santo Obispo** con la sandalia quel dio.
 but made.3Sg him-it admit the saint Bishop with the sandal that-him gave.3Sg
- & fizo **el papa** penitencia & dixo **sant Antidio** la missa en su logar & consagro
 & made the pope penance & said saint Antidio the mass in his place & consecrated
- la crisma & tomo unapartida della pora si. & espidiosse del papa & salio fuera
 the host & took a piece of-it for self & took leave from-the pope & went out
- & caualgo enel diablo & llego a su Obispado
 & rodeon-the devil & arrived to his Bishopric
'but the Bishop made him admit it by presenting him with the sandal. And the pope did penance and Saint Antidio said the mass for him and consecrated the host and took a piece for himself. Then said farewell to the pope, went out and rode the devil, and arrived to his bishophric.' (EE-I.126r)
- (4) a. **er** vil vern a gazlen. Gezogt is gezogt. Hot **er** zikh ongeton in a groysn zak,
 he wants to become a robber. Said is said. Has he self put on a big sack,
- un hot ongebundn a hak on der zayt, genumen tales-un-tfilin, un iz gegangen
 and has tied an axe on the side, took prayer-stuff, and is gone
- in vald. Shteyt **er** in vald, un vart...
 into the woods. Stands he in the woods, and waits...
'...he wants to become a robber. And that's that. So, he put on a big sack and tied an axe to the side, gathered his prayer books, and went into the woods. Then he stood there and waited...'

- b. **Bjorn** nam Þóru á brott ok hafði heim með sér á Aurland; váru þau þar
 Bjorn took Þóru away and had home with self in Aurland; were they there

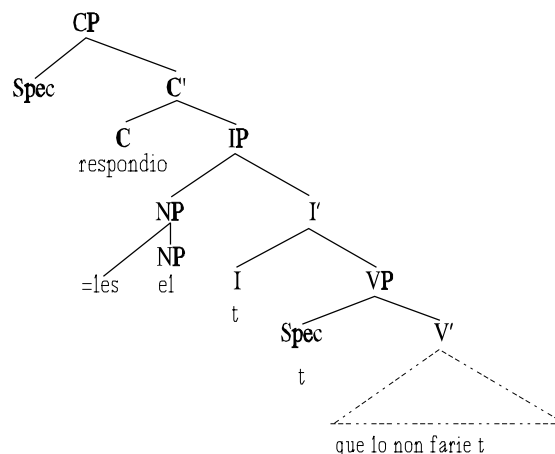
um vetrinn, ok vildi Bjorn gera brúðlaup til hennar.
 in the winter, and wanted Bjorn make wedding to her.
 'Bjorn took Þóru away to his home in Aurland. They stayed there during the winter,
 and then Bjorn decided he wanted to marry her' (Gylf. 58,13-14)

Assuming the correctness of the treatment of verb-first declaratives in terms of I-to-C movement, an analysis for the configurations marked with *y* in (3) which is compatible with the overall view of the syntax of OSp clitics maintained thus far becomes readily available. Constructions such as those with the *y* superscript in (3) can be assigned the structure in (6), which, with regards to the structural position of the clitic, contrasts minimally with structures such as that in (5) corresponding to a configuration exhibiting single verb movement (V^0 -to- I^0).

(5)



(6)



As illustrated in (6) the structural position occupied by the object clitic does not differ from that occupied by object clitics in Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ sequences such as those in (5), the only difference being the category of the lexical element filling C^0 . Thus, in both cases the phonological host for cliticization is the lexical element occupying the C^0 position; in (5) it is the complementizer; and in (6) it is the V^0 - I^0 complex. With respect to (5), recall that, in terms of the descriptive parameters proposed in Klavans (1982), the value P2:*before* was typically found in embedded environments, where the clitic can be syntactically adjoined to the left of the first constituent in IP, but leans on the lexicalized C position which acts as the required phonological host.

In a root V2 configuration the clitic would be attached to the right of the constituent in this same position. This difference follows directly from the analysis we have adopted. The variation in the value for P2 between *before* and *after* was related to the possible conflict between the default value for P2, taken to be *before*, and the

default setting for P3 in the same model, i.e. clitic elements must be phonologically enclitic, that is, attached to a lexical element on their left. Clitics thus can take the lexicalized C position as a phonological host whether the lexicalizing element is a complementizer or a verbal head.

4.1.2.1. The Place of Wackernagel's Law in the Grammar of OSp

Perhaps one of the most interesting results of the analysis of OSp clitics advocated here is that the patterns typically associated with WL/TML (see discussion in Chapter 2), including the alternation between $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ and $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$ strings, are effectively epiphenomenal: These facts follow from the interaction between the specific domains of cliticization designated by the syntax to 2P clitics according to the model adopted here, and the particular type of phrase structure which has been motivated for OSp in Chapter 3 (which involves the independently motivated mechanisms of verb movement discussed above).

In contrast to this basic approach, there are other analyses which can be described as more "teleological" in spirit, because in all of them the central factor determining the specific configurations in which the verb and the clitic will wind up at S-structure is the enforcement of the type of requirements subsumed under such descriptive statements as the WL/TML; which thus could be interpreted as achieving a status of *law* in the more strict sense of a grammatical constraint (e.g. Meyer-Lübke 1897, Lema and Rivero 1990, Rivero 1991, Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991). In essence, this view postulates that there must be syntactic mechanisms whose only goal is to ensure that the clitic never winds up in sentence initial position. This general view, which I will refer to as the *teleological approach* for convenience, can be in turn subdivided into two basic types of proposals: a) those which assume some sort of mechanism which places the clitic in a position where it can have an element to its left acting as phonological host; thus making strings involving clitics compatible with the basic restrictions embodied by statements such as WL/TML (e.g. Meyer-Lübke 1897,⁴ Halpern 1992⁵); and b) those where an almost literal interpretation of

⁴. Notions such as syntactic 'movement' were certainly not entertained by 19th century linguists and philologists: However, I am interpreting some of Meyer-Lübke's statements as indicating that he considered the position of the clitic to be driven by the need to satisfy his own interpretation of WL. Ramsden (1963), for instance, describes Meyer-Lübke's approach as follows: "for Meyer-Lübke weak pronoun objects were still enclitic in the early textual period of the different Romance languages and, in cases where there was no suitable preverbal element on which to lean, they had to follow the verb itself" (Ramsden (1963:72)).

WL/TML is enforced by means of a mechanism of verb-movement (e.g. Lema and Rivero 1990, Rivero 1991a-c,⁶ Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991). While the role played by phonological/prosodic considerations in both types of proposals is different (only in the former view the inherent enclitic status of weak pronouns in the phonology is explicitly⁷ taken to be the driving force in the reordering between clitics and verbs⁸), all these analyses coincide in rendering the syntax sensitive to constraints of the kind that are reflected in the WL/TML descriptive generalizations. In other words, the analyses that I have subsumed under the label of teleological approach would coincide in proposing that the syntax provides some sort of 'last resort' mechanism ensuring that the basic requirement expressed by the WL/TML is satisfied.

In the analysis defended here, the empirical observation that pronominal clitics are phonologically attached to a preceding lexical item (i.e. they are enclitics by default) is by no means challenged. In fact, this particular trait is taken to be one of the most characteristic aspects of the OSp clitic system, and, as we will see later on, the changes affecting this particular area (shift in the default direction of phonological cliticization from enclitic to proclitic) play a significant role in the account of diachronic developments presented in Chapter 5. However, the default status of OSp

⁵ Although not specifically for OSp, and also without making any reference to descriptive statements such as WL/TML, Halpern (1992) has proposed an analysis along these lines for 2P clitics. For him, as also for Meyer-Lübke, the driving force determining the specific position 2P clitics will ultimately occupy at S-structure is their inherent status as phonologically enclitic elements. The requirement that this type of clitics, using his own terms, (prosodically)-adjoin to a word to their left can cause what he calls *prosodic inversion* which is, in effect, the inversion or reordering of the syntactic terminals associated with the clitic and its host. In his own words: "this inversion [...] is viewed as the result of the mapping between syntactic and prosodic structure; its scope is limited to affecting adjacent elements, and its application makes reference only to prosodic constituency" (Halpern (1992:2)). Halpern's main focus of attention are the clitic systems in the Balkan languages.

⁶ As noted in the previous Chapter, for Rivero (1991), building on a previous proposal in Lema and Rivero (1990), constructions such as those in (i), which she analyzes as instances of Long Head Movement (LHM), are assigned the structure in (ii). In her view "the LHM trigger in patterns like [(i)] is Wackernagel's law, as Menéndez Pidal (1964-1969) suggests. Recall that old clitics cannot be CP-initial, [...], so movement of V to C provides a constituent within CP preceding the Clitic attached to the Aux". Rivero (1991:263)

(i) Et fazerVOS he algunos enxiemplos
And make+TO-YOU I-will some examples
'And I will make some examples for you' (Lucan 48)

(ii) [_{CP}[_Cfazer_i][_{vos} he [_{VP} t_i algunos enxiemplos]]]

⁷ Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991), however, do mention the possibility that the prohibition against clitic-first orders is "presumably a phonological constraint".

⁸ Note that this remark can only be properly taken to refer to Meyer-Lübke's view and does not necessarily extend to Halpern's proposal. As noted above, Halpern's (1992) work does not concern itself with the distribution of clitics in OSP, and hence does not make any specific claims about how the generation of V[+finite]-Cl strings is to be handled.

clitics as enclitics in the phonology, though an important property, is not taken to be the central force in determining the position that clitic elements will eventually occupy at S-structure with respect to the tensed verb. The system outlined in the previous chapters was characterized by the fact that phrase structure and the phonological constraints affecting clitic elements lived, as it were, in harmony. Owing to the fact that the basic environments in root clauses involved either the topicalization of constituents to the XP position (responsible for the creation of V2 effects), or, alternatively, the operation of syntactic mechanisms responsible for V1 declaratives (and other independently motivated instances of I⁰-to-C⁰ verb-movement), clitics never lacked a phonological host to their left within the domain they were assigned to by the syntax. When, due to independent changes in the phrase structure of OSp, this harmony was destroyed, a new system emerged.

Thus, the view advocated here bears some similarities with the two basic proposals outlined above: with the former because it recognizes the significance of the role played by phonological/prosodic factors in the overall design of the OSp clitic system; with the latter because its account of the distinctive alternations between V_[+finite]-Cl and Cl-V_[+finite] strings require positing the operation of a mechanism of verb-movement, rather than one of clitic movement. However, the default status of clitic elements in the phonology as enclitics is seen as affecting only in a secondary fashion the general operations deriving their S-structure positioning, rather than being the driving force for any of them. Verb movement to a position above the domain where clitics adjoin at S-structure is also seen as independent of either constraints on phonological encliticization or of any other restriction such as the prohibition for the clitic to be in absolute first position in the sentence (CP). Thus, in the system envisioned here, no specific syntactic operation is triggered exclusively by the requirement that clitics be preceded by phonologically overt material, whether it is an instance of movement that changes the initial S-structure position of the clitic or of the verb. While arguably the instances of move- α affecting the derivation of verb and pronominal clitic positions at S-structure are also amenable to analyses that cast them in a teleological frame, there is no place in the syntax for a special rule embodying anything similar to WL/TML.

The view advocated here also differs with these approaches in some other important respects, both with regards to its empirical coverage and, most importantly, with respect to its ability to provide a principled account of the particular changes that took place in the system of clitics of OSp and opened the door to the creation of the system which is now in place. I turn now to discuss in detail some of the problems faced by the teleological approach.

4.1.2.2. Clitic distribution in coordination structures

As suggested in Wanner (1991), WL/TML effects could be recast in more current terms in the form of a negative filter prohibiting clitics from occurring in sentence initial position. He proposes the formulation in (7).

- (7) TM * $[_{CP} \ominus cl]$ where \ominus designates a phonologically null string spanning structurally complex arrangements, including $[_C \text{ } [_{IP} \text{ } , \text{ any lexically nonfilled nodes such as } [_C \text{ } e \text{ }]]$, and/or structurally required empty categories such as *pro*.

In analyses such as those advanced in Lema and Rivero (1990), Rivero (1991) and Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991), the verb-movement variant of the teleological approach, the instances of verb-movement to the C^0 position involved in the generation of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ strings are conceived as a 'last resort' operation (in the sense of Chomsky 1989) whose only goal would be to prevent the violation of the WL/TML constraint informally stated as the filter in (7). It will become obvious that this approach does superficially achieve the same results as the analysis proposed here (henceforth referred to as *the autonomous verb-movement* analysis for convenience) with regards to many of the facts examined in this section. However, as we will see in the following discussion, the analysis presented here is preferable to the verb-movement variant of the teleological approach on the grounds that it is able to derive $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ constructions from independently needed syntactic operations of verb-movement and hence does not require us to introduce highly stipulative filters such as (7) in the grammar. I turn now to show that, although accounts like the verb-movement version of the teleological approach are well fitted to account for the superficial arrangements of the OSp clitic data, they face empirical and conceptual problems equivalent to those faced by the clitic movement variant.

4.1.2.2.1. Clitic Phonological Attachment and Coordinating Conjunctions

It is indeed tempting to argue that given the apparently categorical requirement that clitics be attached to some phonologically overt material to their left, the absence of any lexical material preceding the verb could be what is in fact responsible for the existence of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ configurations. In other words, disregarding previous arguments in favor of relating these specific configurations to the occurrence of a particular instance of independently motivated verb-movement, namely movement from INFL to COMP (henceforth simply I^0 -to- C^0), one could argue that the appropriate generalization to be captured with respect to $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ strings is the fact that they are characterized by the absence of lexical material in the preverbal position. On such a view, clitics in examples such as those in (8) would have moved to a post-verbal position to satisfy the requirement that they be phonologically attached to a word on their left, or alternatively, as proposed by the verb-movement variant, the verb would have moved to satisfy the filter in (7).

here, the distribution of these clitics from a strictly syntactic perspective is compatible with the verb movement variant of the teleological approach but not with the clitic-movement variant.⁹

Note, however, that while the clitic may or may not be phonologically attached to the following verbal element, it is still positioned exactly after the XP element in a typical V2 configuration.¹⁰ I will not attempt to provide an explanation of these problematic examples here. Most likely, metrical or parsing considerations are responsible for the prohibition against strings such as (10)a-b, which are the expected output given the requirement of encliticization.

- (10) a. *Dios lo mande que por vos=*se* ondre oy la cort!
 God it summon-SUBJ that for you=*itself* honor-SUBJ today the court!
- b. *oy dia en Greçia=*l* traen por fabriella
 today in Grece it bring.they for ????

If we maintain that operations of syntactic placement and phonological attachment are essentially independent from one another, i.e. are governed by two separate modules in the grammar, the existence of such exceptional sentences is arguably easier to accommodate. Examples such as the ones above would only show that, in certain circumstances, the general requirement of encliticization (clearly a phonological, not a syntactic restriction) can be overridden without affecting the rest of the overall restrictions involved in the placement of clitics in the syntax. Let us move on now to consider a more serious problem for the clitic-movement variant of the teleological approach; more serious in the sense that, in this case, the counterexamples to the hypothesis are rather abundant. Recall that in Chapter 2 we argued against overly literal interpretations of WL by using evidence from a certain class of constituents including coordinating conjunctions which seemed to behave erratically in

⁹ Here, I am assuming, that only the clitic-movement variant interprets WL/TML effects basically as a phonological constraint preventing clitics from standing in a position where they lack a suitable phonological host to their left. This raises the question, only hinted at above, of what the proper characterization of the filter in (7) may be. The only way in which the verb-movement variant can account for these facts is by arguing either that phonological factors play absolutely no role in the constraint represented in (7), or by saying that the lack of a phonological host does not rule out these particular strings because there is still phonologically overt material within the CP and the filter specifically requires that there be absolutely no lexical material between the clitic and the left edge of CP. But, then, of course, saying that the filter in (7) is phonologically motivated becomes rather pointless.

¹⁰ The constituent 'oy dia' found in first position in (9)b belongs to the exceptional class of adverbial expressions discussed in Chapter 3. Recall that in a number of V2 languages a restricted group of adverbials can precede V2 configurations. More on this topic in section 4.2.1.1.

terms of their ability to count as the element in 'first' position.¹¹ The same kinds of arguments used there can be used here once again. First, as we noted before, some stipulation would be required to explain why coordinating conjunctions cannot act as viable sites for the phonological attachment of clitics in some cases such as in the example (8) above, but they clearly do in others such as in the examples in (11) below.

- (11) a. *y=l aorauan & =se dauan todos por suyos*
 and-him adored & selves gave all-of-them for his
 '*and they adored him and all offered themselves to him*' (GE-I.307r)
- b. *y=l fuessen leales. y=l obedesciessen y=l guardassen como a Rey*
 and-him were loyal and-him obeyed and-him kept as a king
 '*and to be loyal to him and to obey him and to consider him as their king*'
 (EE-I.181v)
- c. *y=l aquello dixiera*
 and-him that told
 '*and was telling him those things*' (EEII.62v)

The autonomous verb-movement analysis can account for the contrast between (8) and (11) without having to resort to any stipulation concerning the ability of coordinating conjunctions to serve as hosts for phonological attachment in some circumstances but not in others. The only point that needs to be established is that the constructions in (8), but not those in (11), involve movement of the verb from INFL into COMP (see below for evidence that this is the correct assumption). The verb-movement variant of the teleological approach could, of course, make use of a similar argument, but, as noted above, this would require to void the motivation for the filter in (7) of any reference to phonological considerations. The autonomous verb-movement analysis, however, does not require any additional machinery to account for the above contrasts, since as previously observed, this additional verb-movement option is available in OSp as a syntactic mechanism operating independently of the rules of clitic placement.

Thus, once we evaluate the predictions made by the two alternative analyses of clitic placement in the particular environments being discussed, we see that the autonomous verb-movement analysis allows for a wider range of empirical coverage. However, while showing that this analysis is in principle better able to handle cases that would be problematic for the other approach, the previous discussion has not

¹¹. There I argued against the basic approach we have now labelled teleological approach on the grounds that it was granting the status of linguistic rule to something that could only be thought of as a descriptive observation. In that discussion, which concerned the optionality of elements such as coordinating conjunctions for the computation of WL's requirement that clitics be in second position, I concluded that no such stipulation was necessary since coordinating conjunctions are placed outside the relevant domain where the appropriate generalizations concerning the rules governing clitic placement obtained.

provided specific evidence, beyond that already discussed in the previous sections, for the proposal that I-to-C is involved in general in any configuration of the form $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$, and in particular in examples such as (8)a-b. I now turn to certain coordination facts in more detail in order to confirm the view that verb-movement to the COMP position is responsible for the formation of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ sequences.

4.1.2.2.2. Clitic Positions in Root and Embedded Coordinate Structures

In the following examples we see that the sequences of the form *conjunction + $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$* appear only as conjuncts in a root coordination structure, cf. (12); whereas those of the form *conjunction + $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$* , as the ones we saw in (11), are restricted to conjuncts of coordination structures dominated by CPs headed by an overt lexical complementizer, or by a wh-word, cf. (13). In other words, there is a clear root/subordinate asymmetry in the relative positions that verb and clitic can occupy. Additionally, notice that the first conjuncts in the examples in (12) are instances of V1 declarative clauses with overt postverbal subjects. The discourse context in which these specific instances of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ strings occur is that typical of NI constructions.¹²

- (12) a. lidio con ellos Mariano un adelantado de la cibdat de Arles. & priso a Croscó.
fought with them M. a governor of the city of Arles and caught Croscó and
- & fizo =lo traer preso
made him bring prisoner
'Mariano, a governor of the city of Arles, fought with them and caught Croscó and had him brought as a prisoner' (EE-I.127v)
- b. levanto=se contra el en Granada Ysmael hijo de Farachen elarrayaz de Malaga,
raised against him in Granada Ysmael son of Farachen elarrayaz of Malaga,
- fijo de su hermana deste rrey Naçar...; e lidio con el, e vençio=lo,
son of his sister of-this king N....; & fought with him, and defeated-him,
- y ençerro=lo en el Alhanbra de Granada
and locked-him in the Alhambra of Granada
'Ysmael, son of Farachen of Malaga, son of the sister of King N., raised against him in Granada, and fought with him, and defeated him, and locked him in the Alhambra of Granada' (Alf 11)

¹². In other languages such as Old Icelandic, it is also characteristic of these environments to find the subject of the first clause in a string of NI constructions overtly expressed in a postverbal position. This clause is then followed by sequence V1 clauses with null subjects, unless there is a change in the intended referent of this subject.

- (13) a. &' esto dize la estoria **por que**=l fazien seruicio. y=l aorauan & =se dauan por..
and this says the history why-him made service and-him adored and selves gave
'and history says why they served him and adored him and considered themselves
his vassals' (GE-I.307r)
- b. ...fiziera yurar **que** =se touiessen con ell y=l fuessen leales. y=l obedesciessen
...made swear that selves had with him and-him were loyal to him and-him obeyed
'...made them swear that they were with him and loyal to him and obeyed him,[and
kept him as king and master].' (EE-I.181v)
- c. ...uerie quien era el **qui**=l llamara y=l aquello dixiera
...would.see.3Sg was the who-him called and-him that told
'He would see who was calling him and telling him those things' (EEII.62v)
- d. &' tod aquel de uos **que** matare omne. o=l tanxiere muerto
and all that of you that killed somebody or-him touch dead
'and all of you that killed someone or struck him down' (GE-I.315v)

As the autonomous verb-movement analysis predicts, if a particular coordination structure involves the conjunction of two or more embedded clauses at the IP level, clitics will always appear in preverbal position in all the conjuncts; since, by definition, no COMP position is available in any of them for the verb to undergo I-to-C.¹³ If, on the other hand, a coordination structure involves conjunction of main clause CPs, we expect that, given the analysis of V1 declaratives advanced above, any sequence of these constructions involving clitics will yield a series of strings of the form V_[+finite]-Cl. As the contrasts between the examples in (12) and (13) illustrate, this is precisely what we find. Thus, a brief examination of the syntactic environments where the conjuncts involving V_[+finite]-Cl and Cl-V_[+finite] strings occur shows that the syntactic structure underlying each clause is crucial to determining whether a clitic will end up in a position where it must encliticize to the coordinating conjunction or, alternatively, to the tensed verb on its left. This generalization cannot be captured by the teleological approach in a non stipulative manner.

¹³. Again, the verb-movement variant of the teleological approach and the autonomous verb-movement analysis achieve superficially the same results. Since for the verb-movement variant of the teleological approach V_[+finite]-Cl strings are also obtained via I⁰-to-C⁰, these configurations are not expected to occur if the coordinated constituents are not CPs. However, as noted above, it is worth asking ourselves what the appropriate connection between verb movement and filters such as those in (7) is. The data involving coordination structures show that an account based solely on strict position or solely on phonological/prosodic considerations will not work (note that besides the fact that conjunctions can obviously serve as appropriate phonological hosts for cliticization, it is not clear that the intonational contours involved in the conjuncts in (8) and (11) are distinct in any significant way). But if the descriptive observations represented by TM or WL do not correlate strictly with phonological/prosodic constraints or position requirements, the filter in (7) would appear to have no independent motivation whatsoever.

To summarize, in the previous discussion we have seen that while the autonomous verb-movement analysis incorporates the well known descriptive observation that clitics do not occur in sentence initial position in OSp, which is at the center of the teleological approach, it does so without having to stipulate what kinds of words or constituents can occur before a clitic. The crucial distinction between the two approaches, as discussed in Chapter 2, is that the autonomous verb-movement analysis takes as a fundamental premise that rules governing the syntactic placement of clitics and rules governing their phonological attachment operate independently from one another. As a direct consequence of this approach there need not be any constraint as to the type or length of the word that serves as a phonological host for encliticization. Given that conjunctions are among the elements that can be posited to be outside of the relevant domain where the syntactic placement of clitics is determined, no stipulation is necessary to account for the contrasts exhibited by examples such as (8) and (11). Both conjunctions and verbs in these examples satisfy the requirement stated in the extension of Klavans' model that was adopted in Chapter 3 by the value P3:enclitic. The different relative positions occupied by clitics in these examples have been argued to be derived from the application of two different grammatical mechanisms which were independently shown to be operative in the syntax of the language. These two types of verb-movement are single V^0 -to- I^0 movement, and double verb-movement, V^0 -to- I^0 followed by I^0 -to- C^0 . The former type has been claimed to yield V2 structures, while the latter is responsible for V1 constructions. In a V2 configuration, the clitic is adjoined to the right of the XP in Spec(IP); while in a V1 configuration the clitic is adjoined to the left of this same XP position and is therefore phonologically attached onto the COMP position, which is now lexically filled by the verbal head, instead of being phonologically attached to the XP. Thus, evidence from the relative positions occupied by verbs and clitics in different types of coordination structures provides further confirmation of the success of the analysis of $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl constructions in terms of the additional mechanism of verb-movement (I-to-C) available in OSp only in root environments.

4.1.3. Clitics and Negation

Negation facts constitute additional evidence that the surface order between tensed verbs and clitics is subject to syntactic constraints and cannot be accounted for merely on phonological grounds. In Chapter 2 it was observed that $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl strings are incompatible with the presence of negative markers. I will close this section by showing that the autonomous verb-movement analysis allows for a simple account of this restriction, which otherwise lacks a principled explanation, if we make the following two relatively uncontroversial assumptions: a) that the negative marker 'no' cannot be generated outside CP and b) that V^0 must be in the scope of Neg at S-structure. From these assumptions plus the hypothesis that the derivation of $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl strings is only possible via I^0 -to- C^0 , we derive a straightforward account for the fact that none of the following strings are found in OSp: a) Neg- $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl; b) $V_{[+finite]}$ -Neg-Cl; c) $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl-Neg.

As the English and Spanish examples in (14) below illustrate, a negative operator taking an embedded clause as its argument can appear in different positions within that clause, depending on the language, but never outside the CP domain. Although negative evidence for OSp is not available, the grammaticality patterns illustrated by the Spanish examples below probably obtained for OSp as well.

- (14) a. Marta dijo que no iba a venir a tu fiesta.
 Marta said that not was-going to come to your party
'Martha said that she was not going to come to your party'
- b. *Marta dijo no que iba a venir a tu fiesta
 Marta said not that was-going to come to your party
- c. George thought that he was not going to win
- d. *George thought not that he was going to win

Unless negation is interpreted as having scope over the higher clause, the negative marker in constructions such as those above cannot be separated from the clause it modifies by a CP projection. This restriction holds for an array of languages besides Spanish and English, and could perhaps be related to Horn's (1987) claim that negation is not a sentence operator of the kind used in formal logic, but rather a predicate-operator associated either with the verb or the marker of inflection. This may be construed in the syntactic framework assumed here as a requirement that the position where negative markers are generated be a position where the appropriate structural relationship with either I^0 or V^0 can obtain. Hence, independently of which specific status is assumed for negative markers in a particular analysis, any position beyond the CP boundary must be excluded as a viable site for their generation. If negation must appear below CP, the unavailability of Neg + $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl strings follows straightforwardly. No such configuration is possible because, as the autonomous verb-movement analysis predicts, any such configuration would imply that the negative marker has been generated outside the CP boundary, a position where elements of this category cannot be licensed. The next obvious question we must now answer is why strings of the form $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl + Neg or $V_{[+finite]}$ + Neg + Cl are not possible in OSp either.

In order to answer this question, I will first show that the presence of negation does not impose any restriction on the distribution of the clitics themselves, but rather has the effect of curtailing the distributional freedom of the verb. This is illustrated by examples of the construction which has been referred to as 'interpolation', discussed in Chapter 2. As we can see in (15) and (16) below, clitics can be found both preceding and following a negative marker in OSp.

- (15) a. ¿Porqué =*la* non llama hermana aquella?
 why her not call sister that-one
 ‘Why doesn’t that one call her sister?’ (GE-I.257)
- b. ...que=*s* leuantaran contra mi. & que =*me=lo* non consintran
 ...that-selves rise against me & that me it not allow
 ‘...that they will rise against me and won’t allow me to do that’
 (GE-I.314r)
- (16) a. mas non lo fazen. por que segund departe Maestre pedro...
 but not it do.3Pl because as says Master peter
 ‘but they do not do it because as apostle Peter says...’ (GE-I.304r)
- b. Ca no=*l* onrrauan ni=*l* loauan
 because not=him honoured nor-him praised
 ‘Because they neither honored him or praised him’ (EE-II.4r)

That is, both the surface strings Neg-Cl-V_[+finite] and Cl-Neg-V_[+finite] are possible while V_[+finite]-Cl-Neg, Neg-V_[+finite]-Cl, V_[+finite]-Neg-Cl, and Cl-V_[+finite]-Neg are not. These facts indicate that our failure to find a negative marker coexisting with a V_[+finite]-Cl string must be linked to syntactic constraints which do not affect the syntax of clitics per se, at least not in a direct manner, but rather restrict the range of surface positions in which the verb can appear. Specifically, V⁰ must be in the scope of Neg at S-structure in Spanish.

We can account for these facts if we adopt the view that negation heads its own projection (Pollock 1989, Zanuttini 1989, Rivero 1991, among others), the incompatibility of a V_[+finite]-Cl configuration with negation follows straightforwardly. I-to-C, which I am claiming to be responsible for the formation of these distinctive surface strings, would involve the crossing of V⁰ over the head of NegP, thus resulting in a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis 1984, Chomsky 1986, Baker 1988), which prohibits movement of a head over another head.¹⁴ The HMC can be viewed as a direct consequence of the ECP (i.e., the condition that traces must be properly governed, Baker 1988) and ensures that head movement is restricted to structures where the trace of a moved head is appropriately antecedent governed. Following Rizzi (1990), I take the antecedent government relationship to be defined as in (17):

¹⁴. See Lema and Rivero (1989) for an account of these facts in similar terms.

(17) A category α antecedent-governs β iff:

- (i) α c-commands β
- (ii) α and β are coindexed
- (iii) no barrier intervenes between α and β
- (iv) Relativized Minimality is respected

Thus, under this account the unavailability of configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}-CI+Neg$ does not require any special explanation and can be derived from the same syntactic constraints prohibiting the formation of $V_{[+finite]} + Neg$ strings.¹⁵ The same basic assumptions, in combination with the analysis of clitics that has been proposed here, provide a straightforward account for the unavailability of $Neg + V_{[+finite]}-CI$ strings. Any time we have the order $Neg + V_{[+finite]}$, the verb must remain in INFL. But since clitics are positioned on the left edge of IP, to the left of INFL in linear terms, they will always occur to the left of $V_{[+finite]}$ when negation is present. And this is what we observe in the OSp data. Furthermore, note that since clitics in OSp are elements of an X^{\max} category, they are not subject to the same distributional constraints as verbs. Thus, in principle nothing prevents them from crossing NegP, moving onto an adjoined position between CP and NegP (assuming that maximal projections have specifier positions, perhaps into Spec(NegP), but this does not crucially affect this argument).

However, the view that negative markers are head categories with their own phrasal projections is not uncontroversial. Some authors have argued that negative markers, at least in English, are a special kind of adverbial, hence not heading their own maximal projection but rather exhibiting many of the properties characterizing

¹⁵ See Rivero (1991) and Rooryck (1992) for a similar account of contrasts such as those in (i)-(iii) involving negation and imperatives, typical of some Balkan languages and most Romance languages.

- (i) Damelo
give-me-it
Give it to me.
- (ii) No me lo des
not me it give
Don't give it to me.
- (iii) *No damelo
no give-me-it

Rivero (1991), adopting a slightly modified version of Pollock's (1989) phrase structure, argues that negation prevents the verb from moving beyond AGR-S^o. Since according to her, overt morphological marking of "true" imperatives can only be attained via movement of the verbal head onto the C position, where such features are realized, structures such as (iii), where the verb has not crossed NegP and hence not reached C, are consequently ruled out. See also Zanuttini (1991) for arguments against this proposal.

specifiers¹⁶ (Baker 1991, Ernst 1991).¹⁷ If we adopt this position and, extending Ernst's (1991) proposal, conjecture that negative markers in OSp are adverbs related to Spec(IP) (either occupying this position by themselves or adjoined to the X_{max} occupying this specifier) or a similar position,¹⁸ the operation of the HMC cannot be invoked to prevent the formation of the kind of post-verbal strings being discussed. Adopting this view does not preclude finding a viable account for the generalizations we have observed. If negation is a special kind of adverb which does not move from its base position, the incompatibility between negation and V_[+finite]-Cl strings can still be related to the prohibition against sequences of the form V_[+finite] + NEG in most Romance languages, although this prohibition remains a stipulation at this point. Deciding what specific analysis of negation is the most appropriate lies beyond the scope of this project; for the moment we can adopt the first of these two alternatives, since the point is that, on either analysis, the constraints on the ordering of clitics and negation are to a significant degree limited by constraints on the ordering of negation and the verb.

To summarize this section, evidence from coordination and negation shows that the relative order between clitics and tensed verbs at S-structure is largely determined by syntactic constraints affecting the distribution of the verb. In coordination structures involving clitics, the underlying structure of the conjuncts has been shown to be directly responsible for the relative positions occupied by the clitic with respect to the coordinating conjunction and the verb. If the conjuncts are two or more root CPs, given that verb-movement to COMP is independently available in the syntax of OSp, it is in principle possible for the clitic to wind up not adjacent to the coordinating conjunction linking the CPs, but rather immediately following the verb occupying the COMP position. If, on the contrary, the relevant conjuncts are two embedded IPs, the clitic will always wind up in a position where it must attach phonologically to the preceding coordinating conjunction and precede the verb in INFL.

With respect to negated sentences, whichever formal account of the syntax of negation turns out to be more adequate, the data discussed above indicate that there is a direct correlation between unavailability of V_[+finite]-Cl strings in the presence of negation and the blocking effects that negative markers have with respect to I-to-C movement.

Thus, the contrasts between different types of coordination structures and the categorical effect of negative markers in the prohibition of V_[+finite]-Cl provide further evidence in favor of the autonomous verb-movement hypothesis. The relative

¹⁶. Even Pollock himself is rather careful when it comes to characterizing the status of negation across languages. He says "languages could differ precisely in that some could have a NegP and others... a purely adverbial Neg", and he adds "[i]n other languages Neg might be a specifier of Tense" (Pollock 1989:421,fn.50).

¹⁷. These analyses have antecedents in more traditional treatments of negation in English such as those in Klima (1964) and McCawley (1988).

¹⁸. This is necessary to account for the differences in surface distribution with their English counterparts, posited by Ernst to be (usually) in Spec(VP).

positions occupied by clitics and tensed verbs at S-structure can be seen as the result of general syntactic restrictions on the distributional freedom of the verb. As we will immediately see, however, things are not that simple. A careful examination of medieval and renaissance texts reveals that there are numerous apparent counterexamples to the generalization established here. The characterization of these problems and their solution will be the topic of the next section.

4.2. Apparent Problems for the Autonomous Verb-Movement Analysis

So far it has been claimed that $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl sequences can be found only in constructions exhibiting the properties of V1 (and in general any construction involving I-to-C) and that Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ can only appear in V2 environments (which for OSp have been defined by single verb-movement from V^0 -to- I^0). The existence of examples such as those in (18) through (22), though, challenges the correctness of this claim. In (18) through (21) we see that certain adverbs and adverbial clauses, if/because subordinate clauses, and subjects and objects precede the tensed verb in what appears to be a Verb-second structure. However, in all these cases a $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configuration is involved.

- (18) a. E despues mando =*lo* fazer a sus discipulos;
and afterwards ordered it to-do to his disciples
'and then he bade his disciples to do it' (Leyes.4r)
- b. e estonçes demando=*las* el a aquel freyre
and then demanded-them he to that friar
'and then he requested them from that friar' (GCU.6)
- (19) a. E tercer dia ante que lidiasse con su hermano apparecio=*l*
and 3rd day before that fought.3S with his brother appeared-him

en uision sant Ambrosio.
in vision saint Ambrosio
*'and three days before he fought with his brother, Saint Ambrosio
appeared to him in a vision'* (EE-II)
- b. Pues que esto ouo dicho el Rey don Pelayo; metios=*se* dentro
after this had said the king don Pelayo; entered-himself inside

en la cueua con auellos que con ell estauan
in the cave with those who with him were
*'After the king Don Pelayo had said this, he went into the cave with those
who were with him'* (EE-II.3r)

- c. & ante que se pudiessen batear matauan =**los**
and before that [*se*] could baptize killed.3Pl them
'and before they could be baptized, they killed them' (*Leyes.5r*)
- d. E desque las bodas fueron fechas, partio=**se** el rrey para E.
and when the weddings were made, parted-self the king to E.
'And after the wedding, the king left for Escalona' (*Atal.267r*)
- (20) a. Pero si lo no quisiessen fazer; deuen =**lo** dezir a los prelados
but if it not wanted.they do, must.they it say to the prelates
'But if they refuse to do it, the prelates must be told about it'
(*Leyes.52r*)
- b. & si non tele aduxieremos. do=**te=los** que=**los** mates.
and if not you-him bring.1Pl, give.1Sg-you-them that-them kill.2Sg
'and if we don't bring him to you, I will give them to you so that you can
kill them' (*GE-I.104v*)
- c. Mas por que njngun sacrificio de carne non offrescien sin
but because no sacrifice of meat not offered.3Pl without

alguna otra cosa. queremos =**uos** dezir aqui primero. que cosas
some other thing want.1Pl you say here first what things...
'But because they did not offer any animal sacrifice by itself, we
want to tell you here which other things...' (*GE-I.310r*)
- d. Pero por que era buen xpistiano ayudo=**l** el nuestro sennor
but because was.3Sg good christian helped-him the our lord god

dios. & guardo=**lo** de todo periglo & de todo mal.
& kept-him from all danger & from all evil
'But, since he was a good christian, our Lord God helped him and kept
him safe from all dangers and evil things' (*EE-I.126v*)
- (21) a. & **ella** dixo=**l** que como non lloraria que nunca fiziera el
& she told-him that since not cried.3Sg that never did the

rrey cosa por =le fazer plazer
king thing for her make pleasure
'and she told him that unless she cried the king would never do anything
to please her' (*Lucan.140*)

- b. et **nos** respondiemos =*le* luego alo que nos demando.
and we answered him afterwards to-the what us asked.3Sg
- & manifestamos =*le* la uerdad.
& manifested him the truth
'And we gave an answer to his question and told him the truth'
(GE-I.105r)
- c. E a **los otros** acomendo =*los* adios. et mando =*los* que
and the others commended.3Sg them to god and bade them that
- =se alçassen a los montes. et que atendiessen y la su merced.
[*se*] climbed to the mountains & that waited there the his mercy
'And he entrusted the others to God's will, and bade them to hide in the
mountains and wait there for whatever God's designs may be' (EE-II.2v)
- d. e al rrey peso=*le* mucho
and to-the king saddened him much
'and this greatly saddened the king' (Atal.267r)
- (22) a. Pues que a fazer lo avemos ¿porque =*lo* imos tardando?
since to do it we-have Why it we go delaying?
'Since we have to do it, what are we waiting for?' (PMC 2220)
- b. ¿Qui =*los* podrie contar?
who them could count?
'Who could count them?' (PMC 699)

Clearly, all of these examples appear to violate the generalization proposed above. The examples in (18) through (21) all exhibit $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configurations, but seem to be instances of a verb-second structure. The examples in (22) are problematic under the assumption that wh-movement in questions is invariably to Spec(CP) and that the obligatory "inversion" of subjects that usually accompanies wh-questions is a result of I-to-C (Rizzi 1991). If this is the correct analysis for wh-questions, we would expect to find a $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configuration in (22), but this is clearly not the case. Before starting with the discussion of these examples, let me point out that that the data in (18) through (21) are also problematic for the teleological approach. Additional stipulations would clearly have to be added to the ones needed to account for the coordination facts discussed above to explain why the adverbs, subordinate clauses, subjects and objects in these examples cannot count as the necessary 'first' element serving as a host for phonological encliticization. Let us now move on to try to resolve the apparent difficulty that these examples raise for the autonomous verb-movement analysis.

In section 4.2.1, I will address the problem posed by the examples in (18)-(19). Recall that the class of adverbial expressions represented in these examples was discussed in the previous chapter in reference to apparent violations of the strict verb-second requirement; I argued there that these types of sentential modifiers occupy adjoined positions outside the minimal domain where V2 or V1 effects obtain, i.e. adjoined to IP/CP. I will briefly discuss a more principled account of the syntactic constraints that apply to these kinds of adjunction structures based on recent research by McCloskey (1992).

In section 4.2.2, I will argue that the class of subordinate clauses represented in the examples in (20) occupies exactly the same positions that the class of adverbials in (18)-(19) occupy when preceding $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl strings. I will briefly discuss recent proposals by Iatridou (1991b) on the syntactic distribution of *if*-clauses, and extend her conclusions to cover the syntax of similar subordinate clauses, namely *because* clauses. This class of subordinate clauses will be argued to adjoin outside the CP boundary. However, unlike the class of adverbials illustrated by (18)-(19), *if/because*-clauses are never found preceding strings of the form (XP)-Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ in the OSp texts. As we will see in the next chapter, instances of these constructions preceding a configuration of the form Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ are not found in the data base until the period starting in the XVth century. To account for this contrast, I will suggest, building on a previous proposal by Diesing (1990), that an abstract category similar to that posited to trigger I^0 -to- C^0 in questions can be argued to occupy the Spec(CP) position both in the environments of NI and in those illustrated in (20). This abstract category will be argued to have functions more or less equivalent to those expressed by overt elements such as 'then' or 'therefore' in English or their counterparts in other languages. This restricted class of categories generated in Spec(CP) triggers I^0 -to- C^0 in symmetric V2 languages.

The more recalcitrant problems posed by the examples in (21) will be tackled in section 4.2.3. There I will discuss evidence showing that these sentences can be assigned analyses essentially equivalent to those posited for Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD). The fact that OSp is a pro-drop language allows for the possibility of 'dislocated' subjects, claimed to be base-generated outside the CP boundary. The existence of a *pro* category inside the clause proper satisfies the requirements imposed by Case and θ -theory, thus licensing the appearance of correferential overt subjects in positions not related to the external argument of the clause predicate via move- α . Evidence for this analysis will be drawn from the existence of 'doubled' subject constructions and, indirectly, through the parallels in the distribution of subjects with non-argument constituents. Of special significance for this proposal will be 'recomplementation' facts (Higgins 1988 and Uriagereka 1992). The same analysis will be shown to apply to examples such as (21)b. In this case, the role of the resumptive pronoun, essential in CLLD type constructions, is carried out by the presence of a coindexed clitic pronoun inside the clause proper.

Finally, in section 4.2.4, I will address the problems raised by wh-questions. I will show that these examples are problematic only under the assumption that wh-movement takes place to the Spec(CP) and triggers obligatory I^0 -to- C^0 . Evidence will

be provided suggesting that such an assumption is unwarranted in Spanish and by extension in OSp as well.

4.2.1. CP Adjunction Structures

4.2.1.1. Sentential Adverbs and $V_{[+finite]}$ -CI Strings

Although the sentences in (18)-(19) are apparent counterexamples because the clitic is not situated between the first XP and the verb but rather in post-verbal position, the analysis defended here can still be supported if these examples in fact involve I^0 -to- C^0 with the preverbal constituent occupying not Spec(IP), but rather some other position external to CP. OSp provides us with compelling evidence indicating that this is indeed the correct generalization concerning these facts.

In Chapter 3 it was noted that a limited set of subordinate clauses, mainly temporal clauses, as well as a restricted class adverbs such as *despues* 'afterwards' or *estonces* 'then' can precede what would otherwise be considered a typical instantiation of a V2 clause. I concluded that in some V2 languages it is possible for a limited set of subordinate clauses or adverbial elements to be adjoined outside the minimal CP/IP, that is, outside the domain where V2 effects must be computed, both for languages where V2 effects are obtained via verb-movement to C and topicalization to Spec(CP) and for languages where verb-seconding is characterized by verb-movement to I and topicalization to Spec(IP). It is not difficult to see that a similar account can be easily extended to so-called V1 constructions: nothing prevents us in principle from analyzing the constructions in (18)-(19) as instances of I-to-C movement, provided that the relevant adverbial expressions are adjoined outside CP/IP. The overall adequacy of this approach is largely confirmed by the results of recent work by McCloskey (1992) on the characterization of the general syntactic constraints operating on adjunction structures. First, McCloskey observes that the class of adverbs and adverbial expressions defined in Jackendoff (1972) as occupying a left-peripheral position in S as one of their canonical sites of attachment can more or less freely adjoin to IP or VP, but their adjunction to CP is generally impossible. This is illustrated by the contrasts between (23) and (24) (examples from McCloskey 1992). In (23)a-b we see that this class of sentential adverbs and complex clausal adverbs can freely alternate in their relative surface positions in the left periphery of the sentence, a strong indication of an adjunction configuration, in this case adjunction to IP. In (23)c-d, we see that these types of adverbial expressions may appear between complementizer and subject in embedded clauses, also indicating adjunction to IP. In (24), however, we see that the same type of adverbials cannot appear to the left of a complementizer.

- (23) a. [IP In general [IP after people finish their theses [IP they don't know what to do with themselves.]]]
 b. [IP After people finish their theses [IP in general [IP they don't know what to do with themselves.]]]

- c. It's probable that in general he understands what is going on.
 - d. He promised that when he got home he would cook dinner for the children.
- (24)
- a. *It's probable in general that he understands what is going on.
 - b. *He promised when he got home that he would cook dinner for the children.

McCloskey (1992) relates these contrasts to the operation of a putatively universal constraint on adjunction structures which he calls the *Adjunction Prohibition condition*. Following the basic ideas presented in Chomsky (1986), where it is suggested that there is a general prohibition against adjunction to argument-categories, McCloskey defines the Adjunction Prohibition as in (25) (see McCloskey (1992) for extensive discussion of the motivation for this specific proposal).

- (25) Adjunction to a phrase which is s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical.

Given (25), the contrasts in (23) and (24) follow straightforwardly. Since VP or IP are not argument-categories in the relevant sense, adjunction to these maximal categories is predicted to be possible, whereas in the case of the CPs in these examples, clearly occupying argument-positions, adjunction is prevented by (25). However, and this is what is most relevant concerning our discussion of the OSp examples in (19) in particular, it also follows from the Adjunction Prohibition condition that adjunction of modifying elements to CP is permitted just in case the CP in question is not an argument. That this prediction is correct is shown by the following examples, also from McCloskey (1992), where it is assumed that *wh*-questions land in Spec of CP and that Subject Aux Inversion involves I-to-C.¹⁹

- (26)
- a. When you get home, what do you want to do?
 - b. When you get home, will you cook dinner for the kids?
 - c. Most of the time do you understand what's going on?
 - d. When she is working on a paper, only rarely does she leave her office.

Even more relevant for the present investigation is the fact that, as shown by the following examples from Wechsler (1991:4), as cited in McCloskey (1992), we see that similar claims can also be maintained for a fairly well behaved V2 language such as Swedish. An adverbial phrase is found immediately preceding a *wh*-word which is presumably in Spec(CP), thus indicating that adjunction of certain modifiers outside of

¹⁹This assumption is not uncontroversial. See Pesetsky (1989) for the proposal that *wh*-movement in English is to Spec of IP. If Pesetsky's analysis is correct, this argument will not go through.

the CP domain is a viable option in some of the "strict" Verb-second languages.²⁰

- (27) I en stad som Fremont vem skulle inte vara uttråkad
 in a town like Fremont who would not be bored
'In a town like Fremont, who wouldn't be bored?'

Consequently, the examples in (28) and (29) below merely show that this class of adverbial expressions can be adjoined to either CP or IP in OSp. In (28)a-b, we see temporal clauses preceding V1 declarative clauses involving a $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl sequence, indicating that the temporal clause is adjoined outside CP; in (28)c, we see another temporal clause preceding a V2 structure with a topicalized object; finally, in (28)d a temporal adverbial clause is preceding a V2 structure involving a $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl, suggesting that the initial subject is in a position internal to IP. Likewise, with the class of adverbs represented by the examples in (18) above, we can see that these exhibit the same latitude of adjunction possibilities as temporal or similar sentential modifiers: they can precede a V1 declarative, hence adjoining to CP, as in (29)a, or precede a V2 structure, as in (29)b-d.

²⁰ McCloskey also cites Schwarz and Vikner (1991), who note that some examples of adverbials preceding V2 structures are unacceptable in Swedish. This is illustrated in the ungrammatical (i) below, from Schwarz and Vikner (1991:4), as cited in McCloskey (1992).

- (i) *Trots allt Johan vill inte läsa de här böckerna
 despite all Johan will not read these here books
'In spite of everything, John will not read these books.'

It is undeniable that the possibilities of adjunction outside CP in modern V2 languages are much more restricted than those exhibited by languages such as Old English, Old Icelandic, Old French, or Middle Dutch, to name a few. Recall the discussion in Chapter 3, section 3.4, concerning the definitional problems involved in the use of notion of V2. Also relevant is Travis' (1984) account of similar contrasts in terms of differences in parameter settings affecting adjunction that would separate two groups of languages represented by English and German. Providing a principled account of why structures such as (i) are impossible is something that I am not prepared to do at this stage. The point I am trying to convey here is, as will become even more clear in the following discussion, that McCloskey's generalization, despite of possible variation such as that exhibited by the differences in acceptability between (i) above and (27), appears to be in principle correct even for some of the most strict V2 languages. This is further confirmed by the grammaticality of Dutch examples such as the one in (ii). I wish to thank Jack Hoeksema for this example and for useful discussion on the Dutch adjunction facts.

- (ii) a. Al is de leugen nog zo snel, de waarheid achterhaalt haar wel.
 even is the lie yet so fast, the truth catches-up her surely
'The lie may be very fast, the truth (eventually) catches up'
- b. Wie er ook kwam, Jan kwam niet
 whoever there also came, Jan came not
'Whoever else came, Jan didn't come'

- (28) a. & desde que entro a ella ala camara. començo=l ella amouer
and when entered to her in-the room. started-him she to move

sus razones de amor
her reasons of love
'And when he got into her room, she started to attempt to seduce him'
(GE-I.97r)
- b. & luego que entro. querello=s =le ella.
and after that entered.3Sg complained-[se] him she
'and after he had entered, she complained to him' (GE-I.97r)
- c. & desde oujeron departido vna grand pieça truxieron de comer
and when had.3Pl conversed a big piece brought.3Sg to eat
'once they had finished the conversation, someone brought a big meal for them to eat' (Tamer)
- d. pero en este poco tiempo, que no fueron quatro dias, el Duque
but in this little time, which not was for days, the duke

de Milan =lo proveyo de manera que se hizo una puente sobre varcos,
of Milan it arranged of manner that [se] made a bridge over boats
'But in less than four days the duke arranged to have a bridge made over boats' (CV-29)
- (29) a. E despues concordo=se con el rrey de Aragon
and afterwards accorded.3Sg [se] with the king of Aragon
'And after that he made a pact with the king of Aragon' (Atal.267r)
- b. Estonces theuderedo rey de los godos andaua a todas partes...
then theuderedo king of the goths went to all parts...
'then Theuderedo King of the Goths was going everywhere...'
(EE-I.147r)
- c. mas nunca del su logar =se mueue njn ua a otra part del firmamiento
but never from its place [se] moves nor goes to other part of-the firmament
'but it never moves from its position nor goes to a different place in the firmament' (GE-I.271r)
- d. E luego el rrey =se desposo con ella
and afterwards the king [se] married with her
'And afterwards, the king married her' (Atal.267r)

As predicted by the constraint on adjunction structures in (25), nothing prevents this class of adverbial expressions from preceding both V2 structures, presumably IP's in OSp, (29)b-d, and V1 structures, which we are assuming to involve CP structures, (29)a. Note that the same arguments given in Chapter 3 against an overly literal interpretation of the label V2 in terms of strict verb position can be naturally extended to V1: underlying structure and not mere position count must be taken as the fundamental property in defining these types of notions.

The same overall arguments provided for the analysis of the examples in (18)-(19) apply to subordinate clauses such as *if/because*-clauses as well. Due to the special relevance that *if*-type clauses will have in subsequent discussion of issues related to clitic placement, I devote the next section to examining their syntax.

4.2.1.2. Clitic Placement and *if/because*-clauses

In a recent study on the syntax and semantics of conditionals in English, Iatridou (1991b) argues that, when *if*-clauses appear sentence initially, they are adjoined to CP/IP. Although her work concentrates mainly on English, her proposal can be extended to both Spanish and OSp.

One of the main pieces of evidence offered by Iatridou to support her proposal comes from the patterns illustrated in (30). Again, on the assumption that questions, imperatives and exclamatives are derived via verb-movement into COMP in English, the examples above lead us to conclude that *if*-clauses, like temporal adverbial clauses and the rest of adverbial elements discussed above, can adjoin to the maximal projection headed by C⁰.

- (30) a. If it rains, what shall we do?
 b. If it rains, are we going to leave?
 c. If John comes, wake me up.
 d. If he's right, what a fool I've been!

As the examples below illustrate the same is true for Spanish.

- (31) a. Si llueve, ¿qué vamos a hacer?
 if rains.3Sg, what are-going.1Pl to do?
 'If it rains what are we going to do?'
- b. Si llueve, ¿crees tú que Arturo irá a la fiesta?
 if rains.3Sg, believe you that Arturo will-go to the party?
 'If it rains, do you believe Arturo is going to the party?'
- c. Si llueve, recogelo todo y ponlo en el garaje
 if rains.3Sg, pick-up-it all and put-it in the garage
 'If it rains, pick it all up and put it in the garage'

- d. Si resulta que ella tiene razón, que idiota que he sido
 if turns-out that she has reason, what idiot that have.1Sg been
'If it turns out that she is right, what an idiot I have been'

Iatridou also observes that, in English, *if*-clauses can appear between verbs like *ask* and *wonder* and their CP complements. This is illustrated in (32), from Iatridou (1991b:150).

- (32) a. Every boy wonders if his mother comes what he will eat
 b. Every boy asks himself if he flunks his courses what is going to happen

Under current assumptions, the CP complements of these kinds of verbs are headed by a category bearing the feature [+WH], and thus their specifier positions must be filled by a *wh*-phrase to satisfy the Spec-Head agreement requirement imposed by the presence of a head marked with this feature. As Iatridou notes, given that selection is satisfied under government, the verb in the main clause must govern the CP containing the *wh*-head and phrase. Accordingly, she claims, only if the *if*-clauses in examples such as (32) are analyzed as being in an adjoined position can we explain why these sentences are not ruled out, as adjoined constituents to a projection do not prevent a projection from being governed from a higher head. It is trivial to show that similar facts obtain in Spanish as well.

- (33) a. todos nos preguntamos si Martin acaba viniendo qué le vas
 all ourselves ask.1Pl if Martin winds-up coming what him are-going.2Sg
 a decir sobre el asunto de Marta.
 to say about the matter of Marta
'We all ask ourselves if Martin winds up coming what will we say to him about the matter of Martha'
- b. me pregunto si llueve cómo vamos a volver a casa
 [myself] ask if rains how are-going.1Pl to return to home
'I ask myself if it rains how are we going to get home'

Wh-extraction across an embedded *if*-clause also provides evidence for its adjunction status. This is illustrated in the examples below (English examples from Iatridou 1991b:151). Extraction is grammatical in these examples on an adjunction analysis for the *if*-clause because adjunction is not barrier-creating.

- (34) a. How/where did every boy say that if his mother comes the car will be
 fixed?
 b. What did every boy say that if his mother comes the guests will eat?

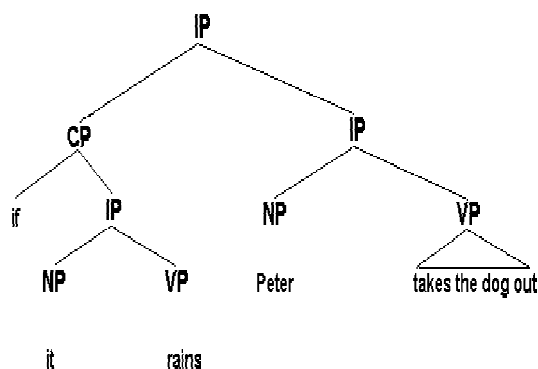
- (35) a. ¿Cómo/cuándo dijo Jorge que si su madre venía iban a arreglar el coche?
 How/when said Jorge that if his mother came were-going to fix the car?
 'How/when did Jorge say that if his mother came they were going to fix the car?'
- b. ¿Qué dijo Montse que si Pilar no viene no va a hacer?
 What said Montse that if Pilar not comes not is-going to do?
 'What did Montse say that if Pilar doesn't come she is not going to do?'

If the *if*-clause were the specifier of a higher projection not L-marked by the verb, a barrier would be created and extraction would be prohibited.

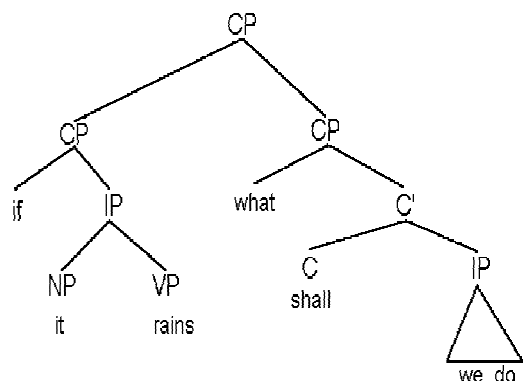
Given that *wh*-extraction is also sensitive to government, the examples above show that the *if*-clause must be in a structural configuration where it cannot block the necessary government relationship from obtaining, thus providing further justification for an analysis of *if*-clauses as constituents that can adjoin to IP/CP. Thus, the two following configurations are possible:

(36)

a.



b.



Furthermore, it can be shown that *if*-clauses can, in some cases, be base generated in their sentence initial position, as opposed to moving there from a different position.²¹ As Iatridou argues, there are diagnostics based on *reconstruction* which demonstrate that the position of certain *if*-clauses at S-structure is not a derived one. This is illustrated with the following examples (from Iatridou (1991b:26)).

²¹. For an extensive discussion on the specific syntactic positions occupied by sentence final *if*-clauses and the constraints on the possibilities of movement of these constituents to the initial position in the sentence see Iatridou (1991b).

- (37) a. If Bill₁ eats spoiled oysters he₁ gets sick
 b. *He₁ gets sick if Bill₁ eats spoiled oysters

If reconstruction to a sentence-final position were necessary in examples such as (37)a, such sentences would be predicted to be ungrammatical due to a violation of Binding Condition C, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (37)b, but they are not. This can be taken as evidence that the option of base generation of *if*-clauses in the sentence initial position is available.²²

It is of course impossible to check grammaticality judgements of OSp speakers to confirm that all these diagnostics yield the same results. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence is found in the Medieval and Renaissance texts to allow us to maintain with a reasonable degree of confidence that *if*-clauses in OSp occupied an adjoined position. Example (38) below illustrates a construction similar to that in (28)a and (31)a. As (38) shows, in OSp, as in Spanish and English, *if*-clauses can also precede a clause with an initial *wh*-word.²³

- (38) Si non a aqui propheta del Criador a quien demandassemos conseio?
 if not has here prophet from-the creator to whom ask.1Pl advice
'If there is not a prophet around, who are we going to ask for advice from?'
 (FAZ)

Perhaps the strongest evidence that base generation of *if*-clauses outside CP/IP is an option in OSp comes from a distinctive construction, still possible in some dialects of Spanish, in which they appear between two overt complementizers in sentential complements of a restricted class of verbs. Due to the fact that this construction has implications that go well beyond the mere validation of the adjunction analysis of *if*-clauses, I will devote the following sections entirely to it. I will return later on to the examination of yet another piece of evidence for the treatment of the subordinate clauses in (20) as adjoined constituents, specifically, adjoined outside CP.

²². See Iatridou (1991b) for a discussion of some cases where the sentence-initial position of the *if*-clause at S-structure must be derived.

²³. As will become clear later on, this kind of example does not necessarily show that the *if*-clause is attached to CP. In section 4.2.4., I will argue that in OSp the landing site for at least a subset of *wh*-moved elements is a position internal to IP, presumably Spec(IP). Thus, the site of adjunction of the *if*-clause in examples such as (13) is ambiguous between IP and CP. This, however, doesn't affect the basic claim that I want to make at this point, namely that initial *if*-clauses and the other subordinate clauses in this class do not occupy the XP or 'topic' position characteristic of V2 structures, but rather, as argued for temporal modifiers and the restricted class of adverbs discussed above, they are in an adjoined position outside the domain where verb-second effects obtain in a given language.

4.2.1.3. CP Recursion and CP Adjunction Structures

4.2.1.3.1. Recplementation

As illustrated in (39), the subordinate clauses we are discussing (underlined in the examples for the sake of clarity) can be found intervening between verbs such as *mandar* 'to bid', *dezir* 'to say', or *acordarse* 'to remember' and the CP complements they subcategorize for. Interestingly, when this happens, the subordinate clause tends to appear immediately following an overt complementizer (clearly indicating that it is not a proper constituent of the main clause), and is in turn separated from the complement clause by another overt complementizer. Examples like the ones below are by no means exceptional. In fact, in the texts from the XIIIth to the XVIth century that I have examined, the presence of double complementizers in this class of environments appears to be the unmarked option. As we can see in (39)d-e, the adverbial expressions discussed in the previous section can also be found in this environment.

- (39) a. *fasta que dize **que** si a omne del mundo =lo digo **que** toda mi*
 until says.3Sg that if to man of-the world it say.1Sg that all my
- fazienda et aun la mi vida es en grand periglo.*
 property and even the my life is in great danger
 'He even says that, if I tell anybody, all my property and my very life
 is in great danger' (Lucan.144)
- b. *Et ellos dixieronle **que** por que viese que non =lo querian engannar, **que** =los*
 and they told-him that so that saw.3Sg that not him wanted.3Pl cheat that them
- mandase encerrar en aquel palacio fasta que el panno fuese fecho*
 had locked in that palace until the clothes were done
 'And they told him that so that he could see that they did not want to cheat him
 he could lock them up in that palace until the clothes were ready' (Lucan.145)
- c. *Et dizen **que** en la fiesta daquell anno en que Josep fue preso.*
 and say.3Pl that in the party of-that year in which Josep was jailed
- que** se fizo enferma donna zulayme su sennora*
 that [se] made sick Mrs. zulayme his wife
 'And they say that during the festivities of the year when Josep was captive
 Mrs. Zulayme pretended to be sick' (GE-I.97r)

Similar constructions are still possible in many Spanish dialects in a colloquial register, and the same pattern is still very productive in the "archaic" dialects discussed in Uriagereka (1992). The examples in (40) are acceptable for all the native speakers of Spanish I have consulted. Equivalent structures are also acceptable in Catalan, as

illustrated by the grammaticality of the examples in (41).²⁴ Interestingly, this type of construction is also found in languages such as Old English (Gorrell (1895), Higgins (1988)) and Old Icelandic (Heusler (1931)). Following, Higgins (1988), I will refer to these patterns as *recomplementation* structures.

- (40) a. La señora de la ventanilla me dijo **que si no pagaba que** no me podía
the lady of the teller me said that if not paid.1Sg that not [me] could

matricular
matriculate
'They told me that if I did not pay I could not register'
- b. y me dice **que si voy a continuar llegando tarde que** que no venga
and says that if going.1S to continue arriving late that not come.1S
'And s/he tells me that I shouldn't come if I'm going to keep arriving late'
- c. Les prometieron **que si votaban por ese candidato que** les iban
them promised.3Pl that if voted.3Pl for that candidate that them were-

iban a dar mucho dinero
going.3Pl to give much money
'They promised them that if they voted for that candidate, they would give them a lot of money'
- (41) a. Ens van dir **que si no hi anavem que** ja s'apanyarien ells sols.
us went.3P say that if not there went that already [se]-make-do they alone
'They told us that if we didn't go, they could do it by themselves'
- b. Ens van demanar **que si finalment decidíem portarlos que** per favor
us [went].3Pl ask that if finally decided.1Pl bring-them that for favor

els pugéssim al tercer pis
they bring-up to the third floor
'They ask us if we finally decided to bring them to please carry them up to the third floor'

As Uriagereka (1992) observes, examples such as those in (40) in the "archaic" dialects are often dismissed as errors, laziness, or sub-standard varieties by lay people and grammarians prone to prescriptivist views. However, as we noted above, the use of more than one overt complementizer in these syntactic environments in OSp

²⁴. These judgements have been confirmed by two other native speakers of Catalan besides myself.

appears to be the norm rather than the exception; thus these facts are not mere performance quirks or the like. The ironic remark made by Higgins with respect to a similar situation in the study of Old English texts seems very pertinent here. In reference to his specific proposal for an analysis of the two distinct complementizer positions, he notes:²⁵ "This allows one to understand a longstanding puzzle about Old English: the epidemic prevalence of amnesia which older grammarians tended to impute to scribes, in their evident inability to remember that they had already put a complementizer into a clause once already". Clearly, the short-term memory problems experienced by the scribes of the Old English texts must have been the product of a very contagious disease similar to the plague that devastated Europe in those times, for it certainly reached the members of the profession in as distant places as Iceland and the Iberian Peninsula. At any rate, whether these constructions are the consequence of a recalcitrant amnesia epidemic, or just the reflection of a prevalent fad in writing style among scribes in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, present Spanish speakers for whom examples such as (40) are acceptable can find reassurance in the fact that they had such venerable ancestors in their reprehensible speech vices.

4.2.1.3.2. CP Recursion and Embedded V2 in OSp

Uriagereka (1992), in the first attempt to provide an analysis for this construction in Romance, relates the existence of recomplementation in the dialects he investigates to the existence of an additional functional phrasal projection between CP and IP capable of hosting focused constituents. He calls this additional position FP (for "further" phrase).²⁶ Here, I will suggest, however, that OSp recomplementation such as that in (39) can be productively investigated in relation to another phenomenon which has recently received much attention among syntacticians, namely CP recursion (de Haan and Weerman (1985), Rizzi and Roberts (1989), Vikner (1991), among others).

Recent work by Iatridou and Kroch (1992) and McCloskey (1992) has provided an extensive characterization of the so-called CP-recursion domains which goes beyond the sphere of research carried out on the verb-second pattern. I will not review all of the arguments or the specific analyses advanced in these works; I will only sketch out the parts of the arguments and the data that are relevant in the context of the present discussion. Basically, my claim is that the contexts in which recomplementation is licensed are precisely the complements of the restricted class of

²⁵. I have borrowed this quotation from a handout provided by Higgins in a talk he delivered at U. of Massachusetts at Amherst on September 23rd, 1988. I wish to thank Sabine Iatridou and Juan Uriagereka for bringing my attention to the relevance of Higgins' work for my research.

²⁶. See Uriagereka (1992) for additional evidence in support of this proposal. In this work, Uriagereka investigates the relationship between recomplementation and the fact that these dialects exhibit various other properties such as the existence of overt Focus elements, overt Focus movement, overt expletives, personal infinitives without Aux-to-Comp and interpolation of various elements between clitics and tensed verbs.

predicates characterized in these works as predicates able to subcategorize for CP recursive complements. Since the issue of CP recursion has been traditionally connected to the availability of embedded verb-second effects in a subset of the Germanic languages, and since I am claiming that embedded verb-second effects are attained in OSp independently of CP recursion, a brief departure from the main line of discussion is needed to clarify this issue before we address the analytical problems presented by the examples in (39).

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, embedded verb-second effects are achieved in OSp in a wide range of subordinate contexts which are not restricted to the complements of the type of predicates arguably taking CP recursive complements (see the discussion in Iatridou and Kroch (1992) concerning the relevance of the CP recursion analysis for the distinction between embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian languages, on the one hand, and in Yiddish or Icelandic on the other hand). In fact, if what I am suggesting here is correct, namely that the examples in (39) are the reflection of CP recursive structures in OSp, these examples would provide further evidence against the availability of a CP recursion analysis to account for embedded verb-second effects even when they are manifested in the complements of this class of predicates²⁷ -- even accepting that there is a restricted class of verbs that can select a double CP as a complement, the head of the lower CP in OSp is not available to host the verb, for it is filled by a complementizer. As the examples in (39) illustrate, the C⁰ in the lower CP projection can be an overtly expressed complementizer, indicating that, in the cases where no subordinate clauses intervene, this position could be posited to be filled by a non-overt counterpart of this same complementizer. On this view, no I⁰-to-C⁰ would ever be possible in a subordinate context in OSp, and topicalization would be always to a position within IP, presumably Spec(IP). Bearing this in mind, I turn now to examine the relationship between the type of adjunction exhibited by recomplementation constructions and the licensing of CP recursion.

As McCloskey (1992) notices, the general constraint against adjunction to CPs which are arguments of a lexical head seems to break down in some cases. Thus, the fact that examples such as those in (42) are at least marginally possible appears to present a problem for the Adjunction Prohibition, as stated in (25) above. If we recall the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24), repeated below as (43), the acceptability of (42), marginal though they may be for some speakers, is puzzling.

- (42) a. ?He asked me when I got home if I would cook dinner.
 b. ?I wonder when we get home what we should do.
 c. ?Do you remember when they were in Derry if they lived in Rosemount?

²⁷. In this context, it is important to emphasize that Heycock and Santorini (1992) have shown that the CP recursion analysis of embedded V2 cannot hold for Yiddish. They note, for instance, that, while in the languages for which the CP recursion analysis is independently motivated embedded V2 is restricted to embedded clauses that are asserted, this restriction does not hold for Yiddish. They also observe that in Yiddish, contrary to what has been observed in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, extraction from an embedded V2 clause is possible.

- (43) a. *It's probable in general that he understands what is going on.
 b. *He promised when he got home that he would cook dinner for the children.

McCloskey assembles convincing crosslinguistic evidence showing that there is a significant correlation between the class of predicates that permit adjunction of adverbial expressions between them and their CP complements, such as the ones illustrated in (42), and those which permit embedded V2 in many Germanic languages. Furthermore, he shows that the same predicates are also the ones that permit I⁰-to-C⁰ in their complements in some dialects of English such as Hiberno English.²⁸ The examples of embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian languages are well known, and we have discussed this issue at some length in the previous chapter.²⁹ Here I will simply repeat the examples from Hiberno English to illustrate the point made in McCloskey (1992). Contrast the grammaticality of the examples in (44) with the unacceptability of the examples in (45) for the same speakers of Hiberno English.

- (44) a. He asked me would I cook the dinner
 b. I wonder what should we do.
 c. Do you remember did they live in Rosemount?
- (45) a. *The police couldn't establish who had they beaten up.
 b. *It was totally unclear who should they invite.

Finally, McCloskey observes that the verbs in this class are precisely the ones that have been standardly recognized as allowing root phenomena in their complements in standard English. As he and others have noted, the examples below can be described as cases of embedded V2 in English. Thus, the existence of these examples further corroborates the fact that the adjunction possibilities discussed above are closely correlated with the possibility of embedded verb-second.

²⁸. McCloskey (1992) also notes that this same class of predicates allows a wh-word to follow a complementizer in Spanish. This is illustrated in (i). This phenomenon, first brought to the attention of the syntax community by Rivero (1980), has been analyzed by some authors (Plann (1982), Suñer (1991)) as involving CP recursion. I will discuss this issue in more detail in section 4.2.4..

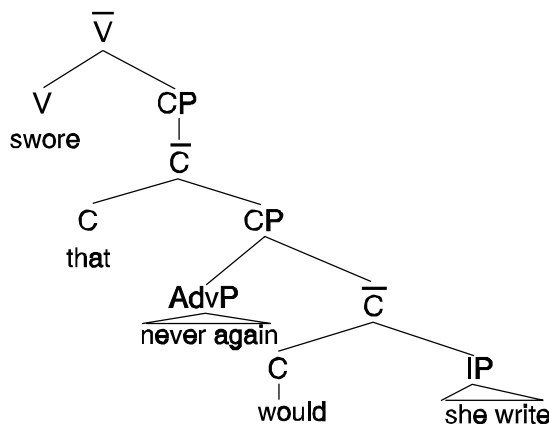
(i) Te preguntan que para qué quieres el préstamo
 you ask.3Pl that for what want.2Sg the loan
 'They ask you what you want the loan for'

²⁹. For an extensive discussion about embedded V2 in Germanic languages see Vikner (1991). See also Iatridou and Kroch (1992) for a critique of Vikner's (1991) position and an alternative characterization of embedded V2 environments which distinguishes Yiddish and Icelandic from the rest of Germanic languages.

- (46) a. He promised that never again would he cook dinner for the kids.
 b. She thinks that under no circumstances should one start one's own business.

These and other considerations lead McCloskey (1992) to conclude that the syntax which underlies the possibility of embedded V2 -- and, consequently, which can also explain the puzzling contrasts between examples (42) and (43) -- is the availability in these contexts of a head node C^0 which itself takes a CP-complement. He also concludes that the distribution of embedded V2 is determined by the mechanism of c-selection, i.e. strict subcategorization. Certain lexical heads c-select the higher C^0 of the double-CP structure. Iatridou and Kroch (1992) further note that the relevant structural relationship in this type of selection is that of government and add that CP recursion is possible only in CPs where: a) the highest CP is governed by the verb and b) the highest CP does not have content that cannot be recovered from the second CP. The analysis suggested by McCloskey (1992) for examples such as (a), following Rizzi and Roberts (1989) and Vikner (1991) among others, is represented by the structure in (47).

(47)



In light of this background discussion, consider again the examples of recomplementation seen in (39), repeated below.

- (48) a. *fasta que dize **que** si a omne del mundo =lo digo **que** toda mi fazienda*
 until says.3Sg that if to man of-the world it say.1Sg that all my property
et aun la mi vida es en grand periglo.
 and even the my life is in great danger
 'He even says that, if I tell anybody, all my property and my very life is
 in great danger' (Lucan.144)

- b. Et ellos dixieronle **que** por que viese que non =lo querian engannar, **que**=los
and they told-him that so that saw.3Sg that not him wanted.3Pl cheat that them

mandase encerrar en aquel palacio fasta que el panno fuese fecho
ordered to lock in that palace until the clothes were done
*'And they told him that so that he could see that they did not want to cheat him
he could lock them up in that palace until the clothes were ready' (Lucan.144)*

- c. Et dizen **que** en la fiesta daquell anno en que Josep fue preso.
and say.3Pl that in the party of-that year in which Josep was jailed

que se fizo enferma donna zulayme su sennora
that [se] made sick Mrs. zulayme his wife
*'And they say that during the festivities of the year when Josep was captive
Mrs. Zulayme pretended to be sick' (GE-I.97r)*

In view of the general crosslinguistic availability of CP-recursion structures such as the one represented in (47), the patterns of adjunction exhibited by the underlined adverbial expressions in (48), precisely in the context of the complements of the class of predicates allowing for embedded V2, is no longer a surprise. Let us note, however, that, if the parallels we are drawing are correct, then the OSp recomplementation structures also have significant consequences for the general analysis of CP-recursion structures. What is surprising, given the data analyzed in previous studies of this phenomenon, is the appearance of a second overt complementizer in these structures. I take these facts to indicate that there is a restricted class of verbs in OSp, more or less equivalent to the class of predicates defined in the work of Iatridou and Kroch (1992) and McCloskey (1992), which also c-selects for CP-recursive structures. The complements of this class of predicates, however, differ crucially from those in other languages, represented by structures such as (47), in having a filled C⁰ position in the lower CP (either by an overt lexical complementizer or by an equivalent abstract element) and hence not allowing for I⁰-to-C⁰ in its domain. The basic structure that the analysis proposed here assigns to the examples in (48) is that in (49), where the clauses underlined in the examples above would simply Chomsky-adjoin to the lower CP. I will have more to say on these facts in section 4.2.3, where I provide further evidence confirming the general adequacy of this analysis.

(49) dize [_{CP} [_C que [_{CP} si a omne del mundo[_{CP} [_C que toda mi fazienda..]]]]]

After this long digression, we can now return to the main question that concerns us here: are the data in (18)-(22) real counterexamples to the autonomous verb-movement analysis? So far, I have managed to show that at least the examples in (18)-(20) are compatible with the hypothesis I have entertained to account for the distribution of pronominal clitics in OSp. It is clear that whatever analysis turns out to be correct for the type of constructions illustrated in (39) and repeated in (48), these

recomplementation structures add further support for the view that sentence initial *if*-clauses and the like are adjoined outside CP. The subordinate clauses found in first position in (20), then, do not participate in a typical V2 structure, in the sense this has been defined above for OSp, hence the appearance of a tensed verb immediately preceding the pronominal clitic can still be taken as an indication that I⁰-to-C⁰ has taken place in these structures.

4.2.2. Towards a Characterization of I-to-C Environments in OSp

4.2.2.1. *If*-clauses and V1 Declaratives

There are still some facts concerning the distribution of *if*-clauses that await explanation. While the analysis I have just sketched out solves the apparent problem posed by both the initial subordinate clauses in (20) and the adverbial expressions in (19), there are some rather puzzling differences in the range of environments in which these two basic types of adjoined constituents can appear. Thus, as shown by the examples in (50) below, the same types of adverbs and temporal clauses which can attach to structures involving I⁰-to-C⁰ can also be found preceding structures that bear all the hallmarks of a V2 construction. In (50)a, we see a temporal adverbial preceding a V2 structure with topicalization of an object NP, and in (50)b, the temporal adverbial is followed by a subject, which is in turn followed by a string of the form Cl-V_[+finite]. In contrast, *if/because*-clauses are much more frequently found in the texts from the XIIth to XVIth centuries preceding strings of the form V_[+finite]-Cl, as illustrated in (20), thus indicating that the structures they attach to have a more conspicuous tendency to involve I⁰-to-C⁰. The question that we should attempt to answer is why it should be so.

- (50) a. & desde oujeron departido vna grand pieça truxieron de comer
and when had.3Pl conversed a big piece brought.3Sg to eat
'once they had finished the conversation, someone brought a big
meal for them to eat' (Tamer)
- b. Y desde los ovimos desbaratado, Cortes =nos conto
and when them had.1Pl defeated, Cortes us told
- como no avian podido venir mas presto
how not had.3Pl managed to-come more fast
'And when we had finally defeated them, Cortes told us why they
had not been able to come sooner' (Bernal)

Before addressing the question of what precisely could be responsible for triggering I⁰-to-C⁰ in the contexts represented in (20), it is necessary to consider yet another piece of evidence in support of the basic proposal I am arguing for. We can find further evidence that, at S-structure, sentence initial *if*-clauses occupy an adjoined position

outside the basic sentential nucleus (whether this is defined, depending on the language, as CP or IP) by examining the distribution of *if*-clauses in V2 languages. In the following examples, from Dutch, German and Icelandic³⁰ respectively, we can see that *if*-clauses can precede either a verb initial clause, thus forming a typical V2 configuration, or a clause starting with an element equivalent to English *then* followed by the verb, hence creating a surface string where the verb is in third position.

- (51) a. Als het regent zal ik naar school gaan
if it rains will I to school go
'If it rains I will go to school'
- b. Als het regent **dan** zal ik naar school gaan
if it rains then will I to school go
'If it rains then I will go to school'
- (52) a. Wenn du Zeit hast, komm doch schnell vorbei!
if you time have-2sg, then come-IMP PART quickly past
'If you have time, why don't you come by quickly?'
- b. Wenn du Zeit hast, **dann** komm doch schnell vorbei!
if you time have-2sg, then come-IMP PART quickly past
'If you have time, then why don't you come by quickly?'
- c. Wenn ich Zeit hätte, **dann** käme ich vorbei.
if i time had then came-IRREALIS I past
'If I had time, then I'd come by'
- (53) a. Ef Jón hættir hætti ég líka
If John quits quit I too
'If John quits, I quit too'
- b. Ef Jón hættir **þá** hætti ég líka
If John quits then quit I too
'If John quits, then I quit too'

This raises interesting questions with respect to current assumptions concerning the position of *if*-clauses in V2 languages. The consensus view that has emerged among syntacticians investigating the nature of the Verb Second constraint within the GB paradigm is that constructions involving an *if*-clause such as the *a* examples above are typical instantiations of verb-second effects both in symmetric and asymmetric V2 languages. That is, most authors share the view that the *if*-clause is occupying the

³⁰. I wish to thank Jóhannes Gísli Jónson for providing me with the Icelandic examples.

structural position typically occupied by the XP in a V2 structure, i.e. Spec(CP) or Spec(IP). But maintaining this claim leads us to one of two inelegant conclusions: either that there is an additional position between the XP position and the position occupied by the tensed verb at S-structure (which could only be occupied by 'then'); or that the *if*-clause is occupying two different positions in the (a) and (b) sentences exemplified above (see Iatridou and Kroch 1992 for advocacy of this latter position). Before addressing the obvious question of where the element equivalent to English *then* may be, let me attempt to show that there are good reasons to believe that the subordinate clause headed by *if* may adjoin outside the CP boundary also in V2 languages.

Although modern Dutch is quite limited in the range of exceptions to strict V2 arrangements that it allows, in Middle Dutch we find that conditional clauses can precede a wide range of verb-second structures, where the first constituent is not necessarily 'then' or an equivalent word. The following examples from Middle Dutch illustrate *if*-clauses preceding a main clause starting with a subject, (54)a, and a main clause initiated by a *wh*-element, presumably in Spec of CP,³¹ (54)b (The Middle Dutch examples are from van der Horst 1981).

- (54) a. Oft God wilt, mi sals bat behagen
 if God wants, I shall-of it better please
 'If God wants, I will like this better' (*lanc11*)
- b. oft ic den keytiff wiste, die u den lachter dede
 if I the villain knew who you the infamy did
- hi en soude mi niet in kerstenhede ontsitten
 he neg would me not in christendom escape
 'If I knew the villain who did this infamy/disgrace to you, he would not escape from me in (all of) Christendom'

It is also relevant that, although in modern Dutch there are fewer clause types which allow this kind of V3 pattern, there is still one class of similar subordinate clauses, concessive clauses with *al*, which create environments where the type of configuration we are discussing is still rather productive. This is shown by the examples in (55).

- (55) a. Al draagt een aap een gouden ring, het is en blijft een lelijk ding
 though wears an ape a gold ring, it is and stays an ugly thing
 'Though an ape wears a gold ring, it is and remains an ugly thing'

³¹. I wish to thank Jack Hoeksema for useful discussion about the facts from Dutch and Middle Dutch and for providing me with the relevant examples.

- b. Al heeft hij alle tijd van de wereld, hij heeft nooit tijd voor ons.
 though has he all time of the world, he has never time for us
 'Though he has all the time in the world, he never has time for us'

The simplest hypothesis, provided that we want to maintain a unified analysis of all these cases, is to posit that the *if*-clause is always adjoined outside CP/IP and not in the specifier occupied by the topicalized element in a typical V2 configuration. With this in the background, let us now return to the contrasts exhibited by the examples in (51)-(53).

Determining the exact structural position occupied by the elements equivalent to *then* in all these languages goes well beyond the scope of this work.³² I will, however, suggest that *then* is the first element, i.e. the XP in a V2 construction, both in the (a) and the (b) examples in (51)-(53) above. In other words, the element equivalent to *then* in all the languages represented in these examples is always present in Spec(CP) (or alternatively in the specifier of a maximal projection dominating CP as suggested by Iatridou (1991b)) whenever a construction of the form *if*-clause + *consequent*-clause is involved. In the (b) examples, this element is overtly expressed, while in the (a) examples I posit that it is a pro-form. I want to further argue that this is in fact the case for both symmetric and asymmetric V2 languages. That is, even though languages like Yiddish or Icelandic may topicalize the XP element into Spec(IP), I will maintain that, in this specific type of construction, there is always an element with a function equivalent to that of the particle glossed as 'then' in the examples above and that this element occupies an identical structural position in all V2 languages, presumably Spec(CP). This pro-form can be overtly expressed in the case of Icelandic, but not in Yiddish or OSp: Yiddish and OSp do not permit the alternation illustrated by examples (51) through (53); there seems to be no exact translation for English *then* in either language.³³ The presence of this pro-form would trigger I⁰-to-C⁰ even in languages not otherwise characterized by the well known root/subordinate asymmetries exhibited by Dutch, German or Mainland Scandinavian languages.

This proposal may look stipulative insofar as there is no overt counterpart of *then* in OSp; however, we can look at the proposal in another fashion, namely as the claim that these constructions form an independently motivated natural class with V1 declarative clauses. Consequently, I will very speculatively suggest how the class of

³². See Iatridou (1991b) for detailed discussion of this issue and an alternative proposal for the analysis of the syntax of 'then' in which she concludes that this element, at least in English, occupies the specifier position of a maximal projection above CP.

³³. The closest equivalent to *then* in OSp is *estonçes*; however, unlike *then*, it is only used to indicate that the clause it modifies is understood as the expression of an event which follows another event interpreted as being immediately anterior from a chronological point of view. Interestingly, the distribution of *estonçes* appears to be much freer than that of its counterparts in languages like Old Icelandic or Old English. I will assume that is simply an adverbial in the same class as *después* 'afterwards', i.e. an adverbial expression that can adjoin to the left periphery of either IP or CP, and perhaps also to VP.

constructions represented by sentences modified by *if/because* clauses and the constructions usually referred to as V1 declaratives are instantiations of the same basic phenomenon. In what follows, I will seek to provide a principled answer to the following question: why does the $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configuration, whenever a pronominal clitic is involved, appear to be mandatory in OSp both with V1 declaratives and in clauses preceded by *if*-type subordinates? I will argue that the postulation of an abstract pro-form with functions similar to those posited for connectors such as 'then' or 'therefore' can provide us with a useful formal device to capture some syntactic and semantic generalizations which extend over all these constructions and which appear to require a unified syntactic treatment. The presence of this abstract category in Spec(CP) will be claimed in effect to be the syntactic mechanism responsible for the triggering of I^0 -to- C^0 in all these distinctive environments.³⁴

³⁴. This proposal raises the question of why the behavior of *if*-clauses in the V2 languages should form a unified class when it has been argued by e.g. Iatridou (1991b) that there are significant syntactic and semantic differences between *if*-clauses and *if-then*-clauses in English. For example, Iatridou (1991b:151) observes that extraction is impossible out of a subordinated *if-then*-clause, as in (i), despite the fact that extraction is acceptable out of a subordinated *if*-clause, as we saw above for both English ((ii), from (34) above) and Modern Spanish:

- (i) *How/where did every boy say that if his mother comes, then the car will be fixed *t*?
- (ii) How/where did every boy say that if his mother comes the car will be fixed *t*?

Iatridou proposes that, semantically, *if-then*-clauses are distinguished by carrying a presupposition that the condition imposed by the antecedent of the conditional is not only sufficient (as is the case of *if*-clauses, which are interpreted in English as the standard material conditional from logic), but also necessary. That is, *if p, then q* presupposes that *if not p, then not q*. In contrast, *if p, q* carries no such presupposition.

I do not have an explanation for why there should be such a difference between e.g. English and OSp or the other V2 languages, and ultimately the unified proposal may have to be weakened; however, what is most important for the discussion below is that we find some similarity between the semantic conditions on *if-then*-clauses in English and those *if*-clauses in OSp in which the verb precedes the clitic, or alternatively, some difference between the interpretation of these OSp examples and that of the simple material conditional. Thus, we might hope in the future to find *if*-clauses in OSp texts preceding clauses with cl-V ordering, with the prediction that their interpretation would be different (in some way) from that of those preceding clauses with V-cl order.

Let me also add that I do not mean to imply that the proposal in the text is intended to exhaust all the possible functions of *then* or similar elements. Nor have I begun to address the issues involved in the semantics of conditionals (see e.g. Heim 1982, Iatridou 1991b for references and discussion). My goal in this section is limited to pointing towards a place to look for stronger support for the independent motivation of I-to-C in the case of *if*-clauses.

I am grateful to Sabine Iatridou, Louise McNally, and Craig Roberts for helpful discussion of these matters.

4.2.2.2. Triggers of I⁰-to-C⁰

We can now begin to motivate the claim that a pro-form triggers I⁰-to-C⁰ by considering the following facts about V1 declaratives. Recall that in our first discussion of this topic it was made clear that V1 declaratives were not restricted to the type known as NI. Verb-first constructions in Yiddish, for instance, can also be used in a different context.³⁵ Ellen Prince (p.c.) observes that, in English, utterances such as the one equivalent to (56)a (*I walked in and he walked out*) could mean either a) that the two events were independent or symmetric or b) something that could be paraphrased as: *I walked in, and so he walked out*. In Yiddish, however, these two meanings would be expressed differently. The example in (56)a would be the appropriate expression for meaning a); whereas (56)b would be appropriate for meaning b).

- (56) a. Ikh bin arayngegangen un er iz aroysgegangen
 I am in-gone and he is out-gone
 'I walked in and he walked out'
- b. ikh bin arayngegangen, iz er aroysgegangen
 I am in-gone, is he out-gone
 'I walked in, so he walked out'

According to Prince, then, the V1 configuration conveys approximately the same meaning that the addition of a particle such as *so* would convey in English. Sigurðsson (1990:64,fn.8), commenting on the following examples from Yiddish, also quotes very similar comments from Ellen Prince concerning the functions of verb preposing in these Yiddish constructions: "What V1 seems to be doing in Yiddish is presenting the proposition as a CONSEQUENCE of the previous proposition".

- (57) a. Ick bin do, iz er dortn.
 I am here is he there
 'I am here, so he is there.'

Similarly, Diesing (1990) observes, following Weinreich (1981), that declarative V1 order in Yiddish is used to convey the fact that the sentence has a corollary status with respect to previous discourse. Thus, for examples such as (58) below (her (i) in footnote 14) she proposes that there is an empty element with the meaning of 'therefore' in the preverbal position of the second clause.

³⁵. I want to thank Ellen Prince for providing me with these examples and for her patience in our various discussions of these and other facts from Yiddish.

- (58) Mayn tate iz geshtorben. Bin ikh geblibn aley
 my father has died was I stayed alone
 ‘*My father has died. So I was left alone*’

In support of her proposal for the existence of an abstract category in preverbal position, she notes that dummy *es* cannot appear in sentences with this interpretation, whereas, if this interpretation is not available, then the *es* must appear.

- (59) a. Haynt iz yontev. (*Es) geyn mentshn.
 today is holiday walk people
 ‘*Today is a holiday. So people are walking*’
- b. Haynt is yontev. *(Es) geyt a shney.
 Today is holiday. It is snowing

She also notes that Yiddish has two different alternatives for forming yes/no questions. One, as in (60), consists of an uninverted word order equivalent to a declarative sentence which is pronounced with rising intonation. The other is characterized either by the familiar V1 order, (61)a, i.e. with inversion of the subject and the tensed verb, or by a V2 order where the subject is also inverted but the first position is occupied by what she calls a question operator, *tsi*, (61)b.

- (60) Er hot gezen Maxn?
 he has seen Max
 ‘*Has he seen Max?*’
- (61) a. Hot er gezen Maxn?
 has he seen Max
 ‘*Has he seen Max?*’
- b. Tsi hot er gezen Maxn?
 Q has he seen Max
 ‘*Has he seen Max?*’

She analyzes the difference between (61)a and b in terms of the presence or absence of an empty question operator in the preverbal position: in (61)a the preverbal position is filled by an empty yes/no operator (Q); and in (61)b this operator is phonologically realized as *tsi*. As she argues, this analysis predicts that the morpheme *tsi* will not be able to co-occur with the subject in first position.³⁶

³⁶. Diesing (1990) argues that both wh-questions in main clauses and yes/no questions involve only movement from V⁰ to I⁰. wh-word and question operators are hence claimed to be in Spec(IP). The ungrammaticality of (62), however, could also be accounted for under the assumption that ‘*tsi*’ is a special category realized in Spec(CP) and triggers I⁰-to-C⁰.

- (62) *Tsi er hot gezen Maxn?
 Q he has seen Max
 'Has he seen Max?'

These facts are in accordance with the general view within GB that verb-movement is formally triggered by the presence of a phonologically null category in Spec position (e.g. Rizzi 1991).

4.2.2.3. I⁰-to-C⁰ Beyond Narrative Inversion

Now, in order to find some commonality between NI and *if/because*-clauses, the first step we must take is to attempt to go beyond previous definitions of the functions of NI in terms of statements such as "keeps the cohesion of the narrative" or "contributes to the advancement of the narration" and think a bit more carefully about the specific contribution that each individual sentence in a narrative text makes to the narrative as a whole. Put differently, we should ask ourselves whether a sentence in a narrative corpus (either spoken or written) could be considered to have some inherent properties which set it apart from sentences uttered in different types of discourse contexts. If the analyses suggested in the literature for NI constructions are correct, it would seem that, at least for languages like OSp, Old Norse, Old English, Yiddish, and to some extent Icelandic, a typical narrative sentence can be different from a regular declarative sentence also in its syntactic structure. I would like to suggest that what these languages do is simply to provide a means of overt syntactic marking for a specific function which is shared universally by a certain subset of sentences in narratives of any language. More specifically, I want to propose that the relationship that is characteristically established between a typical sentence in a narrative and the previous sentence or group of sentences preceding it is also one of consequence, just as was claimed for the Yiddish examples in (56)-(58). This notion of consequence must obviously be broad enough to encompass both temporal consequence³⁷ and logical consequence manifest in the relationship between an *if*-clause and the consequent clause or between the two clauses involved in (56)-(58).

In a section of his comprehensive study of black vernacular speech with the evocative title of "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax", Labov

³⁷. Conceiving of some kind of relationship between the type of link existing between members in a sequence of events ordered chronologically and that existing between members of a sequence of events connected by a nexus of causality or logical consequence is not completely unreasonable. For example, we find in the entry for *consequence* in the Oxford English Dictionary that, together with the meaning that this term still has, namely "A thing or circumstance which follows as an effect or result from something preceding", another meaning, now extinct, for the same lexical entry was "the action or fact of following in succession or order; sequence, succession; course", as indicated by the following examples.

- (i) They thought the Names of things sufficiently connected, when they are placed in their natural consequence. Hobbes, *Decam.i.14*
- (ii) The people varied their modes more or less in the consequence of time. North, *Mem.Musick* 1846.17

defines narrative as:

one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred... With this conception of narrative, we can define a minimal narrative as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation. In alternative terminology, there is temporal juncture between the two clauses, and a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture. (Labov 1972:360)

From this perspective, there is a clear sense in which sentences in a narrative are different from other sentences in other contexts: they must be ordered according to the chronology of the events that they describe. The relation between the antecedent and the consequent in a sentence containing an *if*-clause is similarly asymmetric. One of the roles of an *if*-clause is to specify the circumstances in which the truth of the consequent is to be evaluated. Similar roles are shared by the rest of subordinate clauses preceding V-cl configurations: in one way or another, they all contribute to establish the background in which the state of affairs expressed by the following proposition holds.

On this view of matters, I-to-C involved in both NI constructions and sentences following the type of subordinate clauses we are discussing, serves in these languages as an additional syntactic device to provide the type of discourse cohesion we are describing. The verb-INFL complex in sentence initial position or following an overtly marked discourse connector expresses the fact that this particular clause is glued to a previous segment in such a way that its interpretation must take into account the specific type of relationship holding between it and the previous material.

Whether or not the treatment suggested here turns out to be the best way to capture the generalizations that I have outlined, we have gathered some evidence that the subordinate clauses preceding $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configurations in the examples presented at the beginning of this discussion are no longer problematic for the verb-movement analysis. In the next section we deal with a pattern of exceptions that seems at first sight more recalcitrant: the presence of subjects and objects in that same environment.

4.2.3. Adjunct NPs

4.2.3.1. Subjects

The prediction that Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ configurations will appear exclusively in V2 constructions, while $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl configurations will be restricted to V1 constructions, appears even more seriously challenged by examples like those in (63).

- (63) a. Et **el** dexo=*lo* en aquel lugar
and he left=*it* in that place
'And he left it in that place'
- b. & **ella** dixo=*l* que como non lloraria que nunca fiziera el rrey cosa
& she told-him that since not cried.3Sg that never did the king thing
- por =*le* fazer plazer
for her make pleasure
- 'and she told him that unless she cried the king would never do anything to please her' (Lucan.140)*
- c. **Los Godos** estonçes cuemo eran nobles en sos fechos; armaron =*se*
the Goths then since were.3Pl noble in their deeds; armed selves
- luego
afterwards
'Then, since they were noble people, the Goths took arms after this'
(EE-I.139r)

In (63)a-b, we see a subject preceding a string which has been characterized as a V1 declarative. In (63)c, the subject is found preceding two constituents that according to the present analysis are taken to be adjoined outside CP.

Such examples are problematic because of the widely held view that pre-verbal subjects in languages such as English or Spanish occupy the Spec(IP) position, where

they would have moved from their base generated position internal to VP.³⁸ Nothing in the analysis so far suggests that this should not be the case for OSp as well.³⁹ The only difference between Spec(IP) in OSp vs. present Spanish that has been mentioned so far is that in OSp but not in present Spanish this position is a viable site for

³⁸. This analysis, however, has been recently challenged for Spanish, Contreras (1991); Catalan, Rosselló (1986), Vallduví (1990), Solá (1992); and Italian, Saccon (1992). All of these authors propose that the "inverted", or post-verbal, subject position is really the A-position for subjects, with preverbal subjects being left dislocated elements adjoined to IP/CP. Most of these proposals assume that in Catalan or Spanish, subjects can be base generated either to the left or to the right of VP (see also Bonet (1989) in this respect). The proposal that preverbal subjects are dislocated constituents is motivated, among other things, by the well known fact that they can appear in configurations such as the ones in (i)-(ii) below. The Catalan examples are from Vallduví (1990:116), the Spanish example in (ii)a is from Contreras (1991). As these examples illustrate, in these languages, embedded subjects can appear adjoined to a matrix IP, (i) and (ii)a; or preceding a dislocated NP in a CLLD construction, (i)b and (ii)b.

- (i) a. El Pep₁ no crec que t₁ vulgui peix.
 the Pep not believe.1Sg that likes fish
 'Pep, I don't believe he likes fish'
- b. El Pep₁ de peix₂ t₁ no en₂ voldrà t₂
 the Pep of fish not of-it would like.3Sg
 'As for Pep, fish, he wouldn't like them'
- (ii) a. [_{IP}Esos futbolistas_i [_{IP}no sé [_{CP}cómo se puede saber [_{CP}cuánto ganan pro_i]]]]
 those players not know.1Sg how [se] can.3Sg know how-much earn.3pl
 'Those players, I don't know how one knows how much they earn'
- b. Tu madre₁ eso₂ t₁ no se lo₂ va a creer
 your mother that not [se] it go.3Sg to believe
 'As for your mother, that she is not going to believe'

See also Heycock (1991) for a proposal where all subjects are adjoined to maximal projections which are defined in her framework as predicates. Heycock's proposal does away with the notion that the special status of subjects is derived from the lexical properties of heads, either understood as the θ -properties of lexical heads, or as the case or agreement properties of functional heads. In her model, the various aspects of syntactic licensing and distribution of subjects are derived from the primitive syntactic relation of predication, under the assumption that predication licenses syntactic positions independently of the argument structure projected by individual lexical items.

³⁹. Except for the fact that in OSp, following the arguments advanced in Diesing (1990) and Santorini (1992), the Spec(IP) position is a caseless A-bar position. Thus, Case-theoretical considerations that are usually involved in motivating raising of the subject to the IP initial position in other languages such as English cannot be invoked in this case. See Heycock (1991) for a useful discussion of these issues in Yiddish and other Germanic languages.

movement of non-subject constituents via topicalization.⁴⁰

If the examples in (63) really are instances of a V2 construction, we must conclude that either the analysis of verb-second effects that has been adopted for OSp is incorrect, or that the analysis of clitic placement advanced in Chapter 2 is incorrect. We cannot maintain the view that the examples in (63) are instantiations of the V2 phenomenon in OSp without creating an obvious conflict between the claim that V2 effects are achieved via verb-movement to INFL and the proposal that clitics occupy a position in the left edge of IP. In order to maintain the analysis of clitics advanced in Chapter 2, we would have to stipulate that verb-second effects are attained in two different ways: either via movement into I⁰ and topicalization to Spec(IP), or via movement to C⁰ and topicalization to Spec(CP).⁴¹ Alternatively, to maintain a unified analysis of V2 effects for OSp, we would have to say that clitics, in some instances, can be positioned somewhere below the I⁰ node or adjoined to its right. But both moves are ad hoc and undesirable both on empirical and theoretical grounds. Crucially, if we take topicalization to Spec(CP) to be a viable option in OSp we would expect to find a much wider range of constituents preceding a V_[+finite]-Cl string. As shown in Chapter 3, in OSp the XP position in a typical V2 structure (and hence the position immediately preceding the clitic in a root Cl-V_[+finite] string) can be occupied by all kinds of NPs and PPs, both arguments and adjuncts, VP modifying adverbials, and non-finite verb forms. However, the range of elements that can occur before a V_[+finite]-Cl configuration is much more restricted. Hence, adopting such a proposal would force us to stipulate that the Spec(CP) position is only open to some constituents, but not to others. Consequently, it is worth challenging the assumption that the problematic sentences really involve V2.

One obvious way to get out of this predicament is to propose that subjects can adjoin outside CP as was proposed for certain adverbial expressions and if/because-clauses. This analysis is *prima facie* more difficult to motivate for subjects than for the other non-argument constituents (but see footnote 38) because, unlike adverbials, subjects are arguments and, hence, must be linked to some position inside the sentence.

This problem goes away, however, if we can show that the NP appearing in these configurations is not the "real" external argument of the sentence predicate. Since OSp is a null subject language, we might argue that what is receiving the Case and θ -role discharged respectively by INFL and the given predicate is not the element that appears to be the subject in these examples, but instead a category *pro* inside the

⁴⁰. If we adopt Contreras's (1991) proposal, Spanish simply would not have the Spec(IP) position, and pre-verbal subjects would be always assumed to be left dislocated, i.e. in an adjunction configuration outside IP/CP and coindexed with a null category *pro* in its base generated position inside IP acting as resumptive pronoun.

⁴¹. Note that in some cases this would run against the claims of Travis (1984) and Zwart (1992), who argue that even in asymmetric languages no I⁰-to-C⁰ is involved if the element in first position is a subject. For these kinds of constructions, according to these authors, the verb would remain within IP.

clause. The element appearing sentence initially could then be analyzed as an adjunct NP coindexed with the *pro* element inside IP, reducing the sentences in question to a type of construction akin to left-dislocation.⁴² That these kinds of non-argument "subjects" are indeed possible in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish is illustrated by the examples in (64). In these examples, we find NPs in a dislocated position, coindexed with an overt subject inside the clause.

- (64) a. las mugeres daquessa tierra de Moab. **todas las demas** son feas por
the women of-this land of Moab all the rest are ugly by
- natura segund cuenta Maestre pedro
nature as says apostle pedro
'The women of Moab, all the rest of them are ugly by nature, as apostle Peter says' (GE-I.306r)
- b. Et el senor Rey Resceujdas las dichas letras & presente & oydas las
and the lord king received the such letters and presents and heard the
- buenas Razones que... ordeno de enbiar **el** otrosy cierto presente
good reasons that... ordered to send he also certain present.
'Having received the letters and presents and having heard the good arguments.., the king ordered that a certain present should be sent to them as well'
- c. todos los que jugaban **cada uno** metia dentro de este circulo chico un piojo
all the-ones that played each one put inside of this circle little a louse
'All those who played, each one of them put a louse inside the little circle' (Cont.89)

In the case of and (64)a and c, one might be tempted to argue that the initial NPs have moved from an IP internal position leaving some kind of floating quantifier inside the sentence, obviating the need to posit a "doubled" subject NP. However, the constituents *todas las demas* and *cada uno* are clearly quantified NPs on their own

⁴². See Rivero (1980) for an analysis along these lines for constructions such as those illustrated in the following examples.

- (i) El niño parece que está protestando siempre
the child seems that is complaining always
'It seems that the child is always complaining'
- (ii) Los estudiantes, acepto la sugerencia de María de que no tienen interés por mi asignatura
the students accept (1-s) the suggestion of Mary of that not have (3-p) interest for my course
'The students, I accept Mary's suggestion that they have no interest in my course'

right and cannot be assumed to be floating quantifiers. Instead, the preposed material provides the restriction on the quantifier in subject position, as reflected in the colloquial English translation. These NPs thus set the background against which the quantificational statement is evaluated and therefore in a sense share the adverbial properties of the modifying clauses discussed in the preceding section.

There are additional similarities between this type of initial "subject" and those adverbial clauses. Recall that the adverbial clauses able to precede $V_{[+finite]}$ -CI are also found in recomplementation structures. As the examples below show, this is true of these "subjects" as well; we find the construction illustrated in (65) until at least the XVth century.

- (65) a. &' dixieron algunos. **que los recabdadores de Josep cada uno por la**
and said some that the tax collectors from Josep each one around the

tierra poro andaua. que llegauan este pan poro lo fallauan
land where walked.3Sg that took this bread where it found.3Pl
*'And some said that Josep's tax collectors were taking this bread
wherever they found it' (GE-I)*
- b. Dixome quel' dixeran **que aquella muger, que** era la mas
told.3Sg-me that-him said.3Pl that that woman that was.3Sg the most

fuerte et mas brava cosa del mundo
strong and most vicious thing of the world
*'He told me that somebody had told him that this woman was the
strongest and meanest woman in the world' (Lucan.154)*
- c. E despues ovieron avenençia **que Naçar que** no =se llamase rrey de
and after had.3Pl agreement that Naçar that not [se] called.3Sg king of

Granada ni de otro lugar ninguno
Granada nor of another place none
*'And later they agreed that Naçar would not be called King of Granada
nor of any other place' (AlfXI)*
- d. el qual =les dixo **quel sen'or que**=les enbiaua rogar que anduviesen
who them told that-the master that-them send request that walked.3Pl

quanto pudiesen
as-much-as could.3Pl
*'who told them that his master had send him to ask them to walk as
muchas they could' (Tamer.66r)*

Note that the length of the subject NP does not play any significant role in its ability to appear in recomplementation; both lengthy NP subjects as in (65)a and single word NP subjects as in (65)c and d are attested.⁴³

The availability of the subject *pro* category is necessary for licensing the kind of adjunct "subjects" which we are hypothesizing to exist in OSp. The underlying structure I propose for the examples in (63) is as follows.

(66) & [_{CP}[_{NP}ella_{<D>}] [_{CP} dixo_j [_{IP}=I pro_i t_j ...]]]

Interestingly, comparative data is available that confirms the overall adequacy of this analysis. Given the specific structures we are assuming for instances of recomplementation constructions such as those illustrated in (65), this analysis makes the prediction that if a non *pro*-drop language were to permit this kind of structure, an overt subject NP bearing certain referential relationship with the NP situated between the complementizers would be expected to appear inside the complement clause. OEng is one such language,⁴⁴ as illustrated in (67). Thus, while OSp could have the category *pro*, OEng seems to require an overt subject inside the CP complement proper. Note also that in (67)a besides a subject we find a temporal clause between the two overt complementizers, another representative of the restricted class of constituents which can adjoin outside a CP projection.⁴⁵

(67) a. Hit is awriten þætte David, þa he þone læppan
It is written that David, when he the corner

forcorfenne hæfde, þæt he sloge on his heortan, ...
(of Saul's coat) cut-off had, that he struck in his heart, ...
'Therefore it is written that David, when he had cut off the corner (of
Saul's coat), struck his heart ...' (CP., 199,16, from Gorrell 1985)

⁴³. Unlike the other types of recomplementation involving subordinate clauses, the kind of structures illustrated in the text above are not possible as far as I know in any dialect of Spanish. Juan Uriagereka (p.c.) tells me that they are not possible in the archaic dialects investigated by him either.

⁴⁴. OEng does indeed permit some form of null subject in certain restricted environments. Although non-overt subjects in OEng are more frequent and are licensed in a wider range of discourse environments than those that permit some form of null subject in modern English, this does not happen in a systematic enough fashion to merit classification as a true *pro*-drop language, in the sense this term is applied to Spanish or Italian.

⁴⁵. I wish to thank Susan Pintzuk for her help with the OEng data.

- b. Forthon seo æ bibead þœm aldan Godes folce, þætte se wer, se
 Because the law directed the old God's people, that the man, who

 þe wære his wife gemenged, þæt he sceolde wætre aðwegan &
 was (with) his wife mingled, that he should (with) water wash and

 bebaðad beon, ...
 bathed be, ...
 'Because the law directed the old people of God that a man who had
 slept with his wife should wash with water and be bathed' (Bede, 80, 24)

In view of these facts, configurations such as those illustrated in (63), repeated below as (68), do not present a problem for the hypothesis postulated here.

- (68) a. & **ella** dixo=l que como non lloraria que nunca fiziera el rrey cosa
 & she told-him that since not cried.3Sg that never did the king thing

 por =le fazer plazer
 for her make pleasure
 'and she told him that unless she cried the king would never do anything
 to please her' (Lucan.140)
- b. **Los Godos** estonçes cuemo eran nobles en sos fechos; armaron =se
 the Goths then since were.3Pl noble in their deeds; armed selves

 luego
 afterwards
 'Then, since they were noble people, the Goths took arms after this'
 (EE-I.139r)

4.2.3.2. Objects

Interestingly, the prediction that elements which appear preceding a $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl string can also be found to occur between complementizers in a recomplementation structure is met in another case as well. Although in smaller quantities than subjects, objects also appear preceding configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl in the OSp texts.

- (69) a. E estas pazes_{S<D>} traxo=las_i marutas Obispo de mesopotamia
 and these peaces brought them marutas Bishop of mesopotamia
 'And Marutas, Bishop of Mesopotamia, brought this peace' (EE-I.125v)

- b. & esto_{< >} prouaua =lo_i por la sandalia dell apostoligo que traye.
 & this proved it for the sandal of-the apostolic that brought.3Sg
 ‘And this he proved by the sandal belonging to the pope which he brought with him’ (EE-I.126r)

Facts such as the ones illustrated in (69) also offer positive evidence that argument-like material preceding the V_[+finite]-CI sequence is licensed only under coindexation with something in the clause that serves as the argument to the verb; in this case a coindexed pronominal clitic. Thus, given that "object" NPs can also be licensed via this device to appear adjoined outside CP, we would expect to be able to find them participating in recomplementation structures as well. This prediction is also borne out, as the examples in (70) show.

- (70) a. & desi cuenta Maestre pedro adelant sobre las otras razones. **que** [aquel cordero & so tells master pedro later on about the other reasons that that sheep
 que encendien enel sacrificio dela manana]_{< >} **que**=l_i ponien enel altar
 which burned.3Pl in-the sacrifice of-the morning, that-it put.3Pl on-the altar
 ‘And apostle Peter says later on about the other reasonings that they put on the altar the sheep that was burned in the morning’s sacrifice’
- b. ...que manda **que** [a los questuvieren en su real seruiçio]_{< >} **que** les, ayudemos
 ...that demands that to the ones-who-are in his royal service that them help.1Pl
 y faborezcamos
 and favor.1Pl
 ‘...that demands that we help and favor all those who are in his royal service’
 (Bernal)
- c. y mando **que** [los bastimentos que traian los mayordomos de Moctezuma]_{< >}
 and ordered that the goods that brought the servants of Moctezuma
que lo_i repartiesen entre todos los soldados
 that it distributed.3Pl among all the soldiers
 ‘And ordered that the goods brought by Moctezuma’s servants be distributed among all the soldiers’ (Bernal.227)

In (71) we observe that similar structures are also found in constructions involving imperatives. This also follows from the specific approach we have adopted here.

- (71) [Las mugieres & las mancebillas que non saben aun tanto de
the women & the girls that not know.3PI yet so-much of

mal. ca son de chica edad.]_{<D>} Tomad =las_{<D>} & guardat =las_{<D>} pora uos.
evil since are.3PI of little age take-them & keep-them for you
'And those young and older women which still have not been corrupted, you
must take them and keep them for you' (GE-I.315v)

It is important to point out that examples with structures such as that in (72), where an object precedes a string of the form V_[+finite]-Cl, and, crucially, where the clitic and the initial NP are not referentially related are not found in the data.⁴⁶

- (72) * DO/IO_i - V_[+finite]-Cl_j

In contrast, cases of 'topicalized' objects preceding Cl-V_[+finite] configurations, where clitic and argument NPs bear different indices, are not uncommon in the earliest texts. This is exactly what we expect if the analyses of OSp phrase structure and clitic syntax advanced here are correct. In all the examples in (73) below, the object NP appears in Spec(IP), an A-bar position, with the verb remaining in I⁰; therefore its licensing in this particular configuration does not need to be mediated by the clitic.

- (73) a. & ami =le⁴⁷ demanda tu
and to-me him request you
'and you request him from me' (GE-I.105r)

⁴⁶. In section 4.3 we will see that in languages such as Middle Dutch such structures are possible. This contrast between these two languages, as I will demonstrate, can be made to follow quite straightforwardly from the analysis adopted here.

⁴⁷. This is a case of the phenomenon known as *leísmo* where a masculine animate DO clitic pronoun is homophonous with a IO clitic pronoun. It is a fairly widespread misconception to consider *leísmo* as a recent development in Spanish. It is not uncommon to hear statements such as "the masculine accusative form of the clitic is being replaced by the dative form in dialect x whenever the NP is marked masculine animate". The use of *le* as an animate masculine DO as in example (85), or as in (i)-(iii) below, from the XIIth and XIIIth centuries respectively, is extremely frequent throughout the Castilian texts I have consulted for the present study extending up to the XVIth century.

(i) Los moros son muchos | derredor =le çercauan
the moors are many | around him encircled.3PI
'There were many moors surrounding him' (PMC)

(ii) & enuiaron =le contra el
and sent.3PI him against him
'And they sent him against him' (EE)

- b. segund que a moysen =lo mandara nuestro sennor
 according that to moysen it ordered our lord
 'As our Lord directed Moses to do it' (GE-I.307v)
- c. si a omne de mundo lo digo....
 if to man of world it say.1Sg
 'If I tell this to anybody' (Lucan.144)

All the evidence discussed above thus suggests that examples such as those in (69) are assigned the structures in (74)a, whereas the examples in (73) must be assigned the structures in (74)b. Irrelevant material is omitted.

- (74) a. [_{CP}NP_{<i>} [_{CP} [_CV_j [_{IP} =Cl_i [_I t_j [_{VP} ...t_j t_i...]]]]]]]]
- b. [_{IP} NP_i =Cl_j [_I V_k [_{VP} ...t_k t_j t_i ...]]]

To summarize, I take the data discussed in this section to indicate that the S-structure position of the preverbal NP objects in (69) is not derived via movement but rather base generation of these constituents in a position outside the CP boundary. In the next chapter, we will see that the structures in (69) give rise to the CLLD constructions discussed in Cinque (1990) and Iatridou (1991a), for Italian and Greek respectively.

So far, we have observed that OSp allows for the base generation of two subclasses of non-argument constituents outside the CP domain: a) a small list of adverbs and subordinate clauses interpreted as sentential modifiers, and thus not related structurally to any position internal to the sentence they modify; and b) NPs coindexed with a subject or object position internal to IP. The licensing of the latter group of elements outside the CP boundary is made possible in OSp by the existence of pronominal categories which can act as a resumptive pronoun in a CLLD structure: *pro* in the case of "dislocated" subjects and object clitics in the case of "dislocated" objects. The counterexamples in (21) are then only apparent, and the autonomous verb-movement hypothesis can thus be maintained. Before concluding this chapter, we must address one last problem: the asymmetries in clitic placement observed between yes/no questions and wh-questions, to which we now turn.

4.2.4. Wh-questions and Clitics

Under the assumption that, for those languages with wh-movement at S-structure, wh-words land in the specifier position of CP, and that 'subject inversion' patterns resulting from question formation are a consequence of I⁰-to-C⁰ (Chomsky 1986, Rizzi 1991), the examples in (70) are problematic for the autonomous verb-movement analysis.

- (75) a. Qui =los podrie contar?
 who them could count?
 ‘Who could count them?’ (PMC 699)
- b. El oro e la plata ¿quien =vos =lo podrie contar?
 the gold and the silver, who you it could count?
 ‘And who could measure the amount of gold and silver for you?’
 (PMC 1214)
- c. Dezid: ¿Que =vos mereçi, ifantes...?
 say: What to-you deserved, princes?
 ‘Just tell me, oh princes, what wrong did I do to you?’ (PMC 3258)

In contrast with the characteristic $V_{[+inf]}$ -Cl configurations seen in yes/no questions such as those in the examples below, wh-questions in medieval or renaissance Spanish invariably exhibit Cl- $V_{[+inf]}$ configurations, with the clitic immediately following the wh-expression and preceding the tensed verb. This is true for all the texts I have surveyed, from the XIIth to the XVIth century.

- (76) a. ¿Miembra=*t* quando lidiamos | çerca Valençia la grant?
 reminds-you when fought.1Pl | near Valencia the great?
 ‘Do you remember when we fought around Valencia the great?’
 (PMC 3315)
- b. Este mandamiento traspasaste=lo jamas?
 This commandment transgressed.2Sg-it ever
 ‘This commandment, did you ever transgress it?’ (Cor.91)
- c. ¿Pareçe=*os*, señor, bien que Hernando Cortés
 seems-to you, sir, well that Hernando Cortés.
 ansí =nos aya traído engañados a todos?
 thus us has brought fooled all
 ‘Sir, does it seem fair to you that H.C. has brought us all here with
 lies?’ (Bernal)

Wh-questions, then, seem to be a counterexample for the autonomous verb-movement analysis defended above. These data, however, ceases to be problematic if wh-question formation can be shown to consist of single verb movement from V^0 to I^0 , with the placement of wh-operators in the Spec(IP) position. I now turn to discuss evidence suggesting that indeed this is the correct analysis for wh-questions in Spanish, and, by extension, for OSp, thus adding further support for the general view presented here.

4.2.4.1. A-bar Positions and wh-movement in Spanish

Since the early influential work by Bresnan (1970,1972) it has been assumed by most syntacticians that wh-movement takes place invariably to a position in COMP, or, in more current terms, to Spec(CP). Perhaps the strongest statement in this respect is found in the work of Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) in the formulation of a Complementizer Universal according to which, if a language has a rule of wh-movement, the wh-phrase is placed under COMP to the left of the complementizer node. For almost a decade after these claims were first laid out, the possibility of wh-movement into other positions inside S was excluded by most syntacticians. In more recent frameworks, with the adoption of the type of phrase structure developed in the work of Stowell (1981), positions such as the specifier of IP were not considered to be capable of hosting *wh*-elements. The rationale behind this widespread view was that Spec(IP) was exclusively an A-position, rather than an A-bar position, which is necessarily the kind of position that hosts variable binding operator type elements such as *wh*-phrases. Instead, wh-elements are generally taken to occupy Spec(CP) at S-Structure.

A surprising characteristic of Spanish phrase structure, given these standard assumptions, is that subject inversion is obligatory in both root and embedded questions involving most types of wh-expressions.⁴⁸ This is illustrated by the contrasts in (77).

- (77) a. Me preguntó **qué** leería Marta durante el viaje.
 me asked.3Sg what would-read Marta during the trip
 'S/he asked me what Marta would read during the trip'
- b. *Me preguntó **qué** Marta leería durante el viaje.

In what follows, I will discuss evidence supporting recent analyses that have sought to derive the obligatoriness of inversion from the rather simple assumption that, in Spanish, wh-question formation consists of movement of the wh-element to Spec(IP), and that, crucially, it does not involve I⁰-to-C⁰. The resulting structure leaves no available space for the subject between the landing site of the wh-element and the INFL node, standardly assumed in Spanish to be host for the verbal head at S-structure (see e.g. Contreras, 1991, Suñer 1991). This results in the subject inversion pattern shown in (77), where the subject is assumed to have remained in its base generated position within VP.

⁴⁸As is well known, this situation does not obtain in most Caribbean Spanish dialects, where lack of inversion with main and embedded wh-questions, as in (i), is not only an option, but is also strongly preferred.

- (i) ¿Qué tú quieres?
 what you want
 'What do you want?'

After briefly reviewing the basic facts that have led others to adopt the view that *wh*-movement is to Spec(IP), I will devote some time to reject an alternative analysis of the facts in (77) in terms of CP-recursion, developed recently by Suñer (1991), and which has antecedents in previous work by Plann (1982). Very roughly, Suñer has argued that a certain subclass of predicates in Spanish subcategorizes for double CP complements. With an additional CP projection in these contexts, the verbal head is able to move to the extra available C⁰ node in the lower CP, leaving the subject behind in Spec(IP) and thus causing the inversion effects. Under this alternative approach, the lack of asymmetry between root and embedded *wh*-questions could be accounted for without having to posit that the *wh*-element lands in Spec(IP). Although the availability of double CP structures in Spanish has been suggested above, I will argue that, nonetheless, there is never verb movement to C⁰ in Spanish *wh*-questions, and that the landing site of *wh*-expressions (at least those related to thematic arguments of the verb) is always a position internal to IP, arguably Spec(IP).

4.2.4.2. Yes/No vs. *wh*-questions

The lack of word order asymmetry in main vs. embedded *wh*-questions has led authors such as Campos (1986), Egutckitza (1987), Goodall (1991), and Arnaiz (1992), among others, to argue that *wh*-movement in questions is to a position below the CP projection in Spanish.⁴⁹ Their claims are further supported by the contrast between the obligatoriness of inversion in *wh*-questions illustrated in (77), and its optionality in relative clauses and embedded yes/no questions, shown in (78) and (79), respectively.

(78) a. La mujer que Quayle mencionó en el debate no existe.
 the woman that Quayle mentioned in the debate not exists
'The woman Quayle mentioned in the debate doesn't exist'

b. La mujer que mencionó Quayle en el debate no existe.

(79) a. Pedro me preguntó si yo iba a ir a la fiesta con vosotros
 Pedro me asked that if I was-going to go to the party with you
'Pedro asked me if I was going to go to the party with you'

b. Pedro me preguntó si iba yo a ir a la fiesta con vosotros

In a discussion of analogous facts in Catalan, Picallo (1984) has suggested that this contrast between relatives and *wh*-questions can be accounted for by a rule of subject-verb inversion (specifically, subject postposing) triggered obligatorily by *wh*-questions but only optionally by relatives. This analytic strategy, developed within a

⁴⁹Vallduví (1990,1992) and Solá (1992) make a similar proposal for Catalan.

different set of assumptions which included the base generation of the subject in Spec(IP), emerges as much less attractive in a system where the VP-internal subject hypothesis has been adopted.⁵⁰ Now, consider what we would have to say to recast this analysis in more current terms. First, note that it is standardly assumed that the C⁰ position is filled in embedded clauses, thus preventing I⁰-to-C⁰ from taking place. Although the contents of the C⁰ node cannot be phonologically realized in English or Spanish embedded questions (the Doubly Filled COMP constraint first formulated in Chomsky and Lasnik (1977)), this position is occupied by an overtly expressed complementizer in other languages as illustrated in the following examples taken from Haegeman (1991:349). Example (80)a is from Dutch, (80)b is from Flemish, (80)c from Bavarian German, and (80)d is from Middle English:

- (80) a. Ik weet niet wie of Jan gezien heeft.
I know not whom whether Jan seen has
'I don't know whom Jan has seen'
- b. Ik weet niet wie dat Jan gezien heeft
I know not whom that Jan seen has
'I don't know whom Jan has seen'
- c. I woass ned wann dass da Xavea kummt
I know not when that Xavea comes
'I don't know when Xavea is coming.'
- d. men shal wel knowe who that I am
Men shall well know who that I am
'Men will know well who I am.'

Thus, a fairly uncontroversial D-Structure representation for an embedded question such as (81) in Spanish, assuming a VP-internal subject, would be as in (82)a or b, depending on whether the subject is base generated adjoined to the right or to left of VP (see Contreras, 1991, for arguments that both possibilities are available):

- (81) Me preguntó qué dijo **Marta**.
me asked.3Sg what said Marta
'She/he asked what Marta had said'
- (82) a. ...[_{CP} [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} [_Γ [_{VP} Marta [_{VP} dijo **qué**]]]]]]
- b. ...[_{CP} [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} [_Γ [_{VP} [_{VP} dijo **qué**] Marta]]]]]

⁵⁰. See Contreras (1989) for an alternative account of question/relative clause asymmetries in terms of what he labels the *Closed Domain Condition* within a more current framework that assumes the VP-internal subject hypothesis.

Further assume, as is currently standard (Contreras 1991, Suñer 1991), that the verb in Spanish must raise to I^0 ,⁵¹ but that, as noted above, the subject can, but does not have to, move to Spec(IP) at S-structure (or, alternatively, adjoin to IP). Under the hypothesis that the wh-word *qué* occupies Spec(CP) at S-Structure, it is unclear why only two of the four potentially derivable S-Structures in (83) correspond to grammatical sentences.

- (83) a. ..._{[CP} **qué**_i [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} [_{I'} dijo_j [_{VP} Marta [_{VP} t_j t_i]]]]]]]]
 b. ..._{[CP} **qué**_i [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} [_{I'} dijo_j [_{VP} [_{VP} t_j t_i] Marta]]]]]]]]
 c. *..._{[CP} **qué**_i [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} Marta_k [_{I'} dijo_j [_{VP} t_k [_{VP} t_j t_i]]]]]]]]
 d. *..._{[CP} **qué**_i [_{C'} +Wh [_{IP} Marta_k [_{I'} dijo_j [_{VP} [_{VP} t_j t_i] t_k]]]]]]]]]

That is, there appears to be no non-stipulative means of blocking the appearance of the subject to the left of the verb. Since, as just noted, following current assumptions within the GB framework, C^0 is filled (albeit by phonologically null material), verb-subject order cannot be enforced by movement of the verb to C^0 . Moreover, the fact that the subject does appear on both sides of the verb in relative clauses indicates that we would not want to block the subject NP from appearing in Spec(IP) (or adjoined to IP) on general principles. Consequently, it is clear that taking the wh-word to move to Spec(CP) in wh-questions offers no insight into the asymmetry in the relative order of subject and verb in embedded wh-questions vs. relative clauses.

In order to account for these contrasts, Goodall (1991a,b) has specifically argued

⁵¹. As noted by Suñer (1991), similar patterns to those exhibited by French (Pollock (1989)) are observed in Spanish as well, indicating that unlike in English, V^0 must raise at S-structure in these languages. Thus, for instance, VP-adverbs and the quantifier *todos* 'all' are found intervening between the main verb and its complement. (examples from Suñer (1991)).

- (i) a. Habla *bien* el chino
 s/he speaks well Chinese
 'She speaks Chinese well'
 b. Conocen *perfectamente* sus circunstancias
 they understand perfectly their situation
 'They understand their situation perfectly'
- (ii) Los niños comieron *todos* la sopa.
 the children(m, pl) ate *all*(m, pl) the soup
 'The children all ate the soup'

that, in clauses that are marked as [+wh], wh-elements must land in Spec(IP),⁵² whereas wh-movement (whether involving an overt wh-expression, or a null wh-operator as is arguably the case in the examples in (78)) is always to Spec(CP) in [-wh] clauses such as relatives.⁵³ Thus, whenever Spec(IP) is not filled by a wh-element (or its trace), the subject may move into that position, accounting for the patterns in (78)a and (74)a; or, alternatively, it can remain in its base-generated position within VP, as in (78)b and (74)b. The fact that Spanish allows the subject to remain in situ can be made to follow from the claim that in Spanish and some other languages, unlike in English, subjects can receive nominative Case within VP under government from I⁰ and therefore are not forced to move into Spec(IP) for Case-theoretic reasons (see e.g. Contreras 1991). This is important to clarify here because it means that in Spanish the fact that the tensed verb precedes the subject does not necessarily entail that I⁰-to-C⁰ movement has taken place.

If wh-expressions in wh-questions move into Spec(IP), the impossibility of (77)b follows straightforwardly. For authors such as Goodall (1991a,b) and Arnaiz (1992), subjects cannot occur between the wh-phrase and the tensed verb because there simply is no available site to host the subject between I⁰ and the specifier position of its maximal projection. Details of analysis aside, the contrast between (77) and (78)/(74) clearly confirms that wh-questions are special in Spanish. Of course, such an analysis is problematic under the assumption that the Spec(IP) position is exclusively an A-position. As noted above, however, this assumption has been seriously challenged by a number of authors. Diesing (1990) has argued that, at least in some languages, Spec(IP) can optionally be an A-bar position. Santorini (1989) goes even further, arguing that in Yiddish Spec(IP) is exclusively an A-bar position. In the previous chapter, I showed that the same patterns of data that led authors to postulate A-bar status for Spec(IP) in languages such as Yiddish and Icelandic are also found in OSp. This makes the analysis proposed by Goodall and Arnaiz naturally extendable to this language, while, at the same time, also lending additional diachronic support for the implicit claim underlying their proposal in the sense that Spec(IP) in Modern Spanish would be also an A-bar position.

As an additional observation, note that the idea that Spec(CP) is the exclusive landing site for wh-movement has also been challenged by a number of authors for various other languages. For instance, Horvath (1981, 1986) has argued that in Hungarian wh-words in questions move into a position internal to IP which is the same position that serves as a landing site for moved focused elements. In more recent work, Horvath (1991) specifically argues that this position is Spec(IP). A similar

⁵²Goodall (1991a,b) further argues that, in main clauses, the wh-expression moves on to Spec(CP), leaving a trace in Spec(IP) and preventing the subject from occupying this position.

⁵³Vallduví (1992) proposes to correlate these contrasts with the fact that "wh-words in questions display the same quantificational behavior traditional existential and universal quantifiers display (cf. Hirschbühler 1985). wh-words in relatives, in contrast, do not possess any quantificational force". Thus, in Vallduví's view, Spec(IP) is exclusively a quantifier-related position. I assume that this is the situation that obtains in Modern Spanish as well, after the ability to host non-quantificational material that was characteristic of the Spec(IP) position in OSp was lost (see Chapter 5 for details).

analysis has been advanced for wh-questions in Selayarese by Finer (1991). Solá (1992) observes that wh-phrases in wh-questions in Catalan also appear below CP; and Vallduví (1992) has argued, also for Catalan, that the Spec(IP) position serves as a host for all quantificational elements participating in operator-variable constructions, including both wh- and non-wh- categories such as the negative universal quantifiers discussed in Laka (1990). Finally, that wh-questions, at least in main clauses, involve movement of the wh-element into the Spec(IP) position has even been proposed for English (see Pesetsky (1989)).

However, as observed above, an alternative analysis of the facts in (77) is in principle available. Under the approach proposed by Plann (1982), and Suñer (1991), it is possible to account for the lack of asymmetries between main and embedded wh-questions by appealing to their observation that verbs like *preguntar* can take a double CP complement. This analysis would provide an extra C⁰ node which would allow the verb-INFL complex to undergo I⁰-to-C⁰ in embedded clauses (in the lower of the two available CPs) as it is assumed for matrix clauses, and thus result in the characteristic inversion patterns. I will argue, however, that there are good reasons not to adopt this approach.

4.2.4.3. Double CP Complements

In order to show why we cannot appeal to CP recursion to account for the word order facts in (77), it is important to first clarify the range of CP recursion environments in Spanish. As Plann (1982) and Suñer (1991), based on observations in Rivero (1980), have noted, Spanish provides striking evidence for the hypothesis that double CP projections are an option in some languages. In (84) we observe that a wh-element heading an interrogative complement immediately follows the declarative complementizer *que* 'that'. Both Plann and Suñer propose that this fact can be straightforwardly accounted for if the underlying structure for the examples in (84) is that in (85), namely a recursive CP structure.

- (84) a. Te preguntan que **para qué** quieres el préstamo
 you-DAT ask.3pl that for what want.2sg the loan
 'They ask you what do you want the loan for'
- b. me preguntaron que **cómo** prepara mi padre esa ensalada
 me asked.3Pl that how prepares my father that salad
 'They asked me how my father prepares that salad'

(85)

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As further support for this analysis, Suñer provides data involving extraction from wh-islands that shows the complements of the Spanish equivalent to the *ask/wonder* type verbs to behave quite differently from the complements of the *know/discover* type verbs. As the contrasts in (86) show, whereas wh-extraction from a wh-island complement is not possible with the former, it is allowed with the latter class of verbs.

- (86) a. *¿Quién preguntaste que cuándo llegó a este país?
 who did you ask that when s/he arrived in this country?
 b. ¿Quién no recuerdas cuándo llegó a este país?
 who no remember.2sg when arrived.3sg in this country
 'Who don't you remember when s/he arrived in this country?'

Suñer notes that it is only the verbs of the *ask/wonder* class but not those of the *know/discover* class that allow the overt complementizer *que* to precede an interrogative complement with a fronted wh-expression. Compare (87) with (84) above.

- (87) a. Mireia sabía (*que) quién lo había hecho
 Mireia knew that who it had done
 'Mireia knew who had done it'
 b. Dorotea averiguará (*que) qué planes estáis preparando
 Dorotea will-find-out that what plans are.2Pl preparing
 'Dorotea will find out which plans you are preparing'

She goes on to point out that there is a correlation between the licensing of complementizer-wh-element word order and whether the given predicate can select a 'true' (i.e. matrix) question as its complement: whereas, the *ask/wonder* verbs select true indirect questions, with an interpretation that is interrogative in nature, the *know/discover* class only select what she calls 'semi-questions', whose interpretation is

propositional in nature.⁵⁴

From these and other facts, Suñer concludes that only those verbs that can semantically select the type of complements selected by the *ask/wonder* class license a double CP complement. Other verbs, such as the equivalent to *know*, *find out*, *discover* and so on, subcategorize for a single CP. She suggests that the double CP directly accounts for the complete failure of wh-phrases inside indirect questions to extract. According to Suñer, the specifier position of the higher CP in the double CP structure is occupied by a phonologically null [+Q] operator whose function is to mark the whole structure as an indirect question, and which prevents Spec(CP) from serving as an escape hatch. This operator satisfies the Spec-head agreement requirement with the head of this CP which is marked as [+wh], as demanded by the selectional restrictions of the verb in the main clause. Thus, an embedded wh-element will have to cross two CP boundaries in order to extract, giving rise to ungrammaticality.

One of the most interesting results of Suñer's study is that her findings largely match those reported in McCloskey (1992) with respect to the class of predicates that can license embedded V2 effects in other languages. Like Suñer, McCloskey suggests that the facts can be accounted for if some, but not all, predicates take double CP structures as their complements. For example, McCloskey shows that roughly the same correlation that holds in Spanish between allowing declarative *que* to precede an embedded wh-question and selecting a true question as a complement, obtains in various dialects of English, such as Hiberno English, in terms of allowing I⁰-to-C⁰ fronting in their complements. A few representative examples from McCloskey (1992) are illustrated in (88).

- (88) a. Ask your father does he want his dinner
 b. I was wondering would he come home for the Christmas.
 c. Did he tell you how did he do it?

McCloskey extends Suñer's generalization to cover those verbs that can select true declaratives as their complements (i.e. essentially the verbs of saying). Roughly the same conclusions about the limitations on the set of predicates that license double CP structures as their complements are arrived at by Iatridou and Kroch (1992).⁵⁵ Thus, we do not simply want to say that any verb in Spanish licenses a recursive CP complement whenever necessary. As all these authors have convincingly argued, double CP-complements are semantically selected (s-selected). Thus, we expect a limited, semantically consistent class of verbs to appear with double CP complements cross-linguistically, viz. the "bridge" verbs including *say*, *ask*, and *promise*.

⁵⁴This basic semantic distinction has also been argued for by e.g. Berman (1990) for the equivalent verb-classes in English.

⁵⁵Both McCloskey and Iatridou and Kroch (1992) further extend their analyses to account for the variation in the possibility of embedded declarative V2 clauses across the Germanic languages (see Vikner, 1991), although their respective proposals differ in important respects.

If we recall the discussion carried out in section 4.2.1.3 concerning recomplementation structures, we can easily see that these data can also be brought to bear on the proposal that only a restricted set of predicates selects double CP complements. As observed above, all through the texts from early OSp until as late as the XVIIth century, we find the peculiar construction illustrated in (89)a-d, in which adjuncts - usually *if/because/since* clauses, but also temporal and purpose clauses, as in (89)b and c, respectively, and dislocated NPs, as in (89)d - can be found sandwiched between two overt complementizers.

- (89) a. dize **que** si a omne del mundo =lo digo **que** toda mi
say.3Sg that if to man of-the world it say.1Sg that all my

fazienda et aun la mi vida es en grand periglo.
property and even the my life is in great danger

'He even says that, if I tell anybody, all my property and my very life is in great danger' (Lucan.310)

- b. Et ellos dixieronle **que** por que viesse que non =lo querian
and they told-him that so that saw.3Sg that not him wanted.3Pl
engannar **que** =los mandase encerrar en aquel palacio
cheat that them ordered locked in that palace

'And they told him that so that he could see that they did not want to cheat him he could lock them up in that palace' (Lucan.312)

- c. dicen **que** en la fiesta daquell anno en que Josep fue preso.
say.3Pl that in the party of-that year in which Josep was jailed

que se fizo enferma donna zulayme su sennora
that self made sick Mrs. zulayme his wife

'And they say that during the festivities of the year when Josep was captive Mrs. Zulayme pretended to be sick' (GE-I.97r)

- d. mando **que** [los bastimentos que traian los mayordomos
and ordered that the goods that brought the servants of

de Moctezuma]; **que** lo_i repartiesen entre todos
Moctezuma that it distributed.3Pl among all

'And he ordered that the goods brought by Moctezuma's servants be distributed among all the soldiers' (Bernal 227)

Such examples are in fact predicted to be acceptable under McCloskey's reformulation of Chomsky's (1986) Adjunction Prohibition condition, repeated in (90):

- (90) Adjunction to a phrase which is s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical. (McCloskey 1992:9)

According to (90), the examples in (89) will be possible, since the lower CP, headed by an overt *que*, is not immediately dominated by the verb in the main clause, hence arguably not directly selected by it. Recall that, in the analysis suggested above for recomplementation constructions, the constituents appearing between the two overt complementizers would be adjoined outside the lower CP. Notice, in this respect, the contrasts in (91), which as observed by McCloskey obtain in Standard English. Just as adjunction to IP in these contexts is possible, adjunction of an adverbial phrase to CP is permitted just in case the CP in question is not an argument. Thus, the example (92), involving a matrix CP, is also acceptable in English.

- (91) a. [_{IP} In general [_{IP} after people finish their theses [_{IP} they don't know what to do with themselves.]]]
- b. He promised that when he got home he would cook dinner for the children.
- c. *He promised when he got home that he would cook dinner for the children.

- (92) When you get home, what do you want to do?

Finally, at least for speakers who accept I⁰-to-C⁰ fronting in embedded questions, examples such as those in (93) are either acceptable or only marginally unacceptable. This would indicate, as I have argued in relation to the recomplementation constructions, that the adverbial clause in these examples is also adjoined to the lower CP in a double CP structure. Hence, only the higher CP (situated above the intervening adverbial clause) is directly selected by the main verb and no violation of (90) arises.

- (93) a. ?Ask your father when he gets home if he wants his dinner.
- b. ?I was wondering next Christmas would he come home.

Returning now to Spanish, it is interesting to observe that the construction illustrated in (89) has survived in many non-standard dialects of Modern Spanish. As we already

noted, speakers of these dialects⁵⁶ accept examples such as those in (94).

- (94) a. Me dijeron que, si no pagaba, que no me podía matricular
me told.3Pl that, if not paid.1Sg, that not self could matriculate
'They told me that, if I didn't pay, I could not register'
- b. Le prometieron que, si iba, que no se arrepentiría
him promised.3Pl that, if went.3Sg, that not self repent
'They promised him that if he went there he wouldn't regret it'

In what appears to be clear confirmation of the basic restrictions on CP recursive environments suggested above, speakers who readily accept the examples in (94) reject those in (95) below, involving recomplementation with predicates not in the restricted class that can select true questions/declaratives as their complements.

- (95) a. *Sabíamos que, si no llegabamos a tiempo, que llamarían
knew.1Pl that, if not arrived.1Pl in time, that would-call.3Pl

a la policía
the police
'We knew that, if we didn't arrive in time, they would call the police'
- b. *Nos dimos cuenta de que, si llegabamos temprano, que no
[selves] gave account of that, if arrived.1Pl early, that not

nos harían pagar
us would-make.3Pl pay
'We realized that, if we arrived early, they wouldn't make us pay'

⁵⁶The range of constituents licensed between the two overt complementizers appears to be more restricted in the modern dialects than in earlier stages. Whereas most of the speakers consulted accept the examples in (94), involving an *if*-clause, not all of them accept examples such as those in (i) and (ii), involving a left-dislocated NP and a purpose clause, respectively. This contrasts with the situation reflected by the examples in (89).

(i) ?Nos dijeron que, para que nos contentáramos, que nos
us told.3Pl that, so that ourselves contented, that us

iban a dar un premio de consolación.
were-going to give a prize of consolation

'They told us that they were going to give us a consolation prize so that we would be happy'

(ii) ?dijeron que, al amigo de Teresa, que lo iban a invitar
said that, the friend of Teresa, that him were-ging to invite
'They said that they were going to invite Teresa's friend'

- c. *Averiguaron que, si empujaban un poco, que podrían abrirla
 found-out.3Pl that, if pushed.3Pl a little, that could.3Pl open it
'They found out that they could open it if they pushed a bit'

These data strongly indicate that Suñer's basic hypothesis concerning the availability of double CP structures as complements of a restricted class of predicates is well motivated in Spanish. I turn now to discuss the issue of whether CP recursion can in fact be responsible for the obligatory inversion patterns that we saw in (77).

First, as Suñer correctly points out, verbs such as *saber* 'to know' and *averiguar* 'to find out' do not allow an overt complementizer to precede their embedded semi-question complements. This was illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (87). Recall that recomplementation is not permitted with these verbs either. If the availability of CP recursion were the correct explanation for the obligatory subject inversion observed with the complements of the verb *preguntar* 'to ask' in (77), we would expect subjects to be able to appear preceding the verb in complements to the *saber/averiguar* class. That is, given that these verbs select a single CP, and thus the complementizer position is not available to serve as the landing site for the moved verb (being occupied by the a phonologically null counterpart of *que*), under the assumption that the *wh*-element fills the Spec(CP) position, we would expect the subject to be able to occur in a position between C⁰ and I⁰; whether this is Spec(IP) or adjoined to IP. However, as the contrasts in (96) illustrate, this prediction is not borne out. Obligatory inversion obtains in these contexts as well, thus suggesting that I⁰-to-C⁰ fronting of the tensed verb cannot be responsible for the patterns we are discussing.

- (96) a. *Tú sabes qué **Juan** va a hacer pero no me lo quieres decir.
 you know what J. is-going to do but not me it want.2Sg to-say
'You know what J. is going to do but you don't want to tell me'
 b. Tu sabes qué va a hacer **Juan** pero no me lo quieres decir.
 c. *Ya averigüé a quién **Juan** vió.
 already found-out.1Sg whom Juan saw
'I finally found out who Juan saw'
 d. Ya averigüé a quién vió **Juan**.

Further confirmation for the need of an alternative explanation for the obligatoriness of subject inversion in embedded questions comes from the contrasts in (98) and (99). These examples are the Spanish equivalent of the examples in (97), taken from McCloskey (1992), and involve the class of predicates which, according to both McCloskey and Suñer's proposals, are not expected to allow for embedded I⁰-to-C⁰. These are environments where we would predict a clear asymmetry with main clauses, under the assumption that the *wh*-expression is in Spec(CP) but no I⁰-to-C⁰ fronting can apply. However, as the judgements concerning the examples in (98) and

(99) indicate, the sentences are not acceptable with preverbal subjects.

- (97) a. *It was totally unclear who should they invite
 b. *How many people should you invite depends on how big is your place.
- (98) a. A cuánta gente puedes invitar depende de cuán grande es **tu casa**
 to how many people can.2Sg invite depends of how big is your house
'How many people can you invite depends on how big your place is'
 b. *A cuánta gente puedes invitar depende de cuán grande **tu casa** es
- (99) a. No estaba nada claro a quién deberían invitar ellos
 not was nothing clear whom should invite they
'It was totally unclear who they should invite'
 b. No estaba nada claro a quién deberían ellos invitar
 c. *No estaba nada claro a quién ellos deberían invitar

Under the hypothesis advanced here, namely, that no I⁰-to-C⁰ is involved in Spanish wh-questions, and that wh-question formation requires movement of the wh-expression into Spec(IP) (at least for the cases where the wh-phrase is linked to an argument position), these facts would receive a straightforward account.

Moreover, this hypothesis makes a further correct prediction. If wh-movement is always to Spec(IP), independent of whether the higher predicate selects for a double CP or a single CP complement, we would expect to find embedded wh-questions also within double CP complements where the heads of both the higher and lower CPs are lexically filled. In other words, a wh-expression following an overt complementizer should also be possible in the context of a recomplementation structure. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (100) and (101). The example in (100) is taken from a XVIth century text; (101)a shows that in those modern Spanish dialects where recomplementation is still an option, such configurations are acceptable, and, when the subject is overt, inversion is mandatory.

- (100) Y también les preguntaron **que** aquellas lonbaldas
 and also them asked.3Pl that those cannons

 que traíamos **que** qué hazían con ellas
 that brought.1Pl that what made.3Pl with them
*'And they also asked them what they did with those cannons that they were
 bringing along with them' (Bernal 116)*

- (101) a. Le preguntaron **que**, si no tenía llave, **que** con qué abrió ella
 her asked.3SI that, if not had key, that with what opened she
- la puerta de la habitación 301 ayer por la noche
 the door of the room 301 yesterday by the night
'They asked her how she had opened the door to room 301 last night, if she didn't have the key'
- b. *Le preguntaron **que**, si no tenía llave, **que** con qué ella abrió
 her asked.3SI that, if not had key, that with what opened she
- la puerta ayer por la noche
 the door yesterday by the night

Unless we posit yet a third CP, the obligatoriness of inversion in these contexts, indicated by the ungrammaticality of (101)b, cannot be explained on a CP recursion analysis.

Note just one final problem for the assumption that the inversion patterns being discussed can be accounted for by the availability of double CP structures. As is well known, negative quantifiers occurring in preverbal positions in Spanish do not require the presence of the sentential negative marker *no* to be licensed. However, if they appear following the verb, the presence of the negative marker is required to license this form of negative concord. This is illustrated in (102).

- (102) a. Nadie durmió
 nobody slept.3sg
'Nobody slept'
- b. No durmió nadie
 not slept.3sg nobody
- c. *Durmió nadie

As Arnaiz (1992) points out, if we take the negative quantifier to be in Spec(IP) when it occurs preverbally, but in its base generated position within VP when it appears postverbally, we have a very useful test for determining the position of the subject in the cases that we have been investigating. If the obligatory inversion patterns observed above are a consequence of I⁰-to-C⁰ with subjects being located in Spec(IP), we expect that the negative marker should not be necessary to license *nadie* in these environments. If on the other hand, the subject is always in a position below IP in wh-questions, we expect that the negative marker *no* will be mandatory in these contexts. As shown in (103) the latter situation obtains.

- (103) a. *¿A quién vió nadie?
whom saw nobody
'Who did no one see?'
- b. ¿A quién no vió nadie?

I take all these facts to indicate that the analysis of Wh-questions in terms of wh-movement to the Spec(IP) position with verb-movement only to I⁰ is well motivated in Spanish.

4.2.4.4. On the Position of Preverbal Subjects in Modern Spanish

I would like now to digress a little bit from the central topic of this section to address the related question concerning the position of preverbal subjects in Modern Spanish. To do so is indeed necessary at this point, for, if we accept proposals such as those of Goodall (1991) and Arnaiz (1992) in their entirety (namely, we accept that subjects compete with wh-words for Spec(IP) in Spanish), we still don't have an explanation for the acceptability of the sentences in (104) below. That is, while the subject cannot occur between the wh-element and the tensed verb, it is free to precede the wh-element both in embedded and root environments. In addition, as the examples in (105) show, subjects can be freely ordered with respect to clitic-left dislocated (CLLD) NPs, thus exhibiting the typical behavior of adjoined XPs. As previously noted, the doubled NP in a CLLD construction has been argued by a number of authors to occupy an adjoined position outside CP/IP (e.g. Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1991, Demirdache 1991). As noted before, on the basis of these and other facts, Contreras (1991) has argued that subjects in such contexts are adjoined to IP and resumed by a *pro* category, in a relation analogous to that embodied in CLLD.⁵⁷

- (104) a. ¿Daniel a quién quiere convencer?
Daniel whom wants.he to convince
'Who does Daniel want to convince?'
- b. Me preguntó que Pedro a quién se lo había dado
me asked.3Sg that Pedro to whom him it had given
'S/he asked me who Pedro had given it to'
- (105) a. A Jordi, mi hermana no lo quiere ver ni en pintura
Jordi, my sister not him wants to-se nor in painting
'My sister doesn't want to have anything to do with Jordi'

⁵⁷See Rosselló (1986) for arguments that, in Catalan, subjects not only can, but must always be base-generated adjoined to IP and resumed by *pro*, whenever they occur in a preverbal position. Contreras (1991) also accepts the possibility that, in some cases, the preverbal position of the subject at S-structure is derived via move- α , with a trace appearing inside VP.

- b. Mi hermana, a Jordi no lo quiere ver ni en pintura

However, the facts in (106) indicate that negative quantifier subjects cannot participate in this same alternation, strongly suggesting that they do not occupy an adjoined position as might non-quantificational subjects.

- (106) a. Los malos nadie los quiere
 the bad-ones nobody them wants
 'Nobody wants the bad ones'
- b. *nadie los malos los quiere

Following Vallduví's (1992) account of equivalent facts in Catalan, I propose that the position occupied by preverbal variable-binding elements (both wh- and non-wh-) in Spanish is Spec(IP), whereas NPs in CLLD constructions and non-quantificational subjects are adjoined to IP. In other words, unlike in OSp where a wide range of constituent types could occupy this position, the Spec(IP) position in Modern Spanish is reserved for variable binding operators such as wh-elements and universal and existential quantifiers. Before I conclude this section, I want to briefly comment on some of the objections raised in Suñer (1991) against the alternative defended here.

4.2.4.5. Some Problems in the Analysis of Wh-questions in Spanish

One of Suñer's criticisms concerning the analysis of wh-questions outlined above has to do with the fact that inversion is only optional in both root and embedded wh-questions involving certain non-thematic wh-expressions, such as the

example in (107) below, acceptable for most Spanish speakers regardless of dialect.⁵⁸

- (107) a. Me preguntaron por qué Juan había llegado tan tarde
 me asked.3Pl why Juan had arrived so late
'They asked me why John had arrived so late'
- b. ¿Por qué Martín come tanto?
 why Martín eats so much
'Why does Martín eat so much?'

⁵⁸. In Torrego (1984), it is claimed that wh-phrases that do not trigger inversion include also *cómo* 'how' and *cuándo* 'when'. Judgements involving these kinds of adverbial wh-expressions are presumably affected by dialect differences. Thus, I have the judgements in a-i, which are also shared by the 3 native speakers I have consulted. Similar judgements are reported in Arnaiz (1992). Torrego (1984), however, reports that at least in some Spanish dialects (e) and (g) are possible.

- (a) *¿Cómo Marta dijo que iba a venir?
 how Marta said that was.3Sg to come
- (b) ¿Cómo dijo Marta que iba a venir?
 how said Marta that was.3Sg to come
- (c) *¿Dónde Marta dijo que había puesto las llaves?
 where Marta said that had.3Sg put the keys
- (d) ¿Dónde dijo Marta que había puesto las llaves?
 where said Marta that had.3Sg put the keys
- (e) *¿Cuándo Juan consiguió por fin abrir la puerta?
 when Juan managed in-the-end to open the door
- (f) ¿Cuándo consiguió Juan por fin abrir la puerta?
 when managed Juan in-the-end to open the door
- (g) *¿Cómo Juan ha conseguido meter allí a su hijo?
 how Juan has managed to put there his son
- (h) ¿Cómo ha conseguido Juan meter allí a su hijo?
 how has managed Juan to put there his son
- (i) *¿Dónde tu casa está?
 where your house is
- (j) ¿Dónde está tu casa ?
 where your house is

As noted, the situation with respect to inversion is totally different in many Caribbean Spanish dialects, where inversion in wh-questions of any kind is not only not obligatory but heavily disfavored (Suñer (1986)).

Note, however, that the differences between the two classes of *wh*-expressions are not restricted to inversion facts. In *wh*-questions with *por qué*, in both embedded and root environments, it is possible to have material such as object NPs in CLLD constructions and certain adverbials intervening between the *wh*-element and the tensed verb, whereas such an option is not available if the *wh*-element is a member of the other class. This is illustrated in the following contrasts.

- (108) a. ¿Por qué a Marta siempre le dan cubatas gratis y a mi no?
 Why to Marta always her give.3Pl cuba-libres free and to me not
 '¿Why do they always give free cuba-libres to Marta but not to me?'
- b. Me preguntaron por qué a Marta siempre le hacen las mismas preguntas
 me asked.3Pl why to Marta always her make.3Pl the same questions
 'They asked me why do they always ask Marta the same questions'
- (109) a. *¿Qué a Marta siempre le dan gratis?
 what to Marta always her give.3Pl free
 '¿What do they always give Marta for free?'
- b. ¿Qué le dan siempre gratis a Marta?
 what her give.3Pl always free to Marta
 '¿What do they always give Marta for free?'
- (110) a. *Me preguntaron qué a Marta siempre le dan a Marta cuando llega
 me asked.3Pl what to Marta always her give.3Pl when arrives
 'They asked me what do they always give Marta when she arrives'
- b. Me preguntaron qué le dan siempre a Marta cuando llega
 me asked.3Pl what her give.3Pl always to Marta when arrives
 'They asked me what do they always give Marta when she arrives'

If we adopt an account of *wh*-question formation in root environments exclusively in terms of verb-movement from I^0 -to- C^0 and *wh*-movement into the Spec(CP) position, it is difficult to see why some *wh*-words could trigger certain word orders whereas others could not. Put differently, why would some *wh*-elements always trigger movement of the V^0 - I^0 complex into C^0 while others would not?

There are good reasons to suppose that *wh*-elements such as *por qué* are, at least in some languages, different from the rest of the members of the *wh*- class. Rizzi (1990) notes, for instance, that French *in situ* *wh*-questions are allowed with all *wh*-words except with *pourquoi* 'why'.

- (111) a. Il a parlé de quoi?
 'He spoke about what?'

- b. Il a parlé comment?
'He spoke how?'
- c. *? Il a parlé pourquoi?
'He spoke why?'

Similar facts obtain in Spanish, as illustrated in (112).

- (112) a. ¿habló DE QUÉ?
to-you spoke.he of what?
'He spoke to you about what?'
- b. ¿habló CÓMO?
spoke.he how?
'He spoke to you how?'
- c. *? ¿habló POR QUÉ?
to-you spoke.he why?

In Rizzi's view, these otherwise puzzling facts can be explained taking *pourquoi* to be base generated in C⁰. An alternative proposal that can account for the differential behaviour of *wh*-expressions of the *por qué* type⁵⁹ is suggested in Travis (1984). In order to explain the patterns observed in examples such as (107), and distinguish them from those found in constructions involving thematic *wh*-expressions, Travis proposes

⁵⁹. Goodall (1991) notes that there is an additional *wh*-expression in Spanish, *cómo que* (literally 'how that'), which behaves exactly like *por qué* with respect to the range of word orders that it allows. The following examples are taken from Goodall (1991).

- (i) a. ¿Cómo que **Juana** se fue a Albuquerque?
how that Juana [*se*] went to Albuquerque?
- b. ¿Cómo que se fue **Juana** a Albuquerque?
how that SE went Juana to Albuquerque
'How can it be that Juana went to Albuquerque?'

Note, incidentally, that a fitting translation for sentences with *cómo que*, also possible in some cases with sentences involving *por qué*, could be with the English expression *how come*, an interrogative expression which, likewise, does not trigger inversion. This suggests that, from a syntactic standpoint, Spanish would have no real equivalent to the English inversion trigger *wh*-word *why*, but rather only the equivalent to *how come*. I will leave open the question of whether the same analysis is granted for all these constructions.

that this class of wh-elements in Spanish adjoins to IP.⁶⁰ Thus, taking *por qué* to be base generated outside IP/CP, we can equally take care of all the facts discussed above.

Thus, both of these two proposals crucially assume that Spec(IP) will not be occupied by *por qué*, hence making it possible to account for the variable word order in questions involving this element. Whether we take *por qué* to be base generated in COMP or adjoined to IP, subjects and other material can still adjoin to IP, thus intervening between the wh-element and the tensed verb in INFL. Crucially, though, we must be able to maintain that no I⁰-to-C⁰ movement takes place in these questions. Any of the two proposals yields precisely this result. Base generation in C⁰, with an empty wh-operator in Spec(CP), as suggested by Rizzi, will prevent the verb from moving into that position. Base generation as an adjunct to IP, will also yield the same results, since no Wh-element will occupy the Spec(CP) position and therefore no I⁰-to-C⁰ will be triggered. This is clearly necessary if we want to be able to account for the facts in (108) above, which show that, unlike in the case of English *why*, Spanish *por qué* does not necessarily trigger subject inversion, allowing also other constituents to appear between it and the tensed verb in root environments.

To summarize the discussion so far, the puzzling "inversion" patterns exhibited by the examples above can be straightforwardly accounted for under the view that the obligatoriness of post-verbal subjects in constructions involving wh-movement is a consequence of the fact that in wh-questions, with the exception of those involving a restricted set of elements such as *por qué*, the wh-phrase moves into the Spec(IP) position and not into the Spec(CP) position as in other languages such as (arguably) English.⁶¹

The other objection raised by Suñer is more theory internal in nature.⁶² She correctly points out that, given current assumptions within the GB framework, the appropriate selection mechanisms are taken to require a head-to-head relationship. Thus, for any predicate taking a wh-complement, a [+wh] feature specification must be borne by the head of that complement, namely the head of the CP sister to the

⁶⁰Note that the patterns in the examples below would be in principle compatible with any of the two views, assuming that a doubled NP in a CLLD construction can be either adjoined to CP or to IP.

- (i) ¿Y a Juan por qué siempre le da todo el mundo dinero?
and to Juan why always him gives all the world money
'Why does everybody always give money to Juan?'
- (ii) ¿por qué a Juan siempre le da todo el mundo dinero y a mi no?
why to Juan always him gives all the world money and to me not
'Why does everybody always give money to Juan but not to me?'

⁶¹ Though see Pesetsky (1989) for arguments that *wh*-movement in root environments (though not in embedded clauses) in English is also to a position within IP, presumably Spec(IP).

⁶²I wish to thank Sabine Iatridou for useful discussion of these issues.

selecting V^0 . Given the analysis adopted here, we would have to assume that the head of the IP whose specifier hosts the wh-expression must also bear the feature [+wh]. But since this IP is not adjacent to the matrix verb, it would appear to be too far away to be able to bear a specification selected by the verb.

However, a number of linguists have noted that such strict locality conditions on selection are too stringent and that the formalization of selection mechanisms should be slightly modified to accommodate various cases where relationships across maximal (functional) projections appear to hold. For example, as noted by Rizzi (1991), similar problems are raised by the selection of the subjunctive, which is also determined by the higher verb (or, in some cases, by the presence of a negative marker in the matrix clause), and is morphologically manifested in the embedded I^0 . Abney (1987) also discusses similar issues raised by the DP hypothesis. Given that DP is a projection of D, and not of N, we need to relativize the notion of locality by adding some extra mechanisms which would allow us to account for the fact that the verb is able to select for certain properties of the head noun despite the fact that a maximal projection, DP, intervenes between them, thus preventing this relationship from being strictly local.

Although resolving these matters is beyond the scope of this work, I would like to observe that a promising attempt to solve these problems in a principled way is provided by Grimshaw's (1992) notion of *extended projection*. Very roughly, for Grimshaw, D^0 and N^0 , on the one hand, and I^0 and V^0 , on the other, have the same categorial features once we abstract away from the lexical/functional distinction. A sequence of projections of heads of the same syntactic category form an extended projection sharing the basic categorial features of all its components, with the exception of features such as 'functional' or 'lexical'. For Grimshaw, CP is the highest extended projection of the verbal system; C^0 takes IP as its complement, and the transmission of the relevant features between I^0 and C^0 is guaranteed.

Once the most serious problems for the analysis of wh-questions defended here have been addressed, I turn now to conclude this section by discussing some of the additional benefits that can be gained by adopting this approach.

4.2.4.6. Long-distance wh-movement

One of the most interesting consequences of adopting the view suggested here is that, as argued both by Eguzkitza (1987) and Goodall (1991), the availability of another site for the landing of wh-words provides a straightforward explanation for an otherwise puzzling variation observed across Spanish dialects with regards to some constructions involving long-distance wh-movement. As is well known, in the peninsular dialects reported in Torrego (1984), long distance wh-movement triggers obligatory subject inversion in all the clauses the wh-element moves through. This is illustrated in (113), from Torrego's (19)a-c respectively. As the contrast between (113)b and c illustrates, inversion is only triggered in these dialects if wh-movement has taken place across a clause boundary.

- (113) a. Juan pensaba que Pedro le había dicho que la revista
 Juan thought that Pedro him had said that the magazine
 había publicado ya el artículo
 had published already the article
'Juan thought that Pedro had told him that the magazine had already published the article'
- b. ¿Qué pensaba Juan que le había dicho Pedro que había publicado la revista?
 what thought John that him had said Pedro that had published the magazine
'What did John think that Pedro had told him that the magazine had already published?'
- c. *¿Qué pensaba Juan que Pedro le había dicho que la revista había publicado?
 what thought Juan that Pedro him had said that the magazine had published

Both Eguzkitza (1987) and Goodall (1991), however, discuss dialects where subjects can both precede or follow the verb in the intermediate clauses. This also obtains in the dialect I speak. The examples in (114) are Eguzkitza's; the one in (115) is Goodall's.

- (114) a. el chico con el que no sé que María haya estado se llama Juan
 the boy with whom not know.1Sg that María has been [se] calls Juan
- b. el chico con el que no sé que haya estado María se llama Juan
 he boy with whom not know.1Sg that has been María [se] calls Juan
'The boy with whom I don't know that Mary has been is named Juan'
- (115) ¿Qué puesto dijo Manolo que Iris cree que Josefina ocupa en la empresa?
 what position said Manolo that Iris believes that Josefina occupies in the company
'What position did M. say that Iris believes that Josefina occupies in the company?'

According to these authors, contrasts such as those between (113)b-c on the one hand, and (114) and (115) on the other, are amenable to a straightforward account if we assume that wh-elements can take two different routes in their way to their final target position. In the dialects represented by the examples (114) and (115), movement through Spec(CP) is a possible option, whereas in the dialects reported by Torrego, long distance wh-movement could take place only through the alternative position within IP. Goodall argues that in this dialects the trace that the moved wh-element leaves in Spec(IP) would prevent subjects from moving into this position, hence resulting in the familiar inversion patterns.

Another consequence of this approach, according to Eguzkitza, is that we do

not need to posit that Spanish is different from English with respect to what counts as the relevant bounding nodes for *subjacency*.⁶³ On his view, the difference in grammaticality between Spanish and English examples such as those in (116) can be explained without resorting to a difference in parametrization of the bounding nodes if we assume that in Spanish but not in English the position within IP, which he calls the ‘focus’ position following Horvath (1981) and Campos (1986), can serve as the landing site for the wh-question word. The null wh-operator heading the relative clause would have used the lower COMP as an escape route, while *cuándo* would be in the focus position internal to the IP containing its trace.

- (116) a. El niño que no he oído cuándo se decidió a adoptar María se llama Juan
 the child that not have heard how [*se*] decided to adopt M. [*se*] calls Juan
 ‘the child that I haven’t heard when Mary decided to adopt is named
 Juan’
- b. *The child that I haven’t heard when Mary decided to adopt is named
 Juan.

In conclusion, I have shown that there are good reasons to question the standard view that all wh-expressions affected by move- α must occupy the Spec(CP) position at S-structure in all languages, and that the assumption that I⁰-to-C⁰ must be necessarily involved in the derivation of wh-questions is all but warranted. Given this situation, OSp wh-questions exhibiting Cl-V_[+finite] configurations do not pose a serious problem for the autonomous verb-movement analysis. If we take it that, in this language, wh-movement in questions is to the Spec(IP) position and hence no I⁰-to-C⁰ is triggered, then the relative position of the object clitic with respect to the tensed verb is just what we would expect it to be.

To conclude this Chapter, I will provide further confirmation for the validity of this approach by comparing the distribution of clitics in OSp and in an asymmetric V2 language, namely Middle Dutch, and also with their distribution in Old English.

4.3. Comparative Evidence in Favor of the Autonomous Verb Movement

4.3.1. Clitics and Asymmetric V2: the Case of Middle Dutch

The analysis proposed in the preceding chapters predicts that in a language with the same type of clitics as OSp, but with a different syntax of verb movement, a rather different distribution of verb-clitic ordering will result. For example, if a language were to achieve V2 effects via obligatory I⁰-to-C⁰ movement, we would expect that, unlike in the case of OSp where both (117) and (118) are found, only one

⁶³. A similar view has also been maintained by Uriagereka (1992). According to Uriagereka the existence of an additional functional projection FP between CP and IP, which he posits for a subset of the Romance languages, would provide the necessary escape-hatch for wh-movement.

possible root verb-clitic order would be allowed.

- (117) a. & assi=l encendie otrossi que se quemasse.
and this-way-it lighted also so-that self burned
'and he lighted it in this way so that it burned' (GE-I.311r)
- b. & siempre=l fuerdes rebelles del dia que =uos yo començe aconnosçer
& always-him were.you rebellious from-the day that you I began to know
'And from the very day I became acquainted with you, you have been
always rebellious to him' (GE-I.325v)
- c. Esto=t lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonsso
this-you challenge here before-the king don alfonsso
'I will challenge you on this in front of king Alfonso' (PMC)
- (118) & uencieron =lo & mataron a el & bien ueynte mil de los Vuandalos
& defeated.3Pl-him & killed him & and well twenty thousand of the Vandals
'and they defeated him, and killed him and about twenty thousand Vandals'
(EE-I.128r)

In this section, I argue that Middle Dutch (MD) confirms this prediction. Specifically, I will compare the distribution of clitics in OSp and Middle Dutch and will show that some differences in this distribution follow from the fact that MD, unlike OSp, had obligatory I⁰-to-C⁰ movement. Remaining differences will be shown to follow from the fact that MD had INFL-final phrase structure.⁶⁴

Middle Dutch, like modern Dutch, can be described as a V2 language. Like modern Dutch, Middle Dutch is also characterized by an INFL final phrase structure. Thus, tensed verbs and auxiliaries are found in the familiar pattern of sentence final position in embedded structures and following the first constituent in matrix clauses. In other words, the same type of root/embedded asymmetries with regards to V2 effects which were discussed in relation to Dutch or German in Chapter 3 are also found in Middle Dutch, as seen in the examples below. Example (119b) is borrowed from Weerman (1987:61), his (10); the rest of MD examples in this section are from van der Horst (1981) unless otherwise specified.

- (119) **Main clauses**
- a. in hare ansichte wart si roet
in her face got she red
'She got red in her face'

⁶⁴I wish to acknowledge the help I have received from Marco Haverkort, Jack Hoeksema, and Fred Weerman with the Middle Dutch facts discussed in this section. I also want to make clear that they are not responsible for those aspects of my interpretation of these facts which could be in any way controversial.

- b. eenen Jode heefti vernomen
 a Jew has-he met
 'he has met a Jew'

Subordinate clauses

- c. oft ic den keytiff wiste, ...
 if I the villain knew , ...
 'If I knew the villain'

What makes this language interesting in the context of the present investigation is its system of clitics. Pronominal object clitics are phonologically enclitic, attaching to a host on their left; syntactically, they are categorically found immediately following the tensed verb in main clauses. In other words, $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ is the only configuration available in Middle Dutch root clauses. Non pronominal NPs, both subjects and objects, always follow the clitics.⁶⁵ The examples in (120) illustrate constructions involving clitics in root environments. It is important to note that, in

⁶⁵. Middle Dutch, like Old English, also has pronominal subject clitics which appear right before the object clitic and after the tensed verb in root environments, as in (i). However, the appropriate treatment of pronominal subjects and their status as clitic elements has been the object of some controversy. The problem arises due to the fact that, next to examples like (i), we find subject pronouns also occupying the first position in a V2 structure, as in (ii). Under current assumptions one would presumably have to claim that *het* 'it' in the example below, in its reduced form after having merged with the finite verb *was*, occupies the Spec(CP) position or some position above C.

- (i) So maecti *mi* verbolghen
 so make-you me angry
 'You make me so angry'
- (ii) Maer *twas* in Egipten ghevloen
 but it-was in Egypt fled
 'But it had fled to Egypt'

One possible option, given the sharp contrast in distribution with object clitics, would be to consider preverbal subject pronominals as non-clitic counterparts of the pronominal subjects appearing in configurations such as (i). Note that the fact that an element merges phonologically with the following word is not in and of itself a sufficient condition to classify it as a clitic (see the discussion in Chapter 2). Note also that the direction of phonological attachment is the opposite from that of their postverbal counterparts and of object clitics. Another alternative, proposed by Zwart 1991 (following a similar proposal by Travis (1984)), would be to say that verb-second sentences with initial subjects are different from the rest in that no I^0 -to- C^0 has taken place: subjects are not topicalized and must remain in the specifier position of some phrasal projection between CP and VP (in Zwart's view this would be the specifier of AgrSP, although since clitics are treated as heads in his analysis, they would have to be attached to an X^0 category instead, thus differing from NP subjects). The verb, in these contexts, does not move to COMP, but rather remains in a lower functional head position (the head of AgrS). I refer the reader to the above references for additional arguments in favor of this proposal. The view of Travis and Zwart in a way vindicates the opinion widely held among 19th century scholars that subject-initial clauses and subject-third (or 'inverted') clauses are different in nature.

contrast with the situation described for OSp, all of these examples exhibit the typical range of preverbal elements found in V2 languages; in (120)a-b the element in the first position is an adverb; in (120)c, it is a subject; in (120)d, an object; and in (120)e, a non-finite verb form ((120)b-c from Weerman (1987:68), his (28)a-b).

- (120) a. nu moete=*ne* onse vrouwe bewaren
 now must-him our lady save
 ‘*our lady must save him now*’
- b. soe troest=*se* de hope vander goetheit Gods
 in-this-way consoles-her the hope of God’s goodness
 ‘*in this way, the hope of God’s goodness consoles her*’
- c. Si hadde=*t* wel verdient
 she had-it well earned/deserved
 ‘*She had earned it well*’
- d. dat segg=*ic =u*
 this say-I you
 ‘*I say this to you*’
- e. Volmaect had=*se* die nature
 perfected had-her the nature
 ‘*Nature had perfected her*’

Object clitics in embedded clauses are almost invariably found immediately following the complementizer, as in (121)a-b. Full NPs normally follow the object clitic. Interestingly, however, in some cases we do find the characteristic variation which we saw was typical in other languages with 2P clitic systems, e.g. OEng and HG (see discussion in Chapter 2 with reference to interpolation). Thus, as illustrated in (121)c, object clitics can in some cases appear after the first constituent in IP in embedded environments. Examples (121)a-b have been taken from Weerman (1987:68), his (27)a and b respectively.

- (121) a. datt=*en* God niet en spaert
 that-him God not neg-part saves
 ‘*that God does not save him*’
- b. dat=*se* onse here troest
 that-her our lord consoles
 ‘*that our lord consoles her*’

- c. Dat al mijn vrienden=*t* horen
 that all my friends it hear (Heer Halewijn balad)
'that all my friends hear it'

Now, compare the Middle Dutch examples in (120) and (121), involving object clitics in root and embedded environments respectively, with the following equivalent Medieval and Renaissance Spanish examples.

- (122) a. & siempre=*l* fuerdes rebelles del dia que =uos yo començe aconnosçer
 & always-him were.2Pl rebellious from-the day that you I began to know
*'And from the very day I became acquainted with you, you have been
 always rebellious to him'* (GE-I.325v)
- b. Desta ciudad de Rezo =se bolvio el Duque de Ferrara
 from-this city of Rezo [*se*] returned the duke of Ferrara
'The duke of Ferrara returned from the city of Rezo' (CV.29)
- c. Tu=*lo* otorgaras a guisa de traydor
 you-it relinquish in way of traitor
'You will relinquish it as traitors do' (PMC)
- d. Esto=*t* lidiare aqui⁴ antel Rey don alfonsso
 this-you dispute.1Sg here before-the King don alfonsso
'I challenge you on this here before the King Don Alfonso' (PMC)
- e. Otorgado =ge=*lo* auie el abbat de grado
 granted him it had the abbot of will
'The abbot had willingly granted it to him' (PMC)
- (123) a. como =les dios auie prometido
 as them god had promised
'as God had promised them' (GE-I.60v)
- b. & tornad =lo al **que** =vos el pan vendio
 and give.2Sg.IMP it to the-one that you the bread sold
'and give it to whoever sold you the bread' (GE-I.105r)
- c. que dios =le dio
 that god him gave
'that God gave him'

Thus, the autonomous verb-movement analysis provides a unified account of the contrasts in clitic distribution between MD and OSp which follows directly from independently motivated differences in their phrase structure. If we maintain that

object clitic pronouns in the 2P class must move to a specific position in the left periphery of IP, languages that achieve verb-seconding in root environments via obligatory movement to the COMP position will only allow for configurations of the form XP-V_[+finite]-Cl; while, on the contrary, languages where verb-second effects are achieved by verb-movement to INFL and topicalization to an IP initial position will allow for XP-Cl-V_[+finite] configurations. In other words, the analysis advanced here predicts that, in a V2 construction of an asymmetric V2 language, object clitics will invariably be found following the tensed verb in root environments, whereas in V2 constructions of symmetric V2 languages the clitic will always be found following the constituent in first position and preceding the tensed verb.

4.3.2. Clitics and Symmetric V2: the Case of Old and Middle English

This situation, however, is changed in one class of environments. As we observed in the preceding chapter, languages in which verb-second effects involve verb-movement to INFL and topicalization to an IP initial position are also characterized by exhibiting a restricted group of constructions involving additional verb-movement from I⁰-to-C⁰. It then follows from the analysis proposed here that V_[+finite]-Cl configurations will occur in these languages as well. In the preceding sections we have discussed this type of construction in detail for OSp. Old English is another language which, like OSp, achieves verb-second effects via V⁰-to-I⁰ and topicalization to Spec(IP) (see Pintzuk (1991)). In the examples in (124), from Pintzuk (1991), we can see some instances of V2 structures involving pronominal clitics. As Pintzuk observed, OEng clitics appear in a preverbal position in verb-second configurations, just as it has been shown to be the case in OSp in the examples in (122).

- (124) a. þin agen geleafa =þe hæfþ gehæledne
 your own faith you has healed
 ‘Your own faith has healed you’ (BIHom 15.24-25)
- b. þæt þa Deniscan =him ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan
 so-that the Danes them not could the harvest refuse
 ‘...so that the Danes could not refuse them the harvest’
 (ChronA 89.10 (896))

Furthermore, as observed in Chapter 3, OEng has also been shown (Kemenade 1987, Pintzuk 1991) to have declarative V1. Accordingly, the sequence V_[+finite]-Cl is also predicted to be possible in OEng. Again, this prediction is borne out. As Pintzuk (1991) shows V_[+finite]-Cl strings in OEng are found in a very restricted set of environments, including wh- and yes/no questions, imperatives and V1 declaratives. In the examples in (125), borrowed from Pintzuk (1991), we see an instance of a wh-question, (125)a, and a V1 declarative introduced by *þonne*, (125)b (recall the discussion in section 4.2.2 concerning this type of discourse connector).

- (125) a. hu lomp =*eow* on "lade
how happened you on journey
'How did you fare in the journey...?' (Beo 1987-1988)
- b. þonne mot =*hine* se hlaford gefreogean
then may him the lord free
'then the lord may free him' (Laws Ine 74, 1 120.28-29)

Thus, comparative evidence provides further support for the autonomous verb-movement analysis proposed here.

Chapter 5

The Loss of V2 and the Reanalysis in the Syntax of Clitics

5.1. Introduction

Throughout the previous chapters I have developed an analysis of the distribution of clitic categories in OSp. I have argued that most of the puzzling facts concerning the distribution of pronominal clitics can be made to follow from two basic claims. First, OSp was a symmetric V2 language with a productive process of verb movement from I^0 -to- C^0 involved in imperative constructions, Yes/No questions, and a set of distinctive constructions subsumed under the descriptive label of V1 declarative clauses.¹ Second, OSp was characterized by having a system of categories known as 2P clitics, a subset of a larger class of X^{\max} clitic elements found in a wide range of languages of the world. The previous chapters were devoted to showing that the word order and syntax of clitics in OSp, extremely problematic in the context of the grammar of modern Spanish, are amenable to a straightforward account under these two combined claims. However, the situation depicted by this analysis is, as observed above, somewhat idealized since it presents a generalized view of the most characteristic patterns of data. The actual data is not completely clean and some counterexamples to the basic generalizations can be found. Nonetheless, the relative numbers of these exceptions in the earliest texts are very small and hence not considered sufficient to be a serious challenge for the basic approach taken here. Furthermore, as will become immediately apparent, much of the exceptionality in the data (inherent in any written or spoken corpus, as noted in the introductory chapter) can be attributed to the fact that the language, by the time the first extant texts were written, was already in the initial stages of a syntactic change which affected both its phrase structure and the status of clitic categories in the grammar. The description of this change, and the discussion of its implications for the analysis of clitics and phrase structure in modern Spanish, are the main topics of discussion in the following sections.

However, before we move on, it may be useful to situate in a more explicit manner the issues that we are trying to understand. The main concern of this investigation was to make sense of what happened in the history of the Spanish language to see if there was a principled explanation for the major differences in the syntactic distribution of clitic elements at the two extremes of the chronological line. Thus, it will be useful to list again the basic properties of the systems of clitics at the two ends of the chronological development before we start characterizing the situation

¹. Two of these constructions (NI, and 'logical consequence' V1) were studied in some detail in Chapter 4, but presumably this syntactic mechanism could be used in other constructions which we could then include in the larger class of V1 declaratives.

in the intermediate stage.

First, as is well known, OSp was characterized by the Tobler-Mussafia law (TML), the variety of WL discussed in Chapter 4. This restriction is absent in modern Spanish. Traditionally related to this is the fact that modern Spanish categorically requires clitics to precede tensed verbs; only with imperatives and non-finite verbs is the V-Cl configurations allowed. In OSp, as we have seen in the previous chapters, both V[+finite]-Cl and Cl-V[+finite] configurations were possible. A second property distinguishing the two systems is the ability of OSp clitics to occur separated from the verbal head by a fairly wide range of constituent types. This interpolation phenomenon has been explained here in terms of the interaction between the V2 phrase structure syntax and the general distribution of 2P clitics. Presumably, in a more pure 2P clitic system interpolation patterns would have been the norm, and I will tentatively attribute the variation observed in Chapter 3 between interpolated and non-interpolated structures to the fact that the earliest extant texts reflect a somewhat advanced stage in the series of developments that triggered the final reanalysis from a 2P clitic system into the system found in modern Spanish.² However, independently of the adequacy of these conjectures, the fact is that the two systems also differ in that in modern Spanish clitics must necessarily be adjacent to the verbal head.

Another difference between a typical 2P clitic system and the clitic systems in characteristic of all present Spanish dialects is the fact that for 2P systems encliticization is the default mode of phonological attachment independently of the syntactic environment in which the clitic appears; clearly, this is not the situation in modern Spanish. Finally, another difference which has not been discussed so far but which can also be assumed to typically separate a 2P clitic system (and in general any system of X^{\max} clitics) from clitic systems such as that of modern Spanish is the absence of clitic-doubling phenomena in the former, and the usual manifestation of at least some form doubling in the latter.³ A few remarks concerning the question of clitic doubling are in order.

A more detailed discussion of the implications of the differences between doubling of direct objects (DO) and indirect objects (IO) will be carried out below. In what follows I will loosely use the term *doubling* to refer to both constructions involving a coindexed DO clitic and a pronominal or full DO NP, and to constructions involving coindexed IO clitics and either pronominal or full IO NPs. I will also address the relevance of the arguments concerning the A vs. A-bar position status of the doubled NPs. For now, let me note once again that the situation in the old texts

². See Wanner 1991 for a different view on the chronology of interpolation phenomena.

³. The obvious exceptions to this descriptive generalization are languages such as Standard French and Italian. Below I will briefly address, though by no means attempt to solve, the question of the relevance of this well known difference for the comparison between 2P clitic systems and modern Romance clitic systems. This is the only property where the clitic systems of languages such as Standard French and Italian pattern with the X^{\max} clitic systems rather than with the systems of clitics exhibited by most other Romance dialects (excluding European Portuguese and the archaic dialects discussed in Uriagereka 1991).

concerning doubling is not a clean one. Even in the oldest texts, although rather infrequently, we can find constructions where an NP is present in conjunction with a coindexed clitic. As we will see, this can also be attributed to the particular stage of linguistic development that is reflected by the given text, with the manifestation of doubling phenomena increasing across time.

This having been said, there are important differences between MSp and OSp with respect to doubling. As is well known, in all dialects of modern Spanish object clitics are not in complementary distribution with overt pronominal objects, independently of whether the latter are IOs or DOs. This is illustrated by the contrasts in (1) and (2) involving DO and IO pronouns respectively.

- (1) a. Laura lo_i busca a $él_i$
 Laura him looks-for him
 'Laura is looking for him'
- b. *Laura busca a $él$
 Laura looks-for him
- (2) a. Montse le_i mandó un paquete a $él_i$
 Montse him sent a package to him
 'Montse sent a package to him'
- b. *Montse mandó un paquete a $él_i$
 Montse him sent a package to him

Doubling with full IO NPs is the unmarked option for the majority of the dialects, including most standard varieties, and it is the only option in a significant number of non-standard dialects in both the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. Doubling of full DO NPs, the phenomenon which has specifically come to be known properly as clitic doubling, is the norm in some of the non-standard dialects of Argentina and Uruguay, part of the area known as the Southern Cone, (see Silva-Corvalán 1981 and Suñer 1988). Most authors cite DO doubling in the dialects spoken in these two countries, and specifically in the *River Plate* dialect, but doubling with DOs is also reported in dialects from Chile and Paraguay (also in the Southern Cone) and in Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Nicaragua (Kany 1945). Examples of this type of clitic doubling are illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. Yo lo_i voy a comprar **el diario** $_i$ justo antes de subir
 I it go.1Sg to buy the newspaper just before of coming-up
 'I'm going to buy the newspaper just before coming up' (Suñer 1988)
- b. Nunca las_i tratas a las mujeres $_i$ en serio
 Never them treat.3Sg the women in seriousness
 'You never treat women seriously' (Kany 1945)

Doubling with DOs, however, is not restricted to Latin America, but is also the norm for most of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Basque Country. Thus, Jon Franco (p.c) reports that the example in (4)a, as opposed to the one in (4)b, not involving doubling, is the preferred option in these dialects.

- (4) a. Le_i he visto a Pedro_i esta mañana
 him have.1Sg seen Pedro this morning
'I have seen Pedro this morning'
- b. He visto a Pedro esta mañana
 him have.1Sg seen Pedro this morning
'I have seen Pedro this morning'

In general, in most dialects that allow clitic doubling with DOs, the doubled NP must be definite; in some dialects it is restricted to a subset of definites which Suñer (1988) characterizes as [+specific]. However, there are some dialects where the doubled NP can even be an indefinite. In some of these dialects there is a tendency to use a single form of the clitic, homophonous with the singular masculine accusative of other dialects, independently of whether the doubled NP is feminine or masculine, or singular or plural. The two following examples are from (Kany 1945).

- (5) a. Traémelo_i un vaso_i
 bring-it a glass
'Bring me a glass'
- b. Me lo va a escribir la carta
 Me it go.3Sg to write the letter
'He/she is going to write me a letter'

The situation in OSp, however, was rather different. Thus, in spite of the rare exceptions mentioned above, clitics and non-clitic NPs, whether pronominal or non-pronominal, were in complementary distribution in the oldest texts. The following examples are a sample of the patterns that constituted the norm in earlier stages in the development of the Spanish language.

- (6) a. al logar onde dios mando ami salir.
 to-the place where god ordered me exit
'to the place where God had ordered me to get out' (GE-I.65r)
- b. & ami =le demanda tu. & ' si =te=lo non aduxieremos' despues....
 & to-me him request you & if you-him not bring later
'You request him from me, and if we don't bring him to you later...'
 (GE-I.105r)

- (7) a. Gradesco =lo adios myo çid
 thank.1Sg this to-God my Cid
 'I thank God for this, Mio Cid' (PMC)
- b. E Masceller non sopo gradecer a dios el bien que=l fiziera.
 and Masceller not knew thank God the good that-him made.3Sg.
 'And M. didn't show appreciation to God for the good things that he did
 for him' (EE-I)
- c. Et dixieron todos al rrey que vistiese aquellos pannos para la fiesta
 and told all to-the king that dressed those clothes for the party
 'And all of them told the king to dress those clothes in the party'
 (Lucan.147)

In view of these differences, the question that we must now answer is what happened to the system of 2P clitics posited here to have characterized the earliest stages in the development of Spanish.

The hypothesis that I would like to propose is quite straightforward. I will claim that a system of 2P clitics like the one described here can only survive in those languages whose phrase structures meet certain necessary conditions. For reasons which are not entirely clear, 2P clitics undergo a movement that places them at the left edge of IP.⁴ As observed above, due to their prosodically deficient nature, they must be able to lean on a lexical element to their left which serves as phonological host. In OSp, where clitics cannot split constituents,⁵ the V2 syntax naturally conspires with the 2P clitic system and permits its survival by always providing a lexically filled structural position at the left edge of IP, ensuring that the necessary phonological host for encliticization is present. The I⁰-to-C⁰ verb movement motivated above provides an additional environment in which the clitic can occupy what I have taken here to be the default position for clitic elements in a 2P system, namely the left-most branch of IP. In cases of I⁰-to-C⁰ movement, the clitic is adjacent to the complementizer position in the main clause.

As will be presently argued, a series of changes took place in the general syntactic makeup of OSp, creating a situation in which the 2P clitic system could not be accommodated in an increasing number of constructions, thus gradually rendering the language incompatible with the inherent restrictions characterizing the system of clitics outlined above. As a consequence, a reanalysis took place which resulted in the

⁴. It could be argued that this type of pronominal element, being inherently low on information content, i.e. not part of the sentential focus, had to undergo mandatory topicalization so that the appropriate discourse conditions could be satisfied. Being light and prosodically deficient elements, they could adjoin to another constituent that has also been topicalized to the XP position. This option is not available to non-clitic NPs, which instead can only move to the XP position via substitution.

⁵. Recall the distinction discussed in Chapter 2 between 2P clitics such as those found in OSp, defined as 2D clitics, and those of the 2W class found in languages such as Homeric Greek.

advent of a totally new system, the system of pronominal clitics that we find in modern Spanish. The clash between the emerging phrase structure and the old clitic system resulted in a reanalysis of the latter which changed the status of clitic elements from X^{\max} to head-related categories.

This process, as will be presently shown, is not likely to have taken place within a single generation of speakers, but rather must be seen as the result of a conflict between two different grammatical systems that extends over various generations of speakers until one of the conflicting analyses finally takes over. I turn now to make this hypothesis more explicit and to discuss the results of a quantitative study conducted over a sample of texts representative of the period ranging from the XIIth century until the XVth century, which will provide support for its validity.

5.2. Phonology, Syntax, and the (Re)analysis of Clitics

First, in order to understand properly the nature of the change from the old system to the modern system, it is necessary once again to emphasize the independence between the phonological and syntactic constraints affecting the distribution of 2P clitics. We saw in Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2. that the general restriction concerning the direction of phonological attachment could be altered in certain circumstances. Thus, there were cases where the clitic could be forced to lean phonologically onto the following segment, the reason being that in some specific environments certain prosodic constraints heavily disfavored encliticization. In some cases, such as those in (8) below, we saw that the strict rhythmic specifications that typically characterize poetic recitation prevented the clitic from falling together with elements on the left side of the caesura (which, as we observed, coincides with a pause or a division between breath groups in the recitation). As a consequence, and because of their inherent status as prosodically deficient elements, the clitics had to find an alternative phonological host to their right, becoming proclitic in such

utterances⁶. For example, in a text such as the *Poema de Mio Cid*, belonging to the tradition of oral medieval epic poems such as *Beowulf* and other Germanic epic sagas, lines of varying length are divided by a caesura into half-lines of equally unpredictable length (see Leonard 1931, and Hall 1965 for discussion of the controversy

⁶. For pronominal clitics to be proclitic it is not necessary that they be preceded by a pause. Thus, although we should be extremely cautious with evidence provided by the spelling, the example below would seem to indicate that the rhythmic structure of the verse can force procliticization even in environments where the clitic is not immediately following a pause.

- (i) Ya lo vedes que el Rey *lea* ayrado
 already it see.2Sg that the king him-has banished
 'You can see that the king has banished him' (PMC 114)

Furthermore, although certainly rare in the earliest texts, we do find some examples in prose where the spelling appears to indicate that a clitic is leaning phonologically onto the following word. Although this is of course pure speculation, in examples such as (ii) prosodic considerations would also be responsible for these patterns, which as pointed out are extremely unusual in the written texts in contrast with the abundance of spelling suggesting phonological encliticization. An alternative explanation which is not totally unreasonable, as will become clear later on, is that examples as those in (ii) could reflect the first stages of an ongoing change, where clitics can be analyzed by speakers as categories associated with the verbal head. It should be clear, however, that the fact that the clitic is phonologically attached to the head category in I⁰ does not necessarily imply that they occupy the same position in the syntax, i.e. it is not sufficient evidence to maintain that it is either incorporated to the verbal head or that is some kind of verbal affix.

- (ii) Ca si Roy blasquez uuestro tio se fuesse pora Cordoua ...; tornar *sie* muy ayna moro moor
 Because if R.B your uncle *SE* went towards Cordoba..., become self-COND very rapidly
 'Because if your uncle R. Blasquez went to Cordoba, he would become a moor very rapidly'
 (EE-II.90v)

surrounding the metrics of the PMC)⁷. The required symmetries across verses, which give the recitation of the poem its overall consistency and harmony, are achieved via a *stress-timed* rhythmic system, characterized by a variable speed in the utterance of unstressed syllables between regularly recurring full stresses. In recitation, the word following the caesura is treated as being in the onset position, necessarily triggering procliticization to the following segment in the case of clitics.

- (8) a. Dios lo mande que por vos | se ondre oy la cort
 God it summon-SUBJ that for you [se] honor-SUBJ today the court
 'May God summon the court to honor itself with your presence today'
 (PMC 3032)
- b. oy dia en Greçia | lo traen por [...]
 today in Grece it bring.3Pl for ...
 'Today in Greece they bring it as...' (Alex 493cd)

Thus, in certain prosodically marked environments, clitics could appear as part of a pattern which does not differ significantly from that typical in modern Spanish, at least from a phonological perspective. That is, at the level of Phonological Form, the clitic is part of the same word unit as the verb. Recall, however, that under the approach adopted here, phonological procliticization of the pronominal element to the verbal head is in principle compatible with structural adjunction to the XP on its left. That is, the phonological shape of these configurations does not necessarily correlate with an

⁷. Note, incidentally, that the asyllabic character of the first literary work preserved in Spanish has prompted authors such as Hall (1965) to hypothesize the survival of a "Visigothic accent" which would mirror the abundance of literary and cultural elements of Germanic origin, also prominent in the *Poema de Mio Cid*. Menéndez Pidal (1956), for instance, had strongly insisted that the thematic content of the *Poema de Mio Cid* revealed Germanic ethos and customs as well as the literary conventions typical of medieval Germanic epic poems. A number of authors besides Pidal have also pointed out "the insistence on their Gothic origin and background which characterized the Castilians of the early Reconquista" (Hall 1965:232).

Although we know practically nothing about the syntax of the Gothic language, and much less about the language spoken by the Visigoths that settled in the Iberian peninsula, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it would have borne great resemblance to some of the closely related old Germanic dialects, e.g. dialects of Old Norse such as OIce. From this perspective, all the parallels observed in the previous chapters between some basic aspects of the phrase structure of OSp and that of older Germanic languages such as OIce could add up to the interesting hypothesis that what we know as OSp, and perhaps other Old Romance languages such as OFr, could have emerged through a gradual process of relexification of the languages of bilingual speakers of Germanic descent with lexical items from Latin. The descendants of Germanic settlers such as the Visigoths and the Franks were unquestionably the ruling class in these territories in the early middle ages, and also composed both the high and lower ranks of the clergy, the only fully literate segment of the population which had adopted Latin as the uncontested vehicle of communication. See Muysken 1981 for a study of an attested case of a process just like the one hypothesized here which has taken place in some Quechua dialects whose lexical composition is largely Spanish, but whose syntax has remained essentially Quechua. However, this hypothesis concerning the origins of OSp will have to remain purely speculative.

underlying structure where clitics are syntactically incorporated or adjoined in some way to the verbal head in I^0 .

Nonetheless, it still seems plausible that these patterns could have been reinterpreted as involving a closer syntactic relationship between the pronominal clitic and the verb-INFL complex. For that to be possible, a reanalysis which changed the status of clitics from X^{\max} categories to categories that could be syntactically associated with a *head* would be necessary. I claim that this is precisely what happened. Unrelated changes in the phrase structure resulted in the generation of an increasing number of structures which resembled the structures following the caesura in the poetic texts illustrated in (8) above; more and more of the generated structures did not involve the topicalization of a constituent to the XP position as is typical in V2 languages. This left the clitic either in absolute first position or following a constituent which is interpreted not as the XP but rather as an adjunct or dislocated element outside the minimal CP/IP. Consequently, there was an increasing number of environments where no constituent was available to serve as the necessary host for encliticization, forcing the clitic to procliticize to the following lexical category, namely the verb-INFL complex.⁸ Once enough of these structures were available to the learner, a reanalysis would be triggered on which clitics are treated as heads that incorporate to the verb-INFL complex in I^0 or, alternatively, are reinterpreted as some kind of morphological spell-out of a newly hypothesized object-agreement system. A similar hypothesis could be made for the reanalysis of analytical futures and conditionals into their present synthetic counterparts (Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.2.).

The question that arises is: did this process take place through the reanalysis of these structures by a single generation of speakers, hence automatically affecting the entire system of clitics? Can we say that because there is evidence that procliticization to the verb-INFL complex appears to have been an option already in the XII-XIII centuries, the reanalysis hypothesized here had already taken place and clitics were already head-related elements in this period? Answering these questions is important, because if nothing else is said one might be tempted to think that the basic change that took place was merely one in the phonological restrictions governing the old system, which simply made it possible for clitics to attach to the following constituent, and that once this was possible their reanalysis was instantaneous and

⁸. Although defining the precise correspondence between underlying syntactic structures and the prosodic contour of the utterance is not always an easy matter (much less when we are dealing with written texts in no longer existing languages), one could imagine that those structures where non-clitic initial elements are analyzed as constituents adjoined outside the minimal CP/IP would be distinct from “real” V2 configurations in their prosodic contour. Thus, not only would the clitic be unable to adjoin to them at the syntactic level, but prosodic factors could also have discouraged their association at the phonological level. In other words, unlike in structures involving constituents occupying the XP position, i.e. “real” V2 constructions, these other kinds of adjunction structures could be marked by some kind of intonational break that would also place the clitic in an onset position, hence forcing procliticization. Deciding on this matter, however, is not crucial here, since, as we will presently see, the increase in the number structures where the clitic was in absolute first position in the sentence, with no preceding constituent adjoined at any level of the same sentential unit, is significant enough to provide support for the hypothesis suggested here.

complete.⁹

There are strong considerations arguing against this view, at least in its most extreme version. First, as most authors have traditionally pointed out, configurations such as (8), where the clitic is following a clear pause or intonational break, are fairly uncommon even in poetry. It is also widely agreed that configurations such as those in (9) below, perfectly natural in modern Spanish, are not found in OSp, becoming only prominent after the XVth century (see Ramsden 1963: 72). Evidence for procliticization from the spelling, such as example (ii) in footnote 6, is indeed extremely rare in the texts from the XIIth to the XVth centuries, while evidence for encliticization from the spelling is overwhelming.

- (9) a. me lo dieron ayer
 me it gave.3Pl.Fut yesterday
'They gave it to me yesterday'
- b. se lo iban a hacer pagar, cuando de repente alguien entró
 him it went.3Pl to make pay, when suddenly somebody entered
'They were going to make him pay for it, when, suddenly, somebody came in'

More significantly, we find a considerable number of examples of interpolation

⁹. Perhaps the most extreme version of this position is that maintained by authors like Meyer-Lübke. For him, clitics in the old system were essentially the same categories as those in the new system, only the conditions on phonological cliticization having changed. Thus, in Meyer-Lübke's view, the change in the direction of phonological attachment is in and of itself responsible for the emergence of the present system. Only when enclisis gave way to proclisis did the placement of clitics after the tensed verb become unnecessary and sentences with initial pronominal clitics became possible. These two things, according to Meyer-Lübke, occurred simultaneously. As pointed out by Ramsden (1963), such an analysis is empirically inadequate, since evidence of procliticization is found already in the earliest texts when sequences of the form V[+finite]-Cl were still abundant.

until well into the XVth century.¹⁰ Instances of interpolation are found in the same texts as the examples in (8) and (ii) in footnote 6. Given that the clitics participating in interpolation are taken here to be X^{\max} categories, we must conclude that the system of 2P clitics coexisted with the availability of procliticization. Thus it seems unlikely that the possibility of procliticization in certain prosodically marked environments could have triggered in and of itself the reanalysis of 2P clitics. Hence, we must seek an alternative explanation.

In what follows, I will attempt to answer the following two related questions. First, why aren't structures similar to (9) found in the old texts even though phonological procliticization is an option, albeit an optional one, in the grammar? Second, what changes have taken place in the grammar of Spanish to allow the structures in (9) and to render sentences such as those in (10) below impossible? In (10)a we see a typical configuration of sequences of conjuncts of embedded clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions, very frequently manifesting phonological encliticization with accompanying vowel reduction; (10)b illustrates interpolation, also typical in embedded contexts.

- (10) a. *y=l fuessen leales. y=l obedesciessen y=l guardassen como a Rey and-him were loyal and-him obeyed and-him looked as a king and a lord*
'and were loyal to him, and obeyed him, and considered him their king'
(EE-I.181v)
- b. *los otros que en perdimiento estauan & =se tan acoytados veyen...*
the others who at loss were and selves so overwhelmed saw
'the others, who were in such a loss and felt so overwhelmed...'
(EE-II.315v)

To answer these questions, I will examine the syntactic changes that have occurred between the time of OSp and the present to result in a system where clitics must be

¹⁰. In the sample examined in the present study for the XVth century, of 29 embedded clauses involving a clitic and an additional preverbal constituent (that is, all the potential environments for interpolation), 8 exhibited interpolation configurations, i.e. 28%. As a number of authors have pointed out (e.g. Ramsden 1963), the number of cases of interpolation in the earliest Castilian texts is considerably lower than in latter texts. They also observe that possibly some of these striking asymmetries are related to the inherent difficulties involved in establishing a significant and reliable sample of texts in prose taken to represent in some way the vernacular of the XIIIth century.

The results of the independent quantitative study carried out here replicate previously reported findings. I do not have any good explanation for the low proportions of interpolation found in the texts from the XIIIth century either. The highest proportion of interpolation is found in the texts representative of the XIIIth century, with 39% (22 instances out of a total of 56 possible environments). Given the figures reported for the XVth century, there is a somewhat unexpected decrease in the percentage found in the XIVth century texts, with only 14% of the possible environments (6 cases out of 43 potential environments). As is widely agreed, after the XVth century the number of interpolation constructions suddenly decreases, virtually vanishing in XVIth century texts. I did not find a single instance of interpolation in any of the texts from the XVIth which were examined for the present study.

associated with a category V^0 both at the syntactic and the phonological levels.

5.3. The Loss of V2 and I^0 to C^0 Movement

First, if OSp had the phrase structure hypothesized here, the explanation for the lack of examples such as (9), frequently noted by traditional and contemporary authors alike, becomes rather straightforward. Such examples simply could not be generated in the overall system that has been outlined in the previous chapters. OSp, being the type of V2 language described above, has main clauses of two basic types. First, it has what I have labelled V2 structures (which include cases where additional constituents are adjoined outside the minimal CP/IP, making the verb appear superficially in third or fourth position). Thus, unlike in modern Spanish, the specifier of IP, claimed to be the XP or *first* position in this type of V2 language, is always filled in these environments. As a consequence, configurations like those in (9) will simply be unavailable, but for reasons which turn out to be orthogonal to the question of whether a clitic would wind up in the first position or not. Second, it has been hypothesized that the syntax of OSp is also characterized by a productive I^0 -to- C^0 verb movement mechanism responsible for NI constructions, Yes/No questions, imperatives, and possibly other types of constructions. In these cases as well, the syntax conspires to prevent the clitic from being the first element in the sentence, although it will still occupy the structural position assigned to clitics of the 2P class at the left edge of IP.

Consequently, no special stipulations are needed to account for the lack of examples such as (9) in OSp. As argued throughout this dissertation, stipulating a special instance of move- α to account for the existence of $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl strings is unnecessary (whether it involves verb-movement or clitic-movement). As we have seen, such a result is not only conceptually desirable, since it does away with filters such as those discussed in Chapter 4 (repeated below in (11)), but it is also empirically adequate, since I^0 -to- C^0 is needed independently of whether a pronominal clitic is present in the structure or not.

With this or a similar analysis, an issue that has been at the center of many acrimonious debates in Romance linguistics over the last century could be put to rest. The so-called linearization problem can be accounted for in a straightforward manner that does not require us to posit ad-hoc and, for the most part, language-particular solutions. The phrase structure of a symmetric V2 language, motivated independently in OSp and a number of other languages, simply conspires with a 2P clitic system, also found in a large number of languages of the world, to yield the attested linearizations. The relative orders between tensed verb and clitic, as well as the interpolation patterns, are only puzzling if we assume that the phrase structure of OSp is essentially similar to that of modern Spanish, and that all the elements traditionally subsumed under the pre-theoretical notion of *clitic* are the same type of linguistic category. If on the contrary, we adopt the view suggested here, these and a number of other facts fall naturally into place.

Of course, there are still plenty of unresolved matters, such as providing a principled explanation for the fact that 2P clitics must occupy a structural position at

the left edge of IP in such a wide range of unrelated languages. But looking at things from this perspective has considerable advantages. First, as we have already noted, we avoid the highly stipulative nature of most previous analyses of OSp clitics, since no additional instances of clitic or verb-movement are required beyond that which places clitics at the left edge of IP and the independently motivated instances of V⁰-to-I⁰ and I⁰-to-C⁰. Second, this hypothesis is empirically more adequate from a crosslinguistic perspective, since it can also be extended to cover the distribution of clitics in a number of other languages. In particular, this analysis predicts the relative positions that clitics can occupy with respect to the tensed verb in languages such as OSp, Old English, and Middle Dutch. As we saw in the previous chapter, the phrase structure of an INFL-final, asymmetric V2 language conspires with a 2P clitic system in Middle Dutch¹¹ to yield combinations which differ from those found in OSp exactly as predicted by the hypothesis outlined here.

I will now show that this hypothesis also allows for a more natural explanation of the change that took place in the syntax of clitics and resulted in the emergence of the system that characterizes modern Spanish.

5.3.1. Loss of V2

I argued in the previous chapter that, among other conceptual and empirical problems, what I labelled the *teleological* approach to the linearization problem hindered a possible explanation for the reanalysis of 2P clitic systems into the systems characteristic of Spanish and other modern Romance languages. If there is a principle or filter in the grammar that is directly responsible for triggering movement operations changing the structural positions of clitics or verbs simply to preserve the existence of a 2P clitic system (or in terms of some of the aforementioned analyses, to preserve a putative grammatical principle that embodies descriptive generalizations such as WL or TML), then we must ask ourselves, what could have been responsible for this principle ceasing to operate? Furthermore, according to this general approach, the existence of such a principle must be responsible for the unavailability in root clauses of structures such as those illustrated by the examples in (9), and also for the observable variation in the linear orders of tensed verbs and clitics, as well as interpolation phenomena. Consequently, if we take this approach, we would expect that the phenomena that are claimed to be its manifestations would cease to exist once the filter ceased functioning. For instance, one of the predictions that this approach appears to make is that structures such as those represented by the examples in (9) should be incompatible with structures of the type V_[+finite]-Cl. In other words, if the filter proposed in order to formalize the constraint known as TML (repeated below as

¹¹. Of course, given the specific configurations which result from the combination of a 2P clitic system and a phrase structure such as that of an asymmetric V2 language, the term 2P becomes even more blatantly inadequate to describe superficial arrangements involving clitics in the case of Middle Dutch than it was in the case of OSp. Once again, as was the case with the label V2, we must bear in mind that structural considerations and not mere superficial arrangements determine the basic set of properties associated with this label if it is to be maintained as a useful descriptive term.

(11) is responsible for the formation of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ (by triggering I^0 -to- C^0 whenever a clitic would have been the first element in CP), then we would expect that structures as those in (9) could not be generated by the same grammar that generates $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ structures.

(11) TML * $[CP \ominus Cl]$

However, this prediction is incorrect. While $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ configurations can be found well into the XVIIth century, structures where a clitic is the first element in the sentence in a root environment appear in significant numbers already in the XVth century texts. The following examples illustrate the two types of structures in main clauses in two of the texts selected here as representative of the XVth and XVIth centuries, respectively.

- (12) a. E gano=la Yñigo Lopes de Mendoça
 And won-it Yñigo Lopes de Mendoça
 ‘*And Yñigo Lopes de Mendoça won it*’ (Atal)
- b. e se vino para Castilla,
 and [se] came to Castile
 ‘*and he returned to Castile*’ (Atal)
- c. e le fizo mucha guerra
 and him made much war
 ‘*and he fought him hard*’ (Atal.267r)
- (13) a. y propuso=lo en Consejo
 and proposed-it in council
 ‘*and he proposed it to the Council*’ (CV.25)
- b. y se vino por tierra en España, donde lleo a veinte y ocho de março
 and [se] came by land in Spain, where arrived.3Sg at 20 and 8 of March
 ‘*And he came to Spain by land, where he arrived in March the twenty-eighth*’ (CV)
- c. y lo sentencio S. M. como arriba esta dicho
 and it stated H.M. as above is said
 ‘*And His Majesty stated it as was said above*’ (CV)

It has been argued already that by adopting an analysis as the one proposed here we can do away with filters such as (11). Yet, if nothing else is said, the existence of examples such as (12)b and (13)b also presents a problem for the view that is being advanced here. It is clear that sequences such as the ones illustrated in (12) and (13) cannot be generated by a phrase structure grammar such as the one claimed to characterize OSp. In other words, we would expect the clitic to always

follow another constituent topicalized to the XP position, unless the clause is a non-root clause or the additional mechanism of I^0 -to- C^0 motivated above has been triggered. These are, however, examples of root environments, and yet the clitic appears first and there is no constituent topicalized into the XP position.

At this point, it is necessary to emphasize once again that the syntactic system that has been outlined is a significantly idealized model of the grammar hypothesized to have existed in its most pure form in a period preceding that when the first extant texts in Spanish were written. As observed above, the first reliable prose texts written in OSp date from the middle of the XIIIth century. The language we call OSp, however, must certainly have existed long before those texts were written. As will become even more evident in the following sections, even the earliest texts contain hints of some of the tendencies that will eventually prevail; we can already detect the seeds of what will become the predominant grammatical system in some constructions that occur only marginally in the XIIth and XIIIth texts, but increase gradually and steadily over time to become an essential feature of the grammar of XVth and XVIth century Spanish.

The patterns shown by the examples in (12) and (13) should not be taken as evidence that the basic analysis provided here is inadequate, but simply as evidence that, while this idealized system is better fitted to describe most of the structures found in the earliest texts, it becomes increasingly inadequate to describe the overall situation as time goes on. As will become immediately apparent, the situations reflected by the composite of structures exhibited in the texts from the XIIth, XIIIth, XIVth, XVth and XVIth centuries deviate from the ideal V2 phrase structure grammar posited here and from each other in ways both that can be quantified and that follow the typical path of a gradual and orderly syntactic change.

There are two considerations that provide support for this view. First, there is some evidence that, together with the examples in (12)b and (13)b, the grammar of Renaissance Spanish (XVth and XVIth centuries) was also able to generate structures which were compatible with the phrase structure posited to be characteristic of earlier periods. Thus, in examples (14) and (15), from the XVth and XVIth centuries, respectively, we can see constructions that bear the hallmarks of a typical V2 structure. While the arrangements illustrated in (12)b and (13)b can be licensed in the grammar of MSp,¹² those in (14) and (15) cannot. This evidence can be reasonably taken to indicate that the grammar of Spanish between the end of the middle ages and the early Renaissance could still generate structures involving substitution of the XP position by a topicalized constituent, creating typical V2 structures, while also

¹². This statement should perhaps be qualified in the sense that these arrangements may only be similar to those typical of modern Spanish in a very superficial manner. That is, we do not have any way of knowing for sure whether the underlying structures that speakers must have posited for examples (12)b and (13)b are identical to those that speakers of modern Spanish would posit. As we will see in the following discussion, it is conceivable that at the stage where these texts were written clitics were still being treated as XP categories in spite of the fact that they are procliticized to the following verbal head in the phonology. This analysis would be clearly incompatible with any of the structures generated by the present system.

allowing structures where the XP position was not filled, or, alternatively, not present.

- (14) la puxança & seniorio [que en el mundo **auja** el dicho tambureque
power and dominion that in the world had the said tamurbeque
'the power and authority that the aforementioned Tamurbeque had in the
world' (Tamer.1r)
- (15) A Micer May, que era enbaxador en Roma, hizo S.M. Vicechancellor
Micer May, who was ambassador in Rome, made H.M. Vicechancellor
'His majesty made Micer May, who was ambassador in Rome,
vicechancellor' (CV.27)

Although cases of topicalization of object NPs become rather scarce by the XVIth century, we still find in those late periods a considerable number of examples that greatly resemble those typically found in V2 languages, and that appear to involve topicalization of sentence internal material such as adjunct PPs and VP modifying adverbials, although conceivably they could also involve adjunction outside IP. Most of these examples, which are still rather frequent in the texts from the XVth and XVIth centuries, would be extremely awkward if not totally unacceptable in MSp.

- (16) a. E antes que de Antequera se partiese, ouo nueuas commo era muerto [...]
And before that from Antequera [*se*] left, had.3Sg news how was dead [...]
'And before he left Antequera, he learned about the death of ...'
- b. Alli vino el governador de Marsella con muchos gentileshombres
there came the governor of Marsella with many gentlemen
'The governor of Marseille came there with many gentlemen' (CV.30)
- c. Deste lugar de Vigeva fue S. M. a Alexandria de la Palla,
From-this place of Vigeva went H.M. to Alexandria de la Palla,
'His majesty went from Vigeva to Alexandria de la Palla' (CV.30)
- d. A deciocho deste mes de mayo se alboroto la gente comun de Barcelona
at eighteenth of-this month of may [*se*] rioted the people common of B.

contra algunos soldados [que alli tenia S. M]
against some soldiers that there had H.M.
'On May eighteenth, the people of Barcelona rioted against some of the
soldiers that the king had there' (CV.31-32)

Second, and more significantly, there is evidence that the change licensing the structures exemplified by (12)b and (13)b took place gradually, adding support to the hypothesis that the phrase structure posited above is indeed appropriate to describe the situation in OSp, at least in the earliest periods. This evidence appears in the table in

(17) (the data in this table, and those that will be presented later on, come from the sample described in the appendix to Chapter 1). These results were obtained by computing the proportion of structures where the clitic is the first element in the sentence in a root environment out of the total number of root clauses involving configurations of the form (XP)-CI-V_[+finite]-(YP); that is, the percentage of clitic-initial root clauses out of the total figure of root clauses involving: a) one constituent followed by the clitic and then the tensed verb, and b) those with no initial XP, where the clitic is the initial element in the sentence, followed by the tensed verb. The right-most column indicates the percentages of clitic-initial sentences out of the total number of sentences involving preverbal clitics.¹³

¹³. There are some considerable differences in the total figures corresponding to root clauses involving CI-V_[+finite] configurations in each of the periods in the samples that have been examined in this study. The higher figure for the total in the XVth century sample can be partly attributed to the fact that, parallel to the syntactic change we are describing, there was another change which resulted in a gradual decrease in the rate of I⁰-to-C⁰ verb movement responsible for NI, which was most noticeable towards the end of the XVth century. Thus, if we wanted to obtain equivalent numbers of tokens involving CI-V_[+finite] configurations for all the periods, the total number of tokens considered in the representative samples of the earlier periods would have to be increased significantly due to the fact that, in those texts, the instances of V_[+finite]-CI configurations account for a very high percentage of all the root clauses involving clitics (more on the gradual decrease of NI constructions below). However, the high figures corresponding to the XIIth century are indeed puzzling. The main reason for these high figures is that in the *Poema de Mio Cid* the proportion of root clauses involving CI-V_[+finite] and V_[+finite]-CI configurations differs quite noticeably from those in the texts corresponding to the XIIIth through XVth centuries. Although there are a considerable number of V_[+finite]-CI structures in the PMC, the relative number of CI-V_[+finite] structures is considerably higher than that those in later texts. I don't have any good explanation for why this should be so, other than noting that the PMC is the only text considered in this study which is not technically in prose. Thus, in spite of the fact that this epic poem is largely narrative, a plausible explanation could be that the constraints inherent to its poetic style reduce the number of contexts that could be defined as properly narrative, hence limiting the use of NI constructions. At any rate, this should not make any difference with respect to the results shown by table (17); the fact remains that the proportions of root clitic initial sentences show a significant increase over time.

(17)

	total # of CI-V structures	total of (XP)-CI-V structures	%
XII	0	61	0
XIII	1	29	3
XIV	2	19	11
XV	6	31	19
XVI	31	111	28

Now, the question that needs to be answered is: what could have caused this noticeable increase in the proportion of environments where clitics are the first element in the sentence? While determining the “deep” causes of the change may be difficult, the basic analysis proposed here allows us to formulate a very straightforward and easily testable hypothesis about the specific change that took place to permit the generation of an increasing number of syntactic environments where the clitic was forced to be first.

We know that the grammar of OSp permitted (or, rather, required, at least in the case of main clauses) topicalization of a wide range of constituents to a position on the left of INFL, which has been claimed to correspond to Spec(IP). We have also seen that, in root environments, the grammar placed pronominal clitics between the XP and the inflected verb. Further, we know that the phrase structure of modern Spanish is no longer that of a V2 language; i.e. Spanish does not allow the same wide range of constituents to move into the Spec(IP) position as OSp. Thus, we can postulate that one of the main consequences of the change has essentially consisted in rendering the Spec(IP) into a position which is no longer able to host elements other than wh-expressions and certain other operator-like elements (see section 4.2.4. in Chapter 4 for a discussion of this issue). However, while such a hypothesis is not unreasonable, showing how such a change might have taken place is more difficult.

On the one hand, given the evidence discussed in previous chapters, we know that a system along the lines of the one outlined here must have existed to generate unambiguous V2 structures both in main and embedded environments. On the other hand, given the examples in (12)b and (13)b, we know that the syntax of Spanish in the XVth and XVth centuries was no longer that of a “pure” V2 language. However, as the examples in (14) and (15) suggest, the grammar of XVth Spanish, and even the grammar of XVIth Spanish, was able to generate structures that are just like those

generated in a V2 language.¹⁴ Thus, the question arises as to when and how the change that resulted in the loss of V2 actually took place.

In order to be able to trace the loss of V2 across time, we need first to establish what an unambiguous V2 structure is. It is clear that if we want to carry out a quantitative study that can shed any light on how and when the hypothesized change took place, it is crucial to determine what can count as a true V2 structure so that we can compute their relative proportions over time with respect to structures which are unambiguously non-V2. But this is not an easy task in the situation we are examining.

One of the main difficulties in this enterprise has to do with one specific factor. It is impossible to ascertain with an absolute degree of certainty whether a given configuration involving non-argument constituents such as adverbs or adjunct PPs immediately followed by a tensed verb has the underlying structure of a V2 clause. In other words, in such configurations, how do we know whether the initial constituent is substituting the XP position as opposed to adjoined outside IP or CP?

The table in (18) illustrates the complexity of this enterprise. The figures in this table represent the relative proportions of constituents occupying the first position in the sentence for each one of the periods surveyed, in configurations that could be considered V2 structures from a superficial standpoint (that is, only structures of the form $XP-V_{[+finite]}(YP)$ have been considered). Only constructions without clitics have been included in this computation. As we can see, the only significant tendency is the gradual decrease in fronting of non-finite verb forms (second row) and of NP and PP objects (third row). With regards to subjects (first row), and non-arguments such as adjunct PPs (fourth row), adverbs (fifth row), and adverbial clauses (sixth row), the differences in the percentages for each period appear to be quite random and do not seem to indicate any significant tendency.

¹⁴. One could, of course, maintain that the syntax of Spanish in the XIVth, or even in the XIIIth and XIIth centuries was not that of a V2 language either, since a more or less significant number of counterexamples can certainly be found already in the earliest texts. The results of this quantitative study show, however, that the degree of deviance from the postulated V2 grammar can be quantified and that it increases regularly and steadily over time. Thus, by adopting a model of syntactic change which is based on the assumption that two grammars or grammatical components are in competition it is possible to maintain that the grammar of a given language can in principle generate V2 structures while still allowing structures that could not be generated by the grammar of a "pure" V2 language.

(18)

	XII	%	XIII	%	XIV	%	XV	%	XVI	%
SUBJECTS	49	34	113	42	162	58	116	38	159	41
NON-FIN	7	5	6	2	3	1	2	1	1	0
OBJECTS	25	17	28	10	17	6	13	4	15	4
Adj. PPs	28	19	26	10	25	9	44	14	59	15
ADVERBS	24	17	45	17	24	9	53	17	75	19
ADV. CL	11	8	52	19	47	17	81	26	77	20
TOTALS	144		270		278		309		386	

These figures do not provide any meaningful information concerning the change in the phrase structure that is being hypothesized to have taken place between the XIIth century and the present, owing mainly to the fact that the figures for the last three rows, as well as those in the first row, can in principle include constructions with either of the two following basic underlying structures: the constituent in first position a) substituting the XP position or b) adjoined outside the CP/IP domain.

While it is true that the elements that could appear preceding typical V2 or V1 structures form a fairly restricted class in the various languages that were discussed above, it is also true that there is no reliable typology of non-argument expressions that can determine with total confidence whether a particular adverb, PP, or any adjunct type expression is substituting a specific specifier position or is instead adjoined to the maximal projection. It is not unreasonable to assume that, at least for some languages, there are some constituents that can appear in both positions. It is interesting to observe in this respect that even though in all the V2 languages the types of elements that can adjoin outside the V2 domain form rather restricted classes, the components of this class can also vary from language to language.

Many authors propose that, with some possible exceptions, any non-argument appearing in a root preverbal position in languages that adhere more strictly to the V2 pattern occupies Spec(CP) (or alternatively, Spec(IP) in symmetric V2 languages). However, for non V2 languages, similar elements are frequently analyzed as part of an adjunction structure rather than as a substitution of a specifier node. These are, of course, claims based on the different word order possibilities in these languages, as well as on the general properties of their phrase structure which we can determine by using certain diagnostics. These claims are also testable against the intuitions of native speakers.

Yet, in view of the contradictory data from examples such as (12)b and (13)b, on the one hand, and those in (14) and (15) on the other, and provided that adjunction outside of IP was certainly an option in the grammar even at the stage when OSp was

more clearly V2, the underlying structure of any such configurations becomes difficult to determine for the period we are discussing. Thus, some of the figures in the table in (18) could correspond to cases where the preverbal adverbial expression is analyzed as a constituent adjoined outside the CP/IP domain, rather than as filling the XP position. And the same could be said for subjects.

It is therefore interesting to observe that, in their earlier stages, some, if not all, V2 languages permitted a considerably wider range of elements to adjoin outside the V2 domain than they do now. On the one hand, we have languages in which the possible range of adjoining categories has increased over time and has resulted in the final loss of V2, e.g. English and French (Vance 1989, Kroch 1989b). For instance, both English and French, whose ancestors were V2 languages, now allow only subjects in Spec(IP), but in both of these languages, a considerably wider range of constituents can adjoin outside IP/CP than is permitted in the present V2 languages. On the other hand, we have languages that have remained V2, where the range of adjunction possibilities has been reduced noticeably in relation to what was permitted in the earlier stages, e.g. German.

Spanish patterns with English and French, but it is different in that even subjects appear much more freely in adjoined positions outside the minimal sentential domain. In fact, given the wide range of distributional possibilities for subjects in Spanish, it is not clear that they need ever be claimed to occupy Spec(IP) when they occur preverbally.¹⁵

Travis (1984:199) has proposed to distinguish languages such as English from the V2 languages in terms of parametrization of adjunction possibilities; whereas English permits adjunction to IP for fronting of nonarguments, languages such as German, Swedish and Icelandic do not. She notes, however, that such adjunction is restricted to different types of elements in different languages. Thus, Spanish, according to her, would differ from English in also allowing nonargument [+Wh] expressions to adjoin to IP, English being restricted to [-Wh] elements, thus accounting for the patterns in (19) (see section 4.2.4. in Chapter 4, for a discussion of these contrasts).

- (19) a. ¿Qué querían esos dos?
 what want those two?
 ‘What did those two want?’
- b. *¿Qué esos dos querían?
 what those two want?

¹⁵. This could be related to the fact that Spanish has remained a pro-drop language, thus allowing for subjects which do not need to be linked to the base generated subject position via a movement chain.

- c. ¿Por qué Juan quiere salir antes que los demás?
 why Juan wants leave before the others?
 ‘Why does Juan want to leave before the others?’

Returning to the specific problem of distinguishing between real V2 structures and adjunction structures in medieval/renaissance Spanish, we conclude that the type of configuration illustrated by the examples in (20) can be in principle assigned two different underlying structures: one where the initial constituents are adjoined to IP, and other where they are substituting the Spec(IP) position.

- (20) a. **Deste lugar de Vigeva** fue S.M. a Alexandria de la Palla
 from-this place of Vigeva went his majesty to Alexandria de la Palla.
 ‘From this place called Vigeva his majesty went to Alexandria de la Palla’
 (CV.29)
- b. **A deciocho deste mes de mayo** se alboroto la gente comun de Barcelona
 in eighteen of-this month of may [se] rioted the people common of Barcelona e
 contra algunos soldados que **alli** tenia S. M
 against some soldiers that there had his majesty
 ‘On the 18th of May the common people of Barcelona rioted against some
 soldiers his majesty had there’ (CV.31-32)

This dilemma could in fact reflect the situation faced by the learner at that period, which led to the postulation of the reanalysis that eventually resulted in the total loss of the V2 phrase structure. If the input language provides increasing evidence for adjunction of certain categories outside IP, it is plausible that speakers could have hypothesized that structures such as those in (20) or similar also involved adjunction of the first element outside IP, rather than substituting the Spec(IP). As evidence for this alternative analysis increases in the input data, an increasingly wider class of elements could have been hypothesized to be able to adjoin outside CP/IP as well.

The standard view is that modern Spanish is not a V2 language in spite of allowing for structures in which the verb appears superficially in second position. According to some authors (e.g. Contreras 1991), Modern Spanish, instead, exhibits

typical structures associated with adjunction of constituents outside IP¹⁶ rather than with substitution of a preverbal specifier position as is the case with V2 languages. The significant freedom with which various types of NPs (including subjects) and adverbial expressions can be arranged at the left edge of CP/IP can be taken as a clear symptom that adjunction structures are involved. Some of these possibilities are illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. A Pedro Marta algunas veces lo ha llegado hasta a insultar.
to Pedro Marta some times him has arrived even to insult
'Sometimes Marta goes as far as to even insult Pedro'
- b. Marta a Pedro algunas veces incluso lo ha llegado hasta a insultar.
- c. algunas veces a Pedro Marta lo ha llegado hasta a insultar.
- d. Marta A Pedro siempre que lo ve le dice hola.
Marta Pedro always that him sees him says hello
'Marta always says hello to Pedro whenever she sees him'
- e. y Marta a Pedro ¿qué le ha dicho?

Thus, when these paradigms are taken in consideration together with all the data from OSp discussed so far, a fairly clear picture emerges as to what the phrase structures must be like for the two extreme situations; i.e. those of a V2 language, more representative of the earliest texts, on the one hand, and those of a non-V2 language like modern Spanish on the other.

In spite of the difficulties that have just been mentioned, there is a way in which we are able to trace the change in the phrase structure that resulted in the loss of V2. The hypothesis we want to test is that the specific change that affected the OSp phrase structure consisted in a gradual loss of the ability of the A-bar position preceding INFL (i.e. Spec(IP)) to host topicalized constituents other than operator-like constituents, wh- and non-wh- (see discussion in section 4.2.4, Chapter 4). This

¹⁶. See Rosselló (1986) for an interesting discussion of the syntactic implications of the availability of similar possibilities in Catalan. Rosselló argues that all preverbal subjects in Catalan are dislocated NPs coindexed with a resumptive *pro* located in the base generated position for subjects inside VP (see also Valldeví (1990) for a proposal along these lines). Rosselló's basic argument in favor of the dislocation analysis of pre-verbal subjects is based on *indeterminacy*. Since there is ample evidence that preverbal subjects can be dislocated, and given that these kinds of dislocations, just as is the case with CLLD constructions, are not characterized by any distinctive intonational clue, any sentence involving a preverbal subject will be ambiguous between two possible underlying structures: one with adjunction outside CP/IP and coindexation with a *pro* in argument position, or one with substitution of Spec(IP). Very roughly, Rossello argues that adopting the view that preverbal subjects can be in the two different configurations is undesirable on learnability grounds. If instead we assume that, once positive evidence is available to the learner, preverbal subjects will be always associated with underlying structures involving dislocation, no problems for acquisition would result.

predicts that we will be able to observe a gradual increase of structures where no constituent is found in preverbal position because nothing has been topicalized to Spec(IP), and structures where we find a pre-verbal constituent that must be posited to adjoin outside the CP/IP (presumably base generated in that position). The basic intuition is that modern Spanish would have wound up becoming essentially a language whose basic word order is VOS (see again Rosselló (1986), Vallduví (1990) and Solá (1992) for justification of similar proposals in Catalan, Saccon (1992) for Italian, and Contreras (1991) for Spanish), and where patterns that differ from the canonical order are obtained via two possible mechanisms: a) base generation of constituents adjoined outside the basic CP/IP structure (in the case of subject and object NPs, these adjunction structures will indicate that the arguments coindexed with them must be interpreted as a *link*, see Vallduví (1990) and Solá (1992); and b) appearance in Spec(IP) of a restricted set of quantificational expressions (see Solá (1992) and Vallduví (1992) for alternative proposals in similar terms for Catalan).¹⁷ This situation, at least in Spanish, would have resulted from a process of syntactic change consisting in a gradual loss of V2, namely the loss of obligatoriness of topicalization to the XP position. This loss would have been essentially manifested by the replacement of substitution structures, where subjects and objects landed in the Spec(IP) position, by adjunction structures of the kind discussed above in relation to the examples in (21).

We have in fact a way in which we can test whether the general idea advanced here is on the right track. If this conjecture is correct and we have indeed a process of syntactic change consisting in a gradual loss of V2, we expect to be able to see at least a gradual decrease in the overall rate of topicalization of constituents originating in A-positions. We can check this by calculating the proportions of argument NPs that raise to the XP position out of the total number of cases where topicalization of an argument NP could have occurred in the sample texts for each given period. We saw that the equivalent task is rather elusive whenever the preverbal element is a non-argument expression, since it is in many cases impossible to determine whether the given constituent is part of an adjunction structure or a substitution structure, not to mention the difficulties involved in determining whether it is base generated in its S-structure position or derived via move- α . However, the task is straightforward when the element preceding the tensed verb is a constituent unmistakably associated with an internal argument of a given predicate. Essentially, only topicalization, but not CLLD, requires substitution of the A-bar position corresponding to the XP position in a V2 language (see the discussion of CLLD constructions in Chapter 3).

Thus, the rate of movement to the XP position can be calculated by estimating the ratio of structures with topicalization (TOP) out of the total number of constructions where topicalization of an argument NP is in principle possible. Within the total number of potential environments for topicalization we must include the figures corresponding to CLLD constructions as well as structures involving verbs

¹⁷. In addition, we must also posit verb movement from I^0 -to- C^0 , presumably still involved in the formation of Yes/No questions.

with one or more internal arguments, but where no element linked with an internal argument, whether a full NP or a pronominal clitic, is found in a preverbal position.

The results illustrated by the table in (22) below appear to confirm the hypothesis advanced here. The figures in this table show that in fact the loss of V2 (as indicated by the steady decrease in the ratio of topicalization of argument NPs) has been gradual and has taken place over a considerable period of time. The figures in the last row of this table reflect a decrease in the ratio of topicalization in the periods going from the XIIIth to the XVIth centuries.¹⁸

¹⁸. It is important to note that all the instances of CLLD found in the sample from the Poema de Mio Cid used in this investigation follow the pattern represented by the example in (i) and (ii). That is, the dislocated NP is separated from the clause containing the resumptive pronominal clitic by a caesura marking a pause or intonation break in the recitation.

- (i) los pendones e las lanças tan bien =las van enpleando
 the banners and the lances so well them go.3PI using
 ‘and they used their banners and lances so well...’ (PMC 1006)
- (ii) A mio Çid don Rodrigo grant cozina=l adobavan;
 to mio Cid don Rodrigo big meals him prepared.3PI
 ‘They prepared abundance of food for the Cid’ (PMC 1017)

Overall, the distribution of types of clauses and constituents along the two sides of the caesura in a given verse seems to confirm the analysis proposed in the previous chapters concerning the appropriate characterization of the Verb-Second constraint and its apparent counterexamples. It is precisely those elements argued to adjoin outside the basic sentential domain where the V2 or V1 basic patterns obtain that are most frequently found in the first half of the verse, separated from the basic clause (generally a typical V2 or V1 declarative) by the caesura. Thus, besides the examples in (i)-(ii), involving a dislocated NP in a CLLD construction, we also find examples such as those in (iii)-(iv), involving the class of background setting adverbial expressions and the members of the restricted class of adverbs discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, and also subjects (see Chapter 4, 4.2.3. for a discussion of the appropriate characterization of dislocated “subjects”).

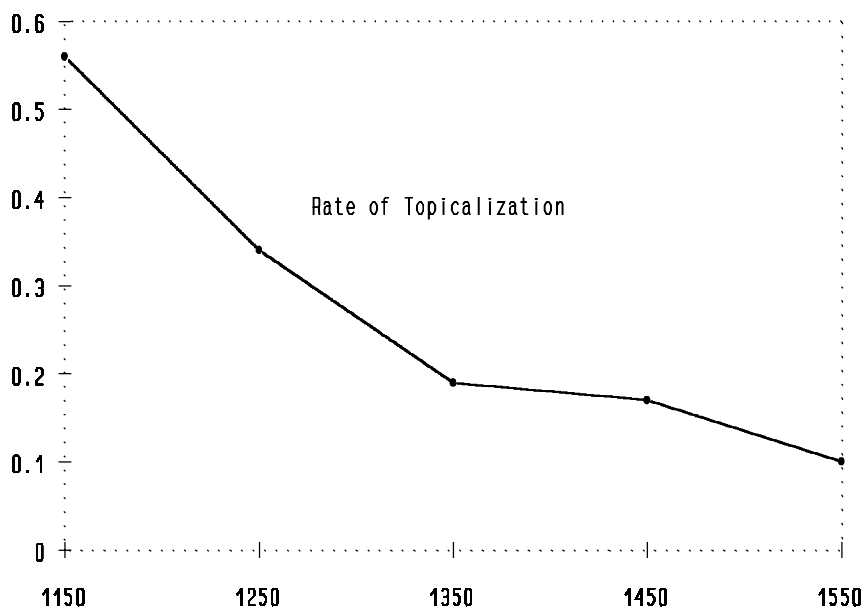
- (iii) Todos los dias a mio Çid aguardavan
 all the days mio Cid awaited.3PI
 ‘Every day they waited for mio Cid’ (PMC 839)
- (iv) Martin Antolinez un colpe dio a Galve
 Martin Antolinez a blow dealt.3Sg to Galve
 ‘Martin Antolinez hit Galve’ (PMC 765)

We should be careful, however, not to draw too many conclusions from these facts, since there is not necessarily a one to one correspondance between intonation patterns and underlying syntactic structure. As we saw before, the internal rhythmic structure of a poem can in certain circumstances impose constraints which result in a clash with the unmarked configurations that would otherwise be required by the syntax. Thus, in some cases, constituents separated by the caesura are likely to be better analyzed as part of the same clausal unit.

(22)

	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
(1) TOP	25	28	17	13	15
(2) Lack of TOP	42	82	84	74	144
(3) CLLD	3	1	4	3	4
TOTALS	70	112	103	90	163
Top. ratio = 1/(2+3)	0.56	0.34	0.19	0.17	0.10

The trend can be seen more clearly in the graph of the data plotted below.



If we consider the results presented in this table in conjunction with the results of the table in (17), the following situation emerges. Two different basic phrase structures can be generated by the grammar or grammars of speakers in the periods studied here: one where Spec(IP) must be obligatorily lexicalized by a phonologically overt constituent, and one where this A-bar position is either not present or,

alternatively, can remain empty.¹⁹ As we have seen, the syntactic change that eventually resulted in the total loss of V2 would consist in a gradual replacement of the former by the latter phrase structure and by a significant expansion in the possibilities of adjunction outside CP/IP.

Concerning the overall increment of adjunction structures at the expense of topicalization to the XP position posited here, it is true that the table in (22) is not extremely revealing in this respect. The very small numbers of CLLD constructions found in the sample texts considered in this quantitative analysis are insufficient to provide any dependable support for this view.²⁰ Thus, as things stand, the claim that there was in fact such a development is merely a reasonable inference which we can make based on our knowledge of the possibilities available in modern Spanish (recall the discussion of the patterns in (21)). We should note, however, that such an assumption receives considerable support from the information we have available on the developments that took place in OFr, where V2 structures were gradually replaced by CLLD and other structures involving only adjunction outside CP/IP. See Adams 1987 and Vance 1989 for a discussion of these facts, and also Priestley 1955 and Kroch 1989 for a quantitative analysis of this development. The change from topicalization to adjunction does not apply to preverbal subjects in French, which are standardly assumed to occupy the Spec(IP) position. But, while we observed that it is practically impossible to determine whether preverbal subjects or non-argument expressions are adjoined or occupying the XP position, there is an environment that permits us to test whether there was some significant change with respect to adjunction structures.

If the analysis proposed above for configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ is correct, any constituent found preceding such strings must be analyzed as part of an adjunction structure outside the minimal CP. As we saw in the previous chapter, subject NPs, as well as NP complements in CLLD structures and a number of adverbial expressions, were allowed to precede the tensed verb in such configurations. Thus, $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ structures provide an ideal environment to determine whether there has been any significant change in the patterns of adjunction accross time. The table in (23) provides information about the types of elements that occurred in such an adjoined position outside CP for each given period. While the figures in this table are not very informative about most of the adjoining categories, there is a striking pattern that calls our attention. In this table, we can observe a steady increase in the

¹⁹. See Contreras (1991) for arguments that Spanish simply has no Spec(IP) position, and Solá (1992) for arguments that this position can remain empty in Romance null subject languages. Given the analysis of Wh-movement adopted in the previous chapter for modern Spanish, I assume here that the Spec(IP) position must be available at least in the cases involving pre-verbal quantificational operator-variable expressions.

²⁰. An informal examination of a XVIIth century text, *Discurso de mi vida* by Alonso de Contreras, revealed 15 CLLD constructions and not a single instance of topicalization in 100 pages. This is precisely the situation that we would expect at a later period given the tendencies reflected by the table in (22) and given the fact that, in modern Spanish, CLLD is the only option. However, it is true that a much larger sample than the one used in the present study is needed to be able to trace with more precision the development that is being argued for here.

proportions in which subject NPs precede strings of the form $V_{[+inf]}-Cl$ from the XIIth to the XVth centuries, with a sudden drop towards the XVIth century. Note also that exactly the same pattern observed with respect to subjects is exhibited by the figures corresponding to adverbs in the fifth row. As observed above with regards to CLLD constructions in table (22), the absolute figures corresponding to adverbs are perhaps too small for us to be able to make too much out of them. However, the figures corresponding to 'subject' NPs are quite revealing

(23) *Categories preceding a $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ configuration*

	XII	%	XIII	%	XIV	%	XV	%	XVI	%
ZERO	53	89.8	83	62.8	54	62.7	44	65.6	21	77.7
Subjects	3	5	12	9	15	17	12	18	2	7
Obj NP (CLLD)	1	1.6	4	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
Adverbs	1	2	7	5	6	6.9	4	5.9	0	0
Sub. Clauses	1	2	26	20	11	13	6	9	4	15
TOTALS	59		132		86		67		27	

The reason for the sudden drop in the figures for dislocated subjects observed the XVIth century, as well as the decrease in absolute figures of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ structures, will become apparent in section 5.3.2. What is of interest here is to note the clear and steady increase in the proportions of subject NPs participating in these constructions across time. While it is true that we cannot make too much of the results of this table, given that this type of environment represents a very restricted section of the data both in quantitative and qualitative terms (only V1 declaratives involving clitics are considered), the figures in the second row up to the XVIth century clearly indicate that evidence that subjects could be analyzed as adjuncts increased over time. Additional evidence for the adjunct status of preverbal subjects comes from the fact that they are frequently found separated from the tensed verb in these configurations by the type of adverbial expressions typically found adjoined outside CP. Thus, examples such as those illustrated in (24) are found already in the texts of the XIIIth century.

- (24) a. Estonces ella quando esto uio. echo=l mano enel manto.
 Then she when this saw, threw-him in-the coat
 'Then, when she saw this, she grabbed his coat' (GE-I.97r)

- b. *Y este rrey Yzmael por aver en su ayuda al rrey de alenmar dio =le a*
and this king Yzmael for have in his service the king of alenmar gave him

Algezira e a Rronda, e al Castellar, e a Ximena .

Algezira and Ronda, and the Castelar, and Ximena

'And in order to have the king of alenmar in his service, this king Yzmael gave him Algezira, Ronda, Castelar... (Alf 11)

These facts further support the view outlined above, since evidence for the gradual loss of topicalization to Spec(IP) as a productive mechanism in the syntax combined with the growing evidence that subjects could be part of adjunction structures not derived via move- α can be reasonably assumed to be part the necessary positive evidence available to the speaker in order to postulate structures such as the ones taken here to characterize modern Spanish.

Before we go on to consider the consequences of such reanalysis in the phrase structure for the change in the status of clitic elements in the grammar, we must examine another parallel development that took place in the phrase structure of Medieval/Renaissance Spanish and that reinforced the general grammatical reorganization outlined above. As we will presently see, the sudden decrease in the proportions of dislocated subject NPs observed in the XVIth century in (23) is not necessarily the result of a change in the type of syntactic configurations available to subjects but rather must be related to the gradual disappearance of I⁰-to-C⁰ as a means of fulfilling the discourse functions fulfilled by NI.

5.3.2. Loss of I⁰-to-C⁰

In the previous discussion it has been made clear that the constituent in the XP position is not the only one that is able to serve as a host for phonological encliticization. Rather, we have seen that the availability of a productive mechanism of I⁰-to-C⁰ verb movement, involved in NI and other V1 declaratives, as well as Yes/No questions and imperatives, provided yet another context where the default mode of encliticization typical in a 2P clitic system was possible. We know, as is the case with V2, that such mechanism is no longer available, being arguably restricted to Yes/No questions, and perhaps to imperatives in modern Spanish (see Rivero (1993)). Thus, if together with the gradual loss of topicalization to Spec(IP), we can demonstrate that there was a parallel decrease in the instances of I⁰-to-C⁰ verb movement, we can easily conceive of a situation where eventually sufficient positive evidence will be available to the speaker to force a reanalysis of clitics. With the advent of the new phrase structure resulting from the ongoing change, clitics will wind up being the element in the first position of the basic IP/CP in an increasingly growing number of environments. In more and more cases, they will also be the first absolute element in the whole sentential unit (when no adjunction structures are involved). A 2P clitic system such as the one postulated here, is clearly unsustainable within a phrase structure like the one emerging from the changes we hypothesize.

Support for the view that gradual loss of the verb-movement involved in V1 declaratives occurred parallel to the gradual loss of the mechanisms responsible for the V2 pattern can be drawn from the facts which I now turn to discuss. First, let us examine the figures illustrated by the table in (25) below. The tokens considered for the quantitative analysis illustrated by this table include all the instances of main clauses found in the sample texts, provided that they contain a pronominal clitic and that they are introduced by a coordinating conjunction (in the various forms in which they appear in the texts: *et*, *e*, *y*, &). Tokens include both, cases where an additional constituent precedes the basic $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ or $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$ configurations following the conjunction, and cases where these configurations are the only elements following the conjunction. As established in the previous chapters, configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ are derived by means of an instance of I^0 -to- C^0 . Recall also that the vast majority of examples involving such configurations in the sample OSp texts studied here are instances of the construction known as NI, typically found in narrative style following a coordinating conjunction. Therefore, one of the environments that appears to be more suitable to check whether there has been indeed a significant change in the syntax of verb movement is precisely that of main clauses connected by coordinating conjunctions in narrative texts (note that for this reason only declarative sentences have been considered for the analysis displayed in the table below). As we can see in the last column, while the figures corresponding to the relative percentages for each configuration in this specific environment remain more or less stable from the XIIth to the XIVth centuries, there is a noticeable and steady decrease in the relative frequencies of strings of the form $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ from the XIVth century onwards which coincides with a gradual increase in configurations of the form $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$.

(25)

	Clause type	# conj+S	%
XIIth Ct.	(XP)Cl-V	7	16
	(XP)V-Cl	36	84
	Total #	43	
XIIIth Ct.	(XP)Cl-V	18	13
	(XP)V-Cl	117	87
	Total #	135	
XIVth Ct.	(XP)Cl-V	15	15
	(XP)V-Cl	87	85
	Total #	102	
XVth Ct.	(XP)Cl-V	30	32
	(XP)V-Cl	64	68
	Total #	94	
XVIth Ct.	(XP)Cl-V	94	86
	(XP)V-Cl	15	14
	Total #	109	

One may be tempted to think of the development reflected by the figures in this table strictly as a change involving the phonological or morphophonological levels which would affect the directionality of cliticization from encliticization to procliticization, and allow clitics to adjoin to the left of the verbal head. Note, however, that given the analysis of OS_p clitics adopted here, such a change would not be a trivial one, since it would necessarily have to involve a change in the status of pronominal clitics from X^{\max} categories to head-related categories in the syntax. Recall that 2P clitics could not, by definition, occur outside IP. Hence, if we take the rate of I⁰-to-C⁰ to have remained constant through the periods examined in the table above, we will have to say that a considerable proportion of the Cl-V_[+finite] strings corresponding to the later periods still involves V1 declaratives. The only differences between the earlier and later periods would be that while in the earlier period clitics were still X^{\max} categories adjoining in the familiar site for 2P clitics, i.e. on the left edge of IP, in the later period clitics were already analyzed as features of the verb-INFL complex and accompanied the verbal head in its movement to C⁰. A rather

inconsequential morphophonological change could be made responsible for the fact that the clitic form appears to the left of the verb rather than to its right.

This is by no means an unreasonable supposition, and it may very well be the case that at least some of the tokens involving a $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$ could in fact be construed as having been derived via $I^0\text{-to-}C^0$. However, while I certainly don't want to deny that the change that took place in the clitic system was precisely one involving a change in the status of clitic pronouns from NPs to head-related categories, the view that the results in table (25) are simply the result of a modification of the grammatical category of clitics, if nothing else is said, would obscure a principled explanation of how and why such a reanalysis in the status of clitics in the grammar could have emerged in the first place.

To make sure that the relative increase and decrease in the different types of verb-clitic arrangements observed in the table above can be really taken to be the reflection of a change affecting the syntax of verb movement, rather than some change exclusively affecting clitic attachment, we need to find independent evidence that there was a gradual decrease in the application of the syntactic mechanisms responsible for the generation declarative V1 constructions parallel to the decline of $V_{[+finite]\text{-}Cl}$ configurations. If we can show that the decrease of V-cl configurations is paralleled by a decrease of NI and other declarative V1 constructions, we would have a good case to argue that the change in the surface position of clitics has its origin in deeper changes in the syntax.

Tracking the loss of $I^0\text{-to-}C^0$, however, is not an easy task. The obvious way to check whether declarative V1 gradually disappeared in the same way as V2 would be to study possible changes in the frequencies of VS(X) strings across time in the types of contexts that have been characteristic of this construction (i.e. in narrative contexts following coordinating conjunctions, or following if/since/because clauses). But, we cannot simply do a count of all the sentences with this word order pattern. As we observed in the introduction to Chapter 3, issues of word order are quite complex in Spanish, and the prevalent view is that word order is quite "free" (although recall the qualifications there concerning the supposed word order "freedom" exhibited by this language). Thus a configuration of the form VS(X), which would be superficially identical to those characteristic of V1 declaratives, is in principle possible in modern Spanish given the appropriate context, as shown in (26).

- (26) a. *Telefoné tu padre porque tu madre estaba enferma.*
 phoned your father because your mother was sick
'Your father had to make the phone call because your mother was sick'
- b. *Canté yo porque no quería cantar nadie más.*
 sang I because not wanted to-sing nobody else
'I had to sing because nobody else wanted to do it'

- c. Lavé yo la ropa ya que no parecía que lo iba a hacer nadie.
 washed I the clothes since not seemed that it was-going to do nobody
 'Since it didn't look like anybody else was going to do it, I did the
 laundry'

However, as observed above, these sentences are felicitous in modern Spanish only if interpreted with a focal reading for the subject. If we recall the discussion in Chapter 3, one basic characteristic that differentiates V1 declaratives from examples such as those in (26) is precisely that post-verbal subjects in the former type of constructions are most often interpreted as non-focal material.²¹ Thus any computation of the frequencies of VS(X) word orders must crucially exclude cases as the examples in (26), for their inclusion would certainly interfere with our task and skew the results.

For this reason, to carry out this inquiry sentences were carefully examined in context, and only those involving non-focal post-verbal subjects were considered. I computed the proportion of sentences where an initial tensed verb (or where the only constituent preceding the tensed verb is a typical background setting adverbial expression) is immediately followed by a subject out of the total number of main clauses for each one of the periods considered. To avoid further interference of other

²¹. Preverbal subjects in NI constructions do not have a focal reading either. One of the main factors differentiating preverbal subjects (taken here to be adjuncts resumed by a *pro* subject inside the basic sentential unit) and postverbal subjects (real arguments in Spec(IP)), at least in the earlier texts, is that preverbal subjects tend to accomplish the more restricted function of being contrastive topics, i.e. used to indicate that there has been a change in the topic (switch reference) or simply to avoid potential confusion about the referent of the topic. The following example illustrates this specific function of preverbal subjects in a NI construction. The underlined subject, preceding a V[+finite]-CI sequence, is used in a context where if it had been post-verbal it could have created a potential ambiguity concerning which of the two available close NPs is to be interpreted as the object of the main predication. As time goes by, we see that more and more of the subjects preceding V[+finite]-CI strings are not necessarily contrastive topics, but simply *links*.

- (i) dexo sant Antidio el diablo ala puerta & & saco el papa aparte & dixo=I que fiziesse
 left saint Antidio the devil at the door &.... & took the pope aside & and told-him that do.3Sg

penitencia daquel peccado. & el quiso =lo negar
 penance for-that sin & he wanted it deny

'And Saint Antidio left the devil at the door...and he took the pope aside and told him to do penance for that sin, but the pope wanted to deny he had committed that sin.' (EE-I.126r)

factors, I also excluded so-called unaccusative verbs from this count.²² The results of this inquiry are presented in the table in (27). As we see, the results displayed by this table are consistent with those discussed in reference to table (25). There, we may recall, we saw that, towards the end of the XIIIth, there had been a noticeable decline in the relative frequencies of V_[+inf]-Cl configurations following coordinating conjunctions, accompanied by an increase in the frequencies of Cl-V_[+inf] strings in the same contexts.

(27)

	<i>I to C</i>	<i># main</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>XII</i>	41	332	12
<i>XIII</i>	52	417	12
<i>XIV</i>	32	341	9
<i>XV</i>	33	443	7
<i>XVI</i>	25	448	6

As we can see in this table, there is a significant decline in the frequencies of V1 declaratives across time, thus providing support for the view that the decrease in the relative proportions of V_[+finite]-Cl sequences can be reasonably assumed to be partly a consequence of a decrease in the application of I⁰-to-C⁰.

The results in the tables in (25) and (27) must also be considered in conjunction with the results illustrated in table (17). That is, together with the gradual loss of V2, signalled by a steady decrease in the frequencies with which substitution of the XP position occurs, another major source in the significant increase of contexts where a clitic is found in absolute first position in the minimal CP/IP is the gradual loss of V1 declaratives. A good way to illustrate the situation in the intermediate period between when OSp was clearly a V2 language with 2P clitic system (assumed to correspond to the situation reflected by the earliest texts, and arguably even more appropriate to describe preceding stages for which we have no written records), and the present is with the discussion of real examples.

²² Following Burzio (1981, 1986), it has been fairly standard within the GB framework to assume that postverbal subjects in constructions involving unaccusative verbs are not derived via the regular processes of *inversion*, but are rather found occupying their base generated position as internal arguments of the given predicate. With the advent of the VP-internal subject hypothesis and with the results of recent research showing that the basic position for subjects in many of the null-subject Romance languages is indeed post-verbal (Vallduví (1990) for Catalan, Contreras (1991) for Spanish, Saccon (1992) for Italian) it becomes less clear that the unaccusative hypothesis is at all justified as an explanation for the patterns of inversion observed in some of the Romance languages. See especially Saccon (1992) and Centineo (1986) for recent challenges to the notion that *ne* cliticization and auxiliary selection in Italian can be used as evidence for the unaccusative hypothesis.

However, before discussing specific examples, I want to remark again on the use of the label OSp to refer to specific syntactic properties of the Spanish language during the medieval and Renaissance periods. Obviously the use of any such labels is largely arbitrary. But, given the view of syntactic change adopted here and the results of the quantitative analyses presented so far, it becomes even more clear that most of the differences between chronological periods (above all between the immediately adjacent ones) will be largely a matter of degree. Therefore, labels such as OSp or Middle Spanish (even if we were able to reach an agreement about what the specific time boundaries and defining characteristics of these periods are) could only be used descriptively to refer to the major tendencies reflected by the language in these different periods. Thus, it is highly likely that the grammar of speaker A, born 20 years before the “official” ending of language *Old X*, and that of speaker B, born 20 years after the “official” beginning of language *Middle X*, resemble each other much more closely than, say, the grammar of speaker B and the grammar of speaker C, born 100 years after the “official” beginning of *Middle X* and 20 years before its “official” ending .

This may be a self evident observation. But it is important to emphasize it in the context of the present diachronic study (or any diachronic study for that matter) for we often see in the literature claims of the sort “Old X was this type of language, but Middle X was not”, with the implication that the relevant properties being discussed cannot be shared by the grammars of the two periods. I am perhaps guilty of the same oversimplification having made statements such as “OSp was a V2 language” at various points. I have surely made matters worse by indiscriminately including examples to illustrate this point that come from texts produced in periods ranging as far as the XIIth and XVIth centuries. There is no agreement as to whether the XVth century is part of OSp or not,²³ but most authors would coincide in not associating this label with XVIth century texts. My only redemption is to have written in a footnote that this statement must be interpreted in the sense that many of the distinctive properties of the syntax of medieval and renaissance Spanish follow from analyzing its phrase structure as that corresponding to a symmetric V2 language and warning that such a claim implies a gross simplification. In other words, the grammar that is posited is an idealized system which would describe more accurately the linguistic situation reflected by the earlier texts and less so by the later texts. Constructions that could not have been generated by such an idealized grammar can be found even in the earliest texts, but we expect that the degree of deviation from this model reflected by the exceptions found in the texts will increase across time both quantitatively and qualitatively. The results illustrated by the tables discussed so far appear to confirm this general approach. It is for this reason that in discussing data in this chapter labels such as OSp vs Middle Spanish, or even Medieval vs Renaissance Spanish, become somewhat irrelevant.

²³. For instance, data from the *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*, from the mid XVth century, is used in Rivero (1986) and Rivero (1991) as one of the sources on which she bases her analysis of partial aspects of the OSp syntax.

With that much said, let us go back to the main discussion of this section which concerned the chronology of the disappearance of Wackernagel effects (or TML). This is precisely a case in point to illustrate the misleading use of these labels. If we recall the discussion in the previous chapters concerning descriptive generalizations such as WL or TML, we agreed with most traditional and contemporary authors that clitic elements could not be the first overt element found in initial position in the sentence (i.e. the minimal CP) in OSp. In the preceding sections we have not questioned such an assertion but rather we have attempted to provide a principled explanation for the reasons behind the descriptive observation. In view of the results shown in table (17), however, it becomes clear that such an assertion must be qualified. Thus, we don't know at what precise point in time the first sentence containing a clitic as the first overt element in CP was produced (although we know that it was clearly within the period usually labelled as OSp). Nevertheless, given the previous discussion of the results of the quantitative analysis shown by the tables in (22), (25) and (27) we are able to make a reasonable inference as to how this situation could have emerged.

If we go now to the texts, we expect to see that in the relevant periods we will be able to find instances illustrating the situation we have inferred from the results in the tables discussed above. In other words, we will be able to see that the “disappearance” of WL or TML effects can be explained as a consequence of a change in the phrase structure which emerges from the competition between two grammars (or various modules of the same grammar). In particular, we expect to see that at least some of the examples involving a “violation” of WL/TML will be cases where I⁰-to-C⁰ has failed to apply in contexts where in earlier periods would have been more likely to apply. We also expect to find in the same texts cases where I⁰-to-C⁰ has applied, resulting, again only as an epiphenomenon, in a situation where WL/TML effects are still observed.

Thus, if we recall the discussion section 4.1.1.2.2 of Chapter 4, it was claimed that in OSP (now we should modify this to mean: in the earliest period of OSp) the only environments where clitics were the first element in the sentence were restricted to coordination of subordinate clauses such as those illustrated in (28). In coordination of main clauses, clitics could never be first because they would be either preceded by a constituent in the XP position, in a coordination of two V2 structures, or preceded by the tensed verb, a situation that, in the surveyed texts, is most often found in the discourse environment of NI constructions. The example in (29) illustrates the latter possibility.

- (28) ...fiziera yurar **que** =se touiessen con ell y=l fuessen leales.
...made swear that selves had with him and-him were loyal

y=l obedesciessen y=l guardassen como a Rey & a sennor.
and-him obeyed and-him kept as a king and a lord

'he made them swear that they would consider themselves as his vassals and would be loyal to him and would obey him and would take him to be their king and lord' (EE-I.181v)

- (29) lidio con ellos Mariano un adelantado de la cibdat de Arles. & priso a Crosco.
fought with them M. a governor of the city of Arles and caught Crosco and

& fizo =lo traer preso
made him bring prisoner

'Mariano, a governor from the city of Arles, fought with them and caught Crosco and had him made prisoner and brought before him' (EE-I.127v)

However, while this situation is generally the norm in the earliest texts, towards the XVth century we already find abundant evidence of a mixed system. Thus the two following examples, both from the *Atalaya de las Coronicas*, a XVth chronicle, show the situation reflected by the figures in the tables above. These are examples of coordination of main clauses in discourse environments similar to that illustrated by the example in (29). We see that in some cases the clitic can be the first element in the CP, as in the third conjunct clause in (30a), whereas in others it is found after the tensed verb, as in the first and third conjunct clauses in (30b). These contrasts can be made sense of if the hypothesis maintained here is correct. In the XVth century, as inferred from the frequencies in tables (25) and (21), the syntactic mechanisms responsible for the generation of V1 declarative clauses are still operative, but they are activated much less frequently owing to the availability of an alternative structure (one not involving I⁰-to-C⁰) competing in the same environments.

- (30) a. E en este año tomo el rrey Ysquierno de Granada el Alhanbra
and in this year took the king Ysquierno of Granada the Alhambra

e prendio al rrey Moço, e **lo** mato...
and caught the king Moço, and him killed

'And that year king Ysquierno from Granada took the Alhambra and caught King M. prisoner and killed him' (Atal 124)

- b. juntaron=se en Valladolid el jnfante don Enrrique, maestre de Santiago, e gathered-selves in V. the prince don Enrique, master of Santiago, and

don Sancho de Rojas, e ... e otros muchos grandes omes. Sacaron al rrey donSancho de Rojas, and...and other many great men. Took the king

don Juan de aquella casa ...e leuaron=le a Tordesillas,
don Juan out that house... and carried-him to Tordesillas

'Prince don Enrique and don Sancho de R. and many other great men gathered in Valladolid. They brought out King don Juan from that house and carried him to Tordesillas' (Atal 122)

In the texts from the next century, we can find some indication that V1 declaratives still survive in this mixed system, as illustrated by the contrasts in the examples in (31) below. However, these distinctive patterns have become increasingly sparser and irregular, to the point of being extraordinarily erratic and hard to find. As revealed by the figures in tables (25) and (27), I⁰-to-C⁰ is on the way out as a means to mark the specific relationship between sequences of events that was characterized in section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4.

- (31) a. Andrea de Oria partió de Barcelona para Génova a siete de mayo
Andrea de Oria left from Barcelona to Genova on seven of may

deste año. **Hizo**=le S. M. merced del arçobispado de Tarragona
of-this year. Made-him his majesty concession of-the archbishopry of T.

para un sobrino suyo...
for a nephew of-his

'Andrea Doria left Barcelona on May seventh on his way to Genova and His Majesty apointed his nephew for the archbishopry of Tarragona'
(CV.31)

- b. y S. M. enbio al Maques del Gasto que =les hablase, y el =lo hizo,
and H.M. sent the Marquis of-the Gasto so-that them talked, and he it did

y =les apaziguo, y S. M. =les mando hazer dos pagas,
and them appeased, and H.M them ordered make two pays

y con tanto =los despidio.
and with as-much them released

'And His Majesty sent the Marquis of Gasto to speak to them, and he did it, and managed to apease them, and His Majesty ordered that they be given two wages, and having done so, he let them go' (CV.31)

The same variation can be observed with respect to the other environment typically triggering I⁰-to-C⁰, namely those contexts where V1 declaratives are used to express a relationship of logical consequence with respect to a preceding clause or context. Thus, whereas in the earliest texts similar discourse environments hardly ever fail to show evidence that I⁰-to-C⁰ has applied, in the later texts we find again evidence for the two competing analyses. In the examples in (32), from one of the representative texts from the XVIth century, we find the familiar situation also described in section 4.2.2. in Chapter 4. Following if/since/because type clauses we find a characteristic V1 construction, as signalled by the postverbal subject in (32a) and the V_[+finite]-CI configurations in (32b-c). In the examples in (33), however, taken also from texts of the same period (the same text as those in (32) in the case of (33a)), the since/because clauses are followed by a CI-V_[+finite] sequence.

- (32) a. y como la yegua la avian tenido en el mismo aposento adonde Cortes
and since the mare her had.3Pl kept in the same room where Cortes

y los indios estaban ablando, **pateava el cavallo**,
and the indians were talking, kicked the horse

'And since they had kept the mare in that same room where Cortes and the indians were having the meeting, the horse got excited and started kicking'
(Bernal 66)

- b. y como no sabemos que cosa era Mexico, ni Culua, dexavamos=lo pasar
and since not knew.3Pl what thing was Mexico nor Culua, left.1Pl-it pass

por alto
by high

'and since we didn't know what they meant by Mexico or Culua, we didn't pay much attention to it' (Bernal)

- c. y como era dia de nuestra señora de março, llamo=se una villa [...] Santa
and since was day of our lady of March, call-self a village Saint

Maria de la Vitoria,ansi por ser dia de nuestra señora como por...

Mary of the Victory, so for be day of our lady as for ...

'and since it was the day of our lady of March, a village was named Saint Mary of the Victory, both for being our lady's day and because of the great victory we had' (Bernal)

- (33) a. Y como Cortes en todo era muy avisado, =nos dixo riendo
and since Cortes in all was very astute, us told laughing
- a los soldados que alli =nos hallamos...
to the soldiers that there selves found
'And since Cortes was a very cunning man, laughing, he told all of us soldiers who were there' (Bernal)
- b. y porque =le hazia mucho mal la mar, =se salio en tierra en un puerto[..
and because him made much pain the sea [se] exited in land in a port
'and because the sea made him sick, he left the ship when it arrived to one of his ports' (CV)

In conclusion, we have now a plausible explanation for how WL/TML effects ceased to exist in history of Spanish. So far, we have evaluated empirical evidence indicating that there was a parallel evolution in the phrase structure of OSp which was largely independent of any consideration having to do with the position of clitics. This change has been characterized as one that involves: a) a gradual loss of the ability of Spec(IP) to host topicalized constituents;²⁴ b) a generalization and extension of the possibilities of multiple adjunction structures already present in the older system; and, finally, c) a gradual loss of the productive mechanism of verb movement responsible for the generation of V1 declaratives. All this combined created a situation where speakers increasingly analyzed any preverbal constituent as part of an adjunction structure outside CP/IP. This in turn would eventually trigger a reanalysis making the phrase structure characteristic of V2 languages no longer available.

However, after having provided a plausible answer for the question of how clitics could have come to be the first overt element in the CP, we must now account for the additional changes that must have taken place in the system of pronominal clitics. In other words, the fact that WL/TML effects ceased to exist is only the beginning of the story and does not explain in and of itself the profound changes that also took place in the grammatical status of pronominal clitics. As will become presently apparent, the different ways in which speakers analyze 2P clitics and what we can call, for lack of a better term, Romance clitics is revealed by a significantly different set of properties associated to each type of category. I turn now to examine the possible ways in which this reanalysis in grammatical category of clitic elements

²⁴. There is an alternative way to view this development which would in principle support the view maintained by Contreras (1991) concerning the phrase structure of modern Spanish. One could assume that the new structures that came into competition with the symmetric V2 phrase structure simply lacked the Spec(IP) position. The speakers would have posited the existence of this defective structure as a way out of the indeterminacy created by conflicting evidence resulting from the increase in the possibilities of multiple adjunction structures. The other possible strategy, consisting in radically restricting the possibilities of adjunction outside the minimal CP and allowing only substitution of an XP position would have resulted in the more strict V2 patterns characteristic of most modern Germanic languages.

could have taken place.

5.4. Clitic Reanalysis: From X^{\max} to X^0

Assuming the change in the phrase structure just described did not necessarily affect the grammatical status of pronominal clitics in a direct manner, and that the syntax continued to place clitics in a position at the left edge of IP, we can hypothesize how the reanalysis of these elements into categories associated to a head could have emerged. The grammar is generating an increasing number of phrase structures where Spec(IP) position remains empty, not being able to be filled via topicalization, and where the C^0 position in main clauses is not lexicalized. A growing number of the structures being generated involve adjunction of constituents outside the domain of cliticization. As a consequence, these constituents wind up in a structural position where they are neither viable sites for syntactic adjunction of clitics or suitable hosts for phonological encliticization.

Furthermore, as noted before, since adjunction of elements outside the basic CP/IP is optional, this results in the production of an increasing number of contexts where clitics are in absolute first position in the sentence. The situation created by the changes in the syntax will result in more cases of the type of exceptional environment previously discussed in relation to the poetic texts, where the only option available for the clitic was to procliticize to the only available host, namely the tensed verb. Whereas in the earlier periods such an option was indeed very marked and subject to very specific prosodic constraints,²⁵ as contexts where procliticization is the only option become increasingly the norm, evidence available to the learner to hypothesize that pronominal clitics are inherently enclitic will critically diminish.

Suppose then that, as a first step in the reanalysis, clitics are posited to be phonologically proclitic by default. Given the phrase structure that has been outlined above, and assuming, as seems reasonable, that verb-movement to I^0 has remained obligatory in declarative clauses, the new situation makes clitics, still NPs at least for some speakers as we will presently see, virtually members of the same word unit as the verb-INFL complex. The next logical step will be to reanalyze the pronominal clitic (which at least on the surface can now be practically taken to be an inherent part of the verbal morphology) as an element which must be associated to a head category in the syntax as well.

A related question that we should attempt to resolve is whether this reanalysis occurred automatically, affecting the whole system of clitics for any given speaker, or whether a double analysis could also have been posited in this case. In other words, could two distinct systems of clitics, one involving head-related categories, and one

²⁵. It is entirely possible that the syntactic changes being described here occurred in conjunction with a change in the basic intonation patterns that characterized the utterance of sentences in OSp. See Hall (1965) for a suggestion that OSp was characterized by a stress-timed intonation pattern such as that found in the Germanic languages. See also Adams (1987) for a proposal that relates the change in the basic stress patterns to the loss of V2 in OFr.

involving prosodically deficient NPs, have been hypothesized by speakers, competing with each other for one or more generations until one eventually wins out? Or would the phonological reanalysis from enclitic to proclitic have triggered an immediate syntactic reanalysis changing the status of these categories from X^{\max} to X^0 ? Although these are extremely difficult issues to resolve, we will see that there are in fact certain clues that can shed some light on the particular course of this change.

In what follows, I will examine a number of related phenomena that become most evident in the texts from the XVth and XVIth centuries and which can be used to evaluate the reanalysis assumed to have taken place in the clitic system, as well as to decide on its approximate chronology. More specifically, the increase of various types of doubling constructions and the concurring disappearance of *interpolation* structures will be linked to the prevailing of the analysis of pronominal clitics as agreement features associated to the verbal head.

5.4.1. Phonology, Morphology and Syntax in the Reanalysis of Clitics

The change in the phonological constraints affecting clitics that has been postulated seems only logical in view of the present situation and in view of the changes in the phrase structure discussed above. With all the caution expressed above about making too much of the evidence provided by the spelling, specially in the case of later texts (see footnote 42 below), it is still significant that the signs of phonological encliticization are reduced drastically after the XVth century and evidence for procliticization increases. Although the number of instances providing direct indication of procliticization in the Renaissance texts is admittedly low, the fact that we find a number of examples such as the ones illustrated in (34), in absence of the overwhelming evidence for encliticization exhibited by earlier texts provides some additional confirmation of the ongoing changes in the phonology of cliticization (here, the '+' sign indicates that the clitic is leaning on the following segment, as revealed by the spelling).

- (34) a. le an dicho que s+esté preso
 him have.3Pl said that self-be prisoner
 'They told him to remain captive' (Bernal 215)
- b. Y cómo l+estaban mirando todos los capitanes de Narváez
 and since him-were watching all the captains of Narváez
 'And since all of Narváez's captains were watching him...' (Bernal 255)
- c. Si no con este cuchillo t+e de cortar la cabeza
 if not with this knife you-have.1Sg to cut the head
 'Otherwise, I will cut your head with this knife' (Contreras 104)

Now, of course, as has been noted above, phonological cliticization to a particular category does not necessarily indicate that the two elements are associated at the

syntactic level as well. Therefore examples such as the ones above, while somewhat revealing, constitute extremely weak evidence that any significant change has taken place in the status of clitic categories in the grammar, especially if we recall that evidence that phonological attachment to the following verb was already an option in the earliest texts, where evidence for the existence of a 2P clitic system is rather solid.

Thus, if we want to determine whether in fact a substantial change in the treatment of pronominal clitics has taken place, we must turn to evidence of a different kind. The symptoms to look for are rather obvious. At the beginning of the chapter, we saw that there are two essential properties that can serve as diagnostics to distinguish a 2P system from systems of the modern Romance type (which would include also languages such as modern Hebrew and modern Greek). These are: a) the ability of the clitic to occur in positions where it is not adjacent to the verb, i.e. *interpolation* and b) the appearance of a coindexed NP in the same sentence containing the pronominal clitic, i.e. clitic doubling. A 2P clitic system, in its more pure form, is expected to have interpolation and is not expected to exhibit doubling. Systems where clitics are categories necessarily associated with the verbal head, on the other hand, cannot exhibit interpolation, and are, usually, characterized by exhibiting one or more forms of doubling.²⁶ We should see, then, whether the changes in the phrase structure discussed above and the resulting change in the direction of phonological attachment were indeed accompanied by noticeable changes involving these two properties.

5.4.2. Doubling and Interpolation

One of the most noticeable differences between Old Spanish and modern Spanish is the fact that, in the former, clitics and non-clitic pronominal objects are, for the most part, in complementary distribution. This situation, quite striking from the perspective of the native speaker of modern Spanish, is illustrated by the examples in (35) below.

- (35) a. Por mano del Rey alfonso | que ami =lo ouo mandado
 By hand of-the King alfonso | that to-me it had ordered
 'At the hand of King Alfonso, who had ordered me to do it' (PMC 46 r)

²⁶ The caveat 'usually' is necessary here in view of the fact that there are at least two languages, standard French and standard Italian, whose clitics are clearly head-related categories but which do not permit any type of clitic doubling. As stated above, determining the appropriate characterization of the differences between the clitic systems of standard French and Italian and those exhibited by most other Romance languages is well beyond the scope of this work. Franco (in progress) has proposed to distinguish between two basic groups within what I am calling, for lack of a better term, the systems of head-related clitics. Roughly, in his view, among the Romance languages only Spanish would have what he calls an object agreement system, whereas the clitic-systems of languages such as (standard) French or Italian would be better analyzed along the basic lines of the proposal put forth initially by Kayne's (1975).

- b. Oyd ami albarfanez | & todos los caualleros
 Listen to-me albarfanez & all the knights
 'You, Alvar Fañez, and the rest of the knights, listen to me' (PMC 14 r)
- c. & ael llamauan otrossi amosis
 & him called.3Pl also amosis
 'And they also called him Amosis' (GE-I.94v)
- d. & llegaron =se =los franceses & uencieron =lo. & mataron a el
 & arrived selves the French & defeated him & killed him
- & bien ueynte mil de los Vuandalos.
 & well twenty thousand of the Vandals
 'And the French arrived and defeated him and then they killed him and
 about twenty thousand Vandals' (EE 128r)

We have already seen that full NPs, including both DOs and IOs, can appear either in sentence initial position, (36), or in their canonical position inside the VP, (37), without being doubled by any coindexed clitic. Some examples appear in (36).

- (36) a. segund que a moysen =lo mandara nuestro sennor.
 as that to moses it ordered our lord
 'As our Lord ordered Moses to do it'
- b. fasta que dize que, si a omne del mundo =lo digo que toda mi fazienda...
 until that said that, if to man of-the world it say.1Sg that all my property...
 'he even says that if I tell this to anyone, all my property...' (Lucan.144)
- c. que al rrey dauan por rraçion: vn quarto de carnero por la mañana, e ...
 that to-the king gave.3Pl as portion: a quarter of goat for the morning
 'that they gave the king a serving consisting of: a quarter of goat in the morning, and...' (Atal.269v)
- (37) a. & dixo assu marido como era doliente
 & told.3Sg her husband how was.3Sg ill
 'and told her husband that she was ill' (GE-I.97r)
- b. como el conseiaua al Rey
 as he advised the King
 'as he advised the King to do' (GE-II00v)
- c. & dio abeniamin a sus hermanos.
 & gave.3Sg Benjamin to his brothers
 'and he gave Benjamin to his brothers' (GE-I.104v)

This pattern can be said to be the norm in the earliest texts and becomes much less frequent as time goes by. Perusing the texts of the XVIth century, we already find a fairly large quantity of examples where the IO NP is doubled by a coindexed clitic. As illustrated in (38) below, in the later texts we increasingly see a pattern that is much more familiar to present Spanish native speakers.

- (38) a. que no le estaba bien a él,
that not him was well to him.
'that it was not proper for him to do this' (CV)
- b. de que no le peso al Cardenal
of which not him bother to-the cardinal
'which didn't bother the cardinal' (CV)
- c. como se lo abia dicho al Ordas,
as to-him it had.3Sg told to Ordas
'as he told it to Ordas' (Bernal)

Examples similar to those in (38) are found already in the texts from the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, as illustrated below, but they are, as noted above, much rarer.

- (39) a. Esto les demando | a ifantes de Carrion
this them demanded.3Sg to princes of Carrion
'He bade the princes of Carrion to do this' (PMC 3148)
- b. Gran Iantar le fazen | al buen canpeador
big meal him prepare.3Pl to-the good "canpeador"
'They are preparing a big meal for Cid, the good fighter' (PMC)
- c. Et mando=l israhel un dia a Josep que fuesse ueer como
and bade-him israhel one day to Josep that went to see how them ...
'And one day Israhel bade Josep to go and see how...' (GE-I.92r)
- d. que assi=l fiziemos ael & assu pueblo. & asu tierra.
that thus-him did.1Pl to-him & to his people & to his land
'that we did this to him, his people and his land' (GE-I.321v)

Note that in at least three of the examples above, there are some indications suggesting that the doubled NP could be in fact a right dislocated element; hence analyzable an adjunct in an A-bar position and possibly not derived via movement. One indication is the fact that in the two first cases, from the epic poem *Poema de Mio Cid*, the doubled NP is separated from the main body of the sentence by a caesura. As mentioned before, this caesura corresponds to a pause or marked intonation break in the recitation, which could be argued to be fairly close to the type

of prosodic contour characteristic of dislocated material. This is in fact the general situation in this and other similar epic poems. Clausal units are generally preserved within the same side of a caesura (though not always), leaving the other side of the caesura for more peripheral material such as epithets, temporal and other background setting adverbial expressions, and, as in the examples above, “repeated” objects. See also Pintzuk and Kroch 1989, for a more detailed discussion of similar issues with respect to the Old English epic poem *Beowulf*. The treatment of the doubled NP as a dislocated constituent could also be posited for the example in (39c), since the IO *a Josep* ‘to Josep’ does not appear to occupy its canonical position: the adverbial expression *un dia* ‘one day’ most likely occupies an adjoined position to the right of the VP, and hence the doubled NP would have to be taken to be adjoined to the right of a higher VP projection formed by the adjunction of the adverbial to the minimal VP, or to the right edge of IP.

The adjunct treatment of doubled NPs is not as clear, however, for the example in (39d), or for other instances of doubling which are also found in the earlier texts. The example in (40) illustrates one of these more problematic cases.

- (40) que essas mugieres mismas de Madian =le fazien a aquell ydolo
that those women selves form Madian to-him made to that idol

mas uigilias & sacrificios

more celebrations and sacrifices

‘that these very same women from Madian offered that idol all kinds of sacrifices and festivities’ (GE-I.307r)

Whatever the appropriate analysis for these particular examples may be, the fact remains that constructions exhibiting doubling increase gradually across time.²⁷ A casual examination of texts from the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, which were outside the domain of this investigation, reveals that this observation is in fact correct. By that period, the doubling of the IO is becoming clearly the norm rather than the exception. This sharply contrasts with the situation revealed by the earlier OSP texts.

What is perhaps more surprising, given the present situation in most Spanish dialects from the Iberian Peninsula, is the fact that in some of the Castilian texts from the period around the XVIth century we find also a considerable number of cases where the clitic doubles not an IO NP but rather a DO NP. This is the phenomenon which has come to be properly known as *clitic doubling* in the literature, and which is

²⁷. Out of a total of 30 tokens involving clauses with dative objects found in the representative sample for XIIIth century Spanish in this study’s data base, only 2, a 6.6%, involved this type of doubling. In the XVth century, we find only 2 instances of doubling out of a total of 20 sentences with dative objects (10%). In the sample from the XVIth century, with a total of 26 tokens, the number of doubled constructions jumps to 7 (26%). It is true that these samples are too small to be used reliably to substantiate any claim; however, it is reasonable to believe, given our knowledge of the situation across the different Spanish dialects at the present stage, that a much larger corpus would confirm the gradual tendency towards increased doubling.

usually treated separately from doubling of IOs such as the examples discussed above.²⁸ Some instances of clitic doubling with DOs from one of the representative texts of the XVIth century are illustrated in (41).²⁹

- (41) a. luego le saumaron al Joan dEscalante con sus insençios
 later him perfumed.3Pl the J. d'E. with their incenses
 'later they perfumed Joan d'Escalante with their incense' (Bernal 110)
- b. nuestro capitán les dixo que se lo agradeçia el buen consejo y les [...]
 our captain them told that that them it appreciated the good advice and
 'our captain told them that he was very thankful for their good advice and
 he ...' (Bernal 152)
- c. por esta causa le llamaran a Cortés el capitán de Marina
 for this cause him called.3Pl Cortés the captain of Marina
 'For this reason they called Cortés Marina's captain' (Bernal 143)
- d. Y el capitán Xicotenga "el moço" no los quiso
 and the captain Xicotenga "the kid" not them wanted
- escuchar a los cuatro principales
 listen to the four principals
 'And captain Xicotenga "the kid" didn't want to listen to the four chiefs'
 (Bernal 129)

Examples such as those in (41) have been widely discussed in the literature on dialects of the Southern Cone of Latin America, perhaps the best known of which is *River Plate* Spanish, spoken in Argentina and Uruguay, on the two sides of the river Plate. It is difficult to establish whether this type of clitic doubling is an independent local development in those dialects, but the existence of examples such as those in (37) in the work of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, lieutenant of Cortés, could suggest that the seeds were already contained in the language of the conquistadores, almost 400 years ago.

This situation is clearly different from the one described for the earlier periods. The type of data illustrated in (41) as well as the frequency with which doubling of IOs is found in the texts from the XVth century on is totally uncharacteristic of systems of categories of the 2P clitic kind. While we saw that the system of clitics in the earliest periods of OSp could be related in a principled way to clitic systems such as those exhibited by HG, OEng or MD, the situation revealed by the texts in the

²⁸. See, however, Suñer (1988) and Franco (1991, 1993) for proposals that doubling of IO NPs in Spanish is a subclass of the clitic doubling phenomenon.

²⁹. The examples in (41a) and (41c) are instances of the phenomenon known as *leísmo*.

XVIth century is already practically identical to that found in the dialects of modern Spanish. Given the rather clear differences between the two systems in their purest forms, it would seem logical to conclude that we are considering two rather distinct classes of categories.

The rather abrupt disappearance of interpolation in the Castilian texts at the end of the XVth century, particularly in conjunction with the noted increase in doubling, lends further support to the claim that the category of clitics changes. While it is entirely possible that extralinguistic factors of which I'm not aware may have contributed to the abruptness of this change, I will suggest that it is in fact not surprising that interpolation constructions cease to exist precisely at this point in the development of the Spanish language.

All the data discussed so far indicates that, towards the middle of the XVth, a series of changes in the phrase structure, most likely initiated already in the preliterate period, had reached a rather advanced stage. We have seen that the lowest rates of topicalization and I⁰-to-C⁰ (see discussion of the tables in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2) coincide with the highest proportions of strings where the clitic is in absolute first position in main clauses. Thus, with the change in the default direction of phonological cliticization postulated to have arisen as a result, we have all the ingredients that seem to be required for a reanalysis. If we connect this with the fact that these developments coincide in turn with a gradual increase in the frequencies of doubling constructions (with a noticeable upsurge in the XVIth century), we have some confirmation that a reanalysis is taking place. The question that now must be answered is: can we say that the reanalysis of clitics as categories associated syntactically and morphologically to a verbal head can only arise when the generation of interpolation constructions and of V_[+inf]-Cl strings is no longer an option in the language of a given speaker? Or, is it possible that some kind of reanalysis had already taken place in the periods when structures exhibiting the distinctive properties of a 2P system are still clearly available? I turn now to discuss evidence that strongly indicates that the system of clitics hypothesized here for OSp coexisted in some form, for an indeterminate period of time, with the newly emerging system.

We can start by noting that the existence of some doubling phenomena in the earlier periods, even without reaching the proportions found in the data corresponding to the XVIth century, would appear to suggest that the reanalysis postulated here had already taken place, perhaps even by the XIIIth century. Yet, we know that interpolation structures (used here as one of the diagnostics for the existence of a 2P clitic system as previously defined) are found in Castilian texts up to the XVth century. It is significant to observe in this respect that, in some of the texts of the XVth century, it is not uncommon to see the same author using constructions involving clitic doubling side by side with constructions exhibiting interpolation. Furthermore, as we will presently see, in certain cases some of the properties taken here as diagnostics for one or the other of the two conflicting analyses of clitics can even be exhibited jointly by a single construction. The question that arises is, then, how do we make sense of these apparent conflicts?

Before going on to address these issues, I want to remark that this part of the

investigation becomes somewhat more speculative due to the inherent difficulty involved in finding data in written texts that could unmistakably signal how speakers are analyzing clitic categories. The task is hard enough today, with plenty of living speakers and a vast range of intuitions to be tapped into. But with this caveat in mind, let us review some of the available evidence that could point us in one or another direction. To start with, an obvious approach to tackle the problems confronting us here is to say that clitics could have had a dual status in the grammars of some or all the speakers of this specific linguistic community during the relevant periods, being treated as either XPs or as head-related categories by various generations until the evidence for the head analysis became so overwhelming that learners abandoned the other alternative analysis.

As has just been noted, doubling of DOs is not restricted to the XVIth century text from which the examples in (41) above were taken. In the XVth century texts, we also find a smaller but significant number of instances of clitic doubling with DO NPs, alongside the increased frequency of doubling of IOs with respect to earlier periods.³⁰ This is illustrated in (42). These examples are borrowed from Rivero (1986).

- (42) a. *Todavía las, fallaras las mugeres, por renconillos*
 still them will-find.2Sg the women around corners
'Still you will find the women in some corner' (Cor 169)
- b. *Con su marido, su padre o sus parientes non lo, sufriera tal pesar,*
 with her husband, her father, or her relatives not it suffer such grief
'She would not suffer such grief with her husband, father, or relatives'
(Cor 190)

The existence of these examples, suggesting the existence of a type of clitic category which is akin to those typically found in modern Romance, or, more specifically, in dialects such as River Plate Spanish, seems to conflict not only with the existence of interpolation such as those in (43) below, but also with the existence of cases that combine what appears to be a case of doubling in conjunction with a V_[+finite]-Cl configuration, as in (44); both found in the texts of the same period.

- (43) *& quando =se del quisieron partir, fezo =les bestir sendas ropas*
 and when selves of-him wanted to part, made them dress each clothes
'and when they wanted to leave him, he made each of them dress clothes'
(Tamer)

³⁰. Dieter Wanner (p.c) has pointed out to me that some form of doubling involving DOs is even present, although extremely rare, already in the texts from the Alfonsi corpus, XIIIth century, as well as in the Poema de Mio Cid, supposedly from an even earlier period.

- (44) a. & vencio=lo al turco el senor tamurbeque
 & defeated-him the turk the lord Tamurbeque
 'And Tamurbeque defeated the Turk' (Tamer)

The interpolation in (43) is rather unproblematic on the view that two systems of clitics could coexist and that speakers are capable of generating sentences involving either of them. This results in a system characterized by massive ambiguity, where a large number of the sentences being generated (although not those in (43)) can in principle be assigned either of two competing analyses. This is a situation which is typically associated with processes of linguistic change (see Kroch (1989), Santorini (1989), Pintzuk (1991)).

The example in (44), however, presents a somewhat more difficult problem. Here we find a case where the properties which have been correlated with the two distinct systems of categories are manifested in one single construction. The $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ pattern was argued above to be derived by raising of the verb-INFL complex to C^0 . Verb movement would take the verb past the pronominal clitic, analyzed as an X^{max} category adjoined to a position within IP. But, if we take this to be the mechanism by which (44) has been derived, we have an apparent violation of the θ -criterion, since there appear to be two NPs in the sentence bearing the same θ -role and Case features.

There are various ways to interpret this phenomenon. First, the example in (44) is only problematic if we assume that this particular $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ string has been derived via verb movement to C^0 crossing a clitic of the 2P class. But, assuming that a reanalysis had already taken place at this point, and that we have the dual system hypothesized above in place, another possibility is that the clitic is being treated by speakers as some type of inflectional feature associated to the verbal head, i.e. no longer connected to a trace in argument position via a movement chain. On this view of things, the verb-INFL complex in (44), now including the overt morphological realization of a newly hypothesized agreement category, could have either undergone I^0 -to- C^0 movement or could have remained within IP. The DO could simply be taken to be in its canonical position within VP.³¹ I turn now to discuss some evidence that shows that this is a plausible hypothesis.

Within the linguistic situation reflected by the oldest texts, at the time when the previously discussed changes in the phrase structure were not at such an advanced stage, it was correctly predicted that we should not find instances of $V_{[+finite]}-Cl$ in embedded environments. In the new situation that emerged as a consequence of these changes, however, if a pronominal clitic can be treated as some element or feature associated syntactically and morphologically to the verbal head, we expect that cases

³¹. There is, of course, an alternative analysis on which the accusative clitic in (44) is a member of the class of categories hypothesized by a number of authors, following Kayne (1989), to characterize the Romance languages. That is, the clitic being an X^0 category, could head-adjoin or incorporate into the verb-INFL complex, which could in turn raise to C^0 . The doubled NP would then have to be analyzed as a dislocated constituent base generated in an A-bar position. I will argue later on that this approach is not adequate to characterize the system that emerged after the reanalysis of OSp clitics.

of V_[+finite]-Cl in embedded environments should in principle be possible. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated by the following example from a XVIth century text.³²

- (45) y no tiene puente, porque en Italia úsan=se poco
and not has.3Sg bridge, because in Italy use-self little
'and it doesn't have a bridge, because in Italy they are hardly used' (CV)

The existence of examples such as (45) raises the obvious question of why this particular verb-clitic order has not survived in declarative sentences. There are strong considerations leading us to suppose that such structures will only be available in a relatively restricted time period. The reasons are as follows. First, V_[+finite]-Cl is associated with a specific type of syntactic/discourse environment, namely, questions, imperatives and the various sorts of V1 declaratives. Hence, even after the reanalysis hypothesized here has taken place, this configuration is likely to be discouraged as an option in an embedded clause. In addition, as we have seen, there has also been a parallel development involving the gradual loss of I⁰-to-C⁰ in some of these environments. This creates a situation where configurations of the form Cl-V_[+finite] will come to be increasingly associated with these contexts as well, independently of how the clitic itself is being analyzed in a given structure. We have seen above that there are strong indications that this seems to be the case. Furthermore, given the convergence of factors described above, strings of the form Cl-V_[+finite] become

³². Examples such as (45) are not all that uncommon in texts from the XVIIth, but wane in the mid XVIIIth century. During the XIXth century, however, the use of constructions involving post-verbal clitics was revived, somewhat artificially, and became a literary fad among Spanish writers who consciously indulged in using these forms in almost any conceivable context. This generation of writers, like many educated Spaniards, perceived these forms as highly literate, proper, and reminiscent of the golden age of Spanish letters, the time of Cervantes and his *Quijote*, which they very obviously longed for. See, for instance, the work of Mesonero Romanos and other writers associated with his brand of Comedy of Manners, for particularly egregious examples of overuse of V_[+finite]-Cl arrangements. This stylized use of V_[+finite]-Cl still survives in some modern Spanish dictionaries with the fossilized "*Dicese de...*" (*said of...*) preceding some definitions. On some occasions, we also find examples (mainly involving the *se* form) in speeches and literary work characterized by highly formal and affected style. The example in (i) comes from the novel *Boquitas Pintadas* (p. 9), by the Argentinian writer Manuel Puig. In the context in which it appears, it is clear that the novelist is trying present this particular piece of writing as an example of highly affected style. The underlining is mine.

- (i) Con este deceso desaparece de nuestro medio un elemento que [...] destacóse como
with this demise disappears from our midst an element that [...] distinguished-self as

ponderable valor.

praiseworthy value.

'With this demise has disappeared from our midst somebody who distinguished himself as a person of
praiseworthy qualities' (*Boquitas Pintadas*, p. 9)

I wish to thank Eva Florensa for her invaluable assistance in areas of philological and literary expertise.

overwhelmingly available to the detriment of $V_{[+finite]}$ -Cl arrangements. Thus, for some time, we will still have a coexistence of $V_{[+inf]}$ -Cl and Cl- $V_{[+inf]}$ forms where the “clitic” is analyzed as a suffix or a prefix to the verbal head (i.e. no longer an X^{max} in spite of the fact that it occurs post-verbally). The general tendency for morphological systems to become regularized will encourage a situation in which Cl- $V_{[+finite]}$ becomes the only declarative³³ verbal string analyzed as being composed of a head and inflectional features of that head.³⁴ Moreover, we might expect that language learners at the crucial stage of this development will follow the typical tendencies of overgeneralization, leading to a more rapid uniformization as time goes on. Finally, the coexistence of dual analyses often entails inherent indeterminacy and massive redundancy. The learner wishing to avoid indeterminacy and redundancy will most likely take the easiest path and posit the simplest analysis given the available input.

However, the analysis just proposed for (44) is not the only possible alternative. Given the double analysis of clitic elements postulated here, it would be in principle possible that some speakers could still take the clitic to be an X^{max} category in the familiar 2P clitic adjunction site, and hence linked to the argument position via a movement-chain. The doubled NP would then be treated as a dislocated constituent some kind and hence in an A-bar position. Alternatively, as has been suggested by Rivero (1986), it is also conceivable that clitics, being analyzable as XPs, could be themselves treated in some limited cases as base-generated adjuncts that are not syntactically linked to the argument position. In this case, the full NP would be the real argument. However, this situation would not be expected either at a stage characterized by a stable 2P clitic system, or in a system like the present one. How can we, then, make sense of these data? I will attempt to respond to this question in what follows.

Due to the convergence of factors discussed above, the period around the XVth century can be seen as a especially unstable period for the grammar (perhaps also characterized by a relatively high degree of linguistic insecurity on the part of

³³. Questions regarding the still available V-Cl order, restricted in modern Spanish to imperatives and non-finite verb forms (infinitives and present participles), will be addressed below.

³⁴. In a text from a close historical period, in the mid XVIIth century, we find the following rather unusual examples involving clitics following a participle form. I do not know what to attribute these to.

- (i) Visto=les con tal resolución, dije que fuese mi camarada a las fragatas
 seen-them with so-much resolution, said.1Sg that went my comrade to the frigates
 ‘‘Since I saw them being so resolute, I said that my comrade should go to the frigates’’
 (Cont.115)
- (ii) que una fragata de cristianos había, con engaño, llevado=les el papaz, que es el cura
 that a frigate of cristians had, with deceit, taken-them the papaz, who is the priest
 ‘that a cristian frigate had deceitfully taken away from them their ‘‘papaz’’, which is what they call
 their priest’ (Cont.111)

speakers).³⁵ On the one hand, we have by this period a significantly high frequency of doubling constructions being used in the more colloquial registers -- the texts, reflecting in general a more formal register, would manifest this doubling to a much lesser degree, but, as we have seen, there is significant evidence even in the texts pointing in this direction. This would be a consequence of the fact that speakers are increasingly analyzing clitics along the lines of the clitic system of modern Spanish, rather than as the categories characteristic of the system in OSp. On the other hand, however, there is still pressure from the weakening, but still active, grammar module (perhaps also normative pressure) to construe clitics as the X^{\max} elements typical of 2P systems.

When the input available to learners, and in general to all speakers, contains a considerable amount of conflicting information, it is conceivable that some speakers will attempt to force the 2P analysis on data which is more amenable to a solution in terms of the head-related clitic analysis, in fact misanalyzing the data. This misanalysis could in turn result in the generation of structures which would be quite unusual from the perspective of either hypothesis in its most pure form. Rivero (1986) discusses some data that might bear out this expectation. In these examples, which are extremely rare and generally restricted, as far as I know, to the XVth century texts, we see what appears to be a combination of interpolation and clitic doubling, a rather unexpected result given the analysis I have presented in earlier chapters.³⁶

- (46) a. Le yo dare a esta villana los tornos
 Said.3Sg: her I will-give to this lowly-woman the run-around
 'He said: I will give this lowly woman the run-around' (Cor.264)
- b. sy tu eres punido ... cada que le a El plaze
 if you are punished each [time] that to-him to Him pleases
 'If you are punished each time it pleases him' (Cor.278)

As noted above, Rivero (1986), following a different type of reasoning, has suggested the possibility of a similar state of things. For her, the clitics in (46a-b), rather than

³⁵This admittedly vague characterization of the situation can be related to the fact, observed by researchers investigating similar processes of linguistic change, that "the gradual replacement of a linguistic form by another over time follows an S-shaped curve: the replacement of old forms by new ones occurs slowly at the beginning of the change, then accelerates in the middle stage, and finally, at the end [...] tails off until the change reaches completion." (Pintzuk, 1991:11). The period around the XVth century is clearly the *middle stage* referred to in the above quotation with respect to the changes we are examining.

³⁶ Note, in addition, that the pronominal clitic, whatever its appropriate analysis turns out to be, occurs sentence initially, i.e. first element in the minimal CP/IP (and would also be the first element in an utterance, assuming that the writer is representing a possible utterance in the language). The clitic here must also be leaning phonologically on the NP subject that follows it, in the same way that clitics in the simple Cl-V_[+finite]-(XP) strings discussed above must lean on the following verb in I⁰. As noted before, most authors coincide in pointing out that this was not a possible configuration in the old system.

the doubled NPs, are dislocated elements; hence, it is the doubled full NP and the non-clitic pronoun in these examples that are assumed to be in an A-position.³⁷ For examples such as (42), however, she argues that it is the doubled NP which is in a dislocated, A-bar position, whereas the clitic is the element linked to the A-position (see her article for detailed motivations for such a proposal). If this is a possibility, then the two alternative analyses could be also applicable to the structure in (44). I will leave the discussion of these distinctive patterns here, but not without before emphasizing again that these phenomena are only characteristic of the later, more unstable, periods such as the mid XVth century and are not predicted to have been the predominant situation at the earliest stages, much closer to the idealized system outlined in previous chapters.³⁸ At this point, we are ready to discuss some of the consequences that the analysis of the diachronic facts presented here has for the treatment of the present clitic systems of the various dialects of Spanish. This will be the central topic in the following chapter. Before concluding this chapter, however, I would like to make a few observations concerning some of the areas left unexplored in the diachronic investigation.

5.4.3. Questions for Further Research

The quantitative study planned for this dissertation ends in the XVIth century. A number of unsolved questions will have to be left for further investigation of corpora representing the periods going from the XVIth century until the present time. Until these data are carefully studied, we can only speculate as to what happened to the system that we see emerging at the period where this investigation ends. It is

³⁷. Rivero (1986) proposes that in OSp, at least for these constructions, the verb remains within VP and an A-position for objects (and also for clitics, which she treats as regular object NPs) is available to the right of V, within VP. To adopt Rivero's basic insight under the analysis of the phrase structure assumed here, we would have to say that the non-clitic pronoun in (46b) has been topicalized to the Spec(IP) position, in an instantiation of the Verb-second constraint, whereas the full NP in (46a) has remained in its canonical position within VP.

³⁸ Similar phenomena involving reanalyses that appear to be only temporary, and restricted to a very unstable period embedded in a process of change, have also been discussed in the literature. In this respect, see Kroch (1989) for a discussion of the emergence of the distinctive Middle English construction, illustrated in (i) and (ii) below, which became a live option in the later 16th and 17th centuries, being found only very sporadically in earlier Middle English, and rapidly disappearing afterwards. Such structures, where a bare *not* precedes the main verb, would have become an option towards the period when the process by which V to I raising was lost from the grammar of English was reaching its completion. Although they were later replaced by the present negation system, they coexisted with it for some time. According to Kroch "When raising was lost, negative sentences where *not* followed the main verb could have been reanalyzed as resulting from enclisis of *not* onto the following tensed main verb. This enclisis would have been optional, though heavily favored; and when it did not apply, examples like [(i)-(ii)] would have resulted."

- (i) ...he that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him.
(1604, Shakespeare, *Othello*, III:iii:161)
- (ii) Safe on this ground we not fear today to tempt your laughter by our rustic play.
(1637, Ben Jonson, *Sad Shepherd*, Prologue:37)

rather obvious that one of the important questions that remains unanswered, given the limited scope of this project, is whether similar developments to the one described here for the Spanish language took place also in the rest of the Romance languages. However, resolving this question could turn out to be a very difficult enterprise. As was observed in the first chapter, OSp (more specifically Old Castilian) provides especially suitable conditions for this type of investigation due to the fact that, until a relatively recent and well documented period, it still exhibited in some form most of the distinctive properties characterizing a 2P clitic system. As we noted, for example, interpolation, taken here to be one of the distinctive traits of this class of clitic elements, is only found in significant proportions in the Old Romance dialects of the West of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Old Portuguese, Galician and Leonese. In the available studies of the earliest stages in the development of other Old Romance dialects, extremely few cases of interpolation are attested (Ramsden 1963, Wanner 1991).³⁹ Furthermore, in languages such as Old French, the manifestation of TML effects (explained here as an epiphenomenon derived from the interaction between the Verb-second constraint and a system of 2P clitics) is already extremely weak by the end of the XIIIth century (Wanner (1991)). We might hypothesize that these languages are at a more advanced stage in the development of their clitic systems at the time the earliest extant texts were written; if this is the case, then the type of study undertaken here might be considerably less easy, and less revealing, for these languages.

On the other hand, in European Portuguese, for instance, the manifestation of TML effects persisted clearly up to as late as the XVIIth century (Wanner (1991)). As Uriagereka (1991) reports, cases of interpolation are also still attested in some dialects of Astur-Leonés spoken in Northwestern Spain. All these facts suggest that the Western part of the Peninsula is a significantly more conservative dialectal area, at least with respect to the phenomena under investigation, hence making it more suitable for a study of this diachronic development. Portuguese, for which we have a wealth of written texts, is an ideal candidate for this type of study.

An interesting question that is raised by the results of the present work, and whose answer, likewise, will have to be left for further research, is the determination of what path of development was taken by other languages with similar systems of

³⁹. A number of scholars (e.g. Chenery 1905, Ramsden 1963, Wanner 1991) emphasize the fact that even within Castilian the frequency of interpolation varies significantly from text to text, most crucially depending on the geographic area from where the text originates. Based on this significant variation concerning the interpolation data, Wanner (1991), for instance, proposes that interpolation is an innovation in OSp, developing in the mid XIIIth century and disappearing in the XVth century. He argues this on the grounds of the small frequencies of interpolation found in some of the earliest available texts. As I have previously observed, I do not have any good explanation for these differences in the frequencies observed in some of the earliest texts, other than to note the inherent difficulties in finding reliable prose texts from that period. I do not think, however, that, given its connections with the rest of properties of the clitic system of OSp, a phenomenon like interpolation can be thought of as a sporadic development. Rather, I would prefer to attribute the differences in frequencies in the earlier texts to the fact that their authors could come from different dialectal areas where the hypothesized development could have been at a more advanced stage.

clitics to those exhibited by OSp but outside the Romance family; specifically, the languages which have been used as the main source for comparison here: Homeric Greek, Old English, and Middle Dutch. Given the available analyses of clitic categories in modern Greek (e.g. Joseph (1988)), it appears that Greek could have undergone similar developments to those that characterized the history of Spanish, although we need to know much more about the independent changes undergone by the syntax of Greek to be able to make any informed guess (see Taylor (1990) for a description of some of the earliest developments). The most interesting case is perhaps English, which has taken what appears to be the completely opposite path, with a system of 2P clitics disappearing and leaving no special type of clitic-like category in place, but rather only a system of full-fledged pronominals with no special distribution but with the option of phonological encliticization to the preceding verb. The evolution of Dutch, offers yet a different situation, where some sort of system of prosodically deficient X^{\max} categories with special syntactic distribution appears to be maintained, but where the typical syntactic positions these elements occupy appear to have changed considerably with respect to those that were typical in its ancestor.⁴⁰

Finally, another issue that will have to be left open here involves the fact that, even though some incipient form clitic doubling with DOs was present in some of the Peninsular Spanish dialects, it has now disappeared.⁴¹ I do not have any good explanation for this, except to note that it could be due to normative pressures, which start to play a much more important role in the Renaissance. There are some indications that doubling was perceived as less than acceptable by some speakers, presumably those from the prestige or standard dialects. Thus, for instance, the edition of the text from *La Verdadera Historia de la Conquista de Nueve España* which I used for the present study contains both the text of the original manuscript and a copy of the text of a contemporary edition of the same work published shortly after the death of its author. It is interesting to observe that almost every single instance of doubling of DOs and even some of IOs have been expunged in the copy of the original. Most likely, the editor perceived the language of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, an

⁴⁰. See Zwart (1991), though, for an alternative analysis of Dutch clitic categories in similar terms to those proposed by Kayne (1989) for modern Romance clitics. See also Cardinaletti (1992) for an attempt to unify the analysis of clitic categories in the Germanic languages with those in the Romance languages. By now, it has become apparent that I am explicitly rejecting this particular approach. According to the basic proposal advanced here, it would be now about five centuries too late for us to be able to analyze these elements as members of the same grammatical category. See Fontana and Halpern (1993) for a specific discussion of issues involving crosslinguistic comparison between categories associated to the pre-theoretical notion *clitic*.

⁴¹. Although clitic doubling with DOs is a property of some of the Spanish dialects spoken in the Basque country and some *leista* dialects in Northern Castile. See Landa (1990) and Franco (1993).

uneducated soldier, as less than proper and full of errors and “illogical redundancies”.⁴² Here it is also significant to note that whereas Standard French and Italian are characterized by a total absence of any type of doubling phenomena, many non standard dialects of both French and Italian exhibit various forms of doubling (see, for instance, Auger (in progress) for a discussion of a productive pattern of doubling of IOs in colloquial Quebec French).

With these final comments made, I turn now to consider the patterns that do characterize most present dialects of Spanish and their connection to the diachronic facts presented above.

⁴². This should call our attention to the exacerbation of the inherent problems involved in diachronic studies when it comes to research based on texts from the renaissance and post-renaissance periods. With the advent of the printing press and the increasing importance of the figure of the grammarian (whose main role, with some exceptions, was to prescribe, rather than describe), the intervention between the writer and the reader became much more prevalent than it had been in the middle ages. Real consciousness as to the “correctness” of the language (including matters of orthography as well as grammar) does not emerge until this period, when through intense studies of classical Greek and Latin texts there emerged a conviction that just as there was a correct way of writing in those languages there should be a correct way of writing in the vernacular (many times this was considered to be simply a matter of using the Latin patterns, both in the orthography and, in some cases, in the syntax as well). Thus, those times are characterized by an intense pressure towards normativization and standardization; pressures that only until very recently have subsided a bit. The figure of the editor appears precisely at that period, and his participation in the creation of the final product was much more active than that of the scribe, who, for the most part, limited himself to transcribing verbatim the original (although, some well known cases of active involvement are attested as well). Furthermore, critical editions of printed works are much less common since for obvious reasons it seems less necessary than with the manuscript traditions. When these editions are available, since the language from the XVIIth century on is significantly closer to that of the present, unscrupulous editors feel often at liberty to interpret and modify. I wish to thank Dieter Wanner for very useful discussion of this topic.

Chapter 6

On the Status of so-called Clitics in Modern Spanish

6.1. Introduction

Since the pioneer work of authors such as Kayne (1975), the generative syntax literature dealing with the recalcitrant analytical problems posed by Romance clitics has grown very large. The analysis of these categories has become perhaps one of the most controversial and hotly debated issues in modern linguistics (as it had been among philologists and linguists working on Romance in the XIXth century). In spite of the abundant literature on the subject, however, there is still no agreement among authors and some of the basic theoretical questions are still largely unresolved. The problematic status of Romance clitics, which due to the mixed set of properties they manifest is neither clearly that of an independent constituent nor that of an affix, when added to the fact that we find a number of significantly different related phenomena associated with clitics across different Romance dialects, makes the task of finding a uniform analysis rather daunting.

In this work, I have, for the most part, avoided becoming involved in overt theorizing about the nature of clitic categories in the modern Romance languages, and have restricted this investigation to the diachronic aspects of the development of the modern clitic systems. Moreover, this research has been limited to those issues related to the development of the clitic system of modern Spanish. This restriction in the range of phenomena being investigated has been deliberate. By examining the more uncharted terrain of the earlier stages in the development of the Spanish language, I hoped to achieve the following main goals: a) apply currently available analytical tools to better understand the processes of syntactic change that could be related to the emergence of the present system of clitics in Spanish; b) provide an analysis for the rather puzzling phenomena presented by the system of OSp clitics using current theoretical frameworks; and, mainly, c) to explore the past to see if it could help resolve the impasse that appeared to have been reached in the literature on the appropriate analysis of Romance clitics.

The preceding chapters present material on the basis of which the reader may evaluate the extent to which the first two of these goals have been achieved. Let me now make some rather speculative comments on what I believe the implications of this research to be for the analysis of clitics in modern Spanish. I should point out that I confine these remarks only to Spanish, since this is the only language for which I have done significant research, and will not directly address the analytical problems posed by the elements referred to as *clitics* in e.g. modern standard French or Italian here. Nonetheless, if the view expressed here turns out to be supported by future research, it is likely to have some implications for the other modern Romance languages as well.

6.2. The Object Agreement Hypothesis

Much has been made of the fact that the only "doubling" allowed in standard Spanish is that involving IOs. A number of authors have suggested that these are in fact not real instances of doubling and that the coindexed NP is not the element linked to the internal argument of the given predicate in the syntax (I refer the reader to Suñer (1988) for a detailed discussion of this and related issues as well as for relevant references). However, it is rather surprising, on the view that the IO NP¹ is some sort of dislocated element, that the doubled construction is virtually the only option in a large number of Spanish dialects whenever a ditransitive predicate is involved. This approach is somewhat at odds with the standard view that structures involving dislocation of some kind are marked with respect to an alternative construction where the element in question is in its canonical position. With respect to standard Spanish, it is important to note that while it is true that most speakers would most likely accept the examples in (1) below as grammatical, it is also true that such utterances are hardly ever heard in actual speech, and that, instead, constructions such as those illustrated in (2) are the norm.² For many non-standard dialects both in the Iberian Peninsula and in Latin America, they are the only option. In general, it is fair to say that examples like (1), with no doubling of the IO, are confined to more formal registers.³

¹. See Strozer (1976) and Suñer (1988) for arguments that the IO in a clitic doubled construction is an NP rather than a PP, contra most traditional grammarians and also more recently Jaeggli (1982,1986). Suñer (1988) specifically distinguishes the *a* preceding the IO in a doubled construction both from true preposition *a* and from animate DO marker *a*. See also Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) for arguments that IOs are also NPs in Hebrew. Suñer further argues that these NPs occupy an A-position. From the point of view of the intonation, doubled IOs in Spanish do not have the characteristic feel of right-dislocated material.

². Some of the Spanish speakers consulted judged the examples in (1) unacceptable. The informants with these particular judgements were educated speakers from Venezuela and Costa Rica, so there is no reason to consider them speakers of any of the so-called substandard varieties. See Bentivoglio (1978), for a detailed study of IO doubling in the Spanish of educated speakers from Caracas. Given the enormous diversity of Spanish dialects in the nations and regions of the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America, and the standard and non-standard varieties associated with each of these dialects, using the notion *standard Spanish* to make linguistic generalizations becomes rather problematic and proves quite impractical even as a convenient fiction.

³. Recall the discussion carried out in Chapter 1 concerning the implications of the split between colloquial and formal registers for the view that speakers can have command of two, not consciously distinguished, grammatical systems or subsystems. On this view of things, it is not unreasonable to think that the judgements shared by most speakers of Standard Spanish with respect to (1) could be a consequence of the fact that they are competent also in a second, more conservative, grammar, which would reflect the situation in previous stages where clitics had not developed into full-fledged object-agreement markers.

- (1) a. Ya he dado a Laura el libro que me pidió.
already gave.1Sg the book that me asked.3Sg to Laura
'I already gave Laura the book she requested from me'
- b. ¿Has dicho a tu padre que no vas a venir esta noche?
have.2Sg told your father that not go to come this night
'Have you told your father you are not coming home tonight?'
- (2) a. Ya le he dado a Laura el libro que me pidió.
already to-her gave.1Sg the book that me asked.3Sg to Laura
'I already gave Laura the book she requested from me'
- b. ¿Le has dicho a tu padre que no vas a venir esta noche?
him have.2Sg told your father that not go to come this night
'Have you told your father you are not coming home tonight?'

Furthermore, with certain types of verbs, mainly (but not exclusively) raising verbs, doubling, or, perhaps more appropriately, the presence of a clitic is practically obligatory even for speakers of standard Spanish. Most speakers consulted agreed with the following judgements.

- (3) a. *Tuvimos que venirnos porque parecía a tu padre que iba a llover
had.1Pl to come-back because seemed to your father that was to rain
'We had to come back because it seemed to your sister that it was going to rain'
- b. *Esos granos tienden a salir a tu hermano cuando come butifarra
these pimples tend to grow to your brother when eats butifarra
'These pimples tend to appear on your brother's face when he eats sausage'
- c. *Estas cosas pasan a Jordi por ser tan estúpido
these things happen to Jordi for be so stupid
'These things happen to Jordi because he is so stupid'
- (4) a. Tuvimos que venirnos porque le parecía a tu padre que iba a llover
had.1Pl to return because to-him seemed to your father that was to rain
'We had to come back because it seemed to your sister that it was going to rain'
- b. Esos granos tienden a salirle a tu hermano cuando come butifarra
these pimples to-him tend to grow to your brother when eats butifarra
'These pimples tend to appear on your brother's face when he eats sausage'

- c. Estas cosas le pasan a Jordi por ser tan estúpido
 these things to-him happen to Jordi for be so stupid
 'These things happen to Jordi because he is so stupid'

Note that in OSp, the equivalent verbs did not differ in their behavior from the rest of verbs taking dative complements. Thus, in the following examples, we can see that the IO NP in these types of predicates can freely appear without the presence of a clitic.

- (5) a. a mi parece que =vos contesce con este omne segund constescio al rrey
 to me seems that to-you happens with this man as happened to-the king
 'It seems to me that what is happening to you with this man is what
 happened to the king' (Lucan.138)
- b. Patronio, a mi contesce con un omne asi
 Patronio, to me happens with a man this-way
 'Patronio, this is what is happening to me with a certain man'
 (Lucan.138)

The question that needs then to be answered is why the presence of the dative clitic is categorical (or virtually categorical in the case of (1-2)) with these predicates for most modern Spanish speakers. Given our knowledge of the facts from earlier periods in the history of Spanish, where examples such as (5) were the norm rather than the exception, and given what we know about the particular course of the changes in the syntax, we can now attempt to provide a plausible explanation.

We have gone from a system where IO NPs (both pronominals and non pronominals) and dative clitics were virtually in complementary distribution, to a system where clitics are obligatory whenever the IO or DO is a pronoun, and obligatory or nearly obligatory in most dialects whenever any ditransitive predicate is involved even if the IO is non pronominal. We have seen that this situation emerged parallel to another development which resulted in the change from a 2P clitic system into a system of categories that can only be adjacent to the verbal-head, with the resulting disappearance of interpolation structures and WL/TML effects.

It would appear, then, that these two developments are related and are explainable through the postulation of a change in the grammatical status of clitics. The evidence points in the direction of a change in the role played by clitics in the syntax. What we still call *clitics* in Spanish would no longer be pronominal elements *sensu strictu*, but would rather have become (or perhaps are still becoming) part of the class of inflectional elements associated to the verbal head. There are various alternative proposals along these lines (e.g. Borer 1983, Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988, Sportiche 1992,⁴ Franco 1993, among others), but the basic insight shared by most of them is that at least a subset of the categories known as clitics in the modern Romance

⁴. Due to its potential implications for the research reported here, I briefly discuss Sportiche's proposal in section 6.4 below.

languages should be analyzed as the expression of agreement. That is, clitics are no longer considered expressions linked to an internal argument of the given predicate via a movement-chain, but rather the morphological manifestation of an abstract grammatical feature on the verb, which marks or licenses the realization of certain types of arguments in the syntax. These arguments, in turn, can be expressed overtly, by a pronominal or a full NP, or can be instantiated by an empty category, presumably *pro*.

On these assumptions, it becomes easier to make sense of the different developments that have taken place in a number of different dialects of Spanish as noted in the introduction to Chapter 5. The manifestations of different degrees of doubling could be then interpreted as the reflection of different stages attained in the general advancement towards a full-fledged system of object-agreement inflection.⁵ By no means do I want to imply, however, that all dialects must necessarily undergo the same developments or that there is a final specific state that all of them are aiming at. There are many types of pressures, internal and external, that are at play in each situation and can influence the specific developments (or lack thereof) that each dialect can in principle undergo.

Given the situation observed across the different dialects of Spanish, perhaps we shouldn't be asking ourselves whether the "doubled" NP is an adjunct or not, but rather we should try to find a reasonable explanation for the fact that the presence of the clitic is (or is becoming) virtually obligatory in most dialects. On the view that Spanish clitics are arguments rather than agreement markers, it is rather surprising that, in the relevant cases discussed above, they are the only type of elements that can serve as arguments at all -- in other words, it is rather surprising that nonpronominal NPs cannot stand alone as e.g. dative arguments. This situation is certainly nothing like the one involving the specific restrictions on the appearance of pronominals vs. non-pronominal NPs in languages such as English. Still more relevant, as shown by the present study, is the fact that the licensing of pronominal clitics in Modern Spanish is not subject to the same restrictions as are the "other" pronominal clitics found in OSp, the Germanic languages, and, more generally, in all the languages where clitics have been suggested to be prosodically deficient XPs adjoining to maximal projections and linked to argument positions via movement-chains.

Note that this puts the problem in the same light as the licensing of overt

⁵. The obvious question that arises is, if this is the correct analysis for clitics in all the Spanish dialects, how then must we treat clitics in Standard French and Italian. There are two possible lines of approach. The first, provided that we wanted to maintain a unified analysis for clitic categories in modern Romance, would be to say that clitics in those languages are also agreement markers but only required as spell out to license *pro* in object position -- similar to what would have to be proposed for ACC clitics in Standard Spanish. The second, as suggested by Franco (1993), would be to say that we have two totally different basic types of clitic systems in modern Romance, one class of object-agreement markers (for Spanish and the relevant dialects of French and Italian), and another, different class of elements treated as a special type of head linked to argument positions via a movement-chain and incorporating or adjoining to the verbal head via Head Movement as suggested by (Kayne (1990). I will leave this issue open.

subjects in pro-drop languages: an object NP can appear overtly under virtually identical conditions as does an overt subject in a pro-drop language. Consequently, it would appear that we should analyze object clitics of this sort analogously to the treatment of the licensors of null subjects, i.e. as the morphological spellout of the abstract features of INFL (or, alternatively, of AGR, as in the analyses building on Pollock's 1990 proposal, or of AgrO, following Chomsky 1989, 1992) assumed to be capable of licensing the category *pro* in subject position. Overt NPs bearing the same person and gender features as the licensor, analogously to what has been proposed above for preverbal and postverbal subject NPs, can occur either in A-bar or A positions depending on other factors.

6.2.1 Some Problems with the Object-Agreement Hypothesis⁶

One of the biggest problems for the view that clitics have become agreement markers in some dialects of Spanish is the fact that they are not as restricted in their distribution as is typical agreement morphology for which an affixal status is uncontroversial. This has been recently observed, for instance, in Di Sciullo (1990), and has been used as an argument against the view that Romance clitics can be analyzed as an element of the agreement inflection complex. I refer the reader to Auger (in progress) for a more detailed critique of Di Sciullo's proposal, but here I will review some of the most relevant points in her critique of Di Sciullo's claims and add some further data and considerations bearing on this issue.

6.2.1.1 Imperatives

Di Sciullo observes that object clitics precede the tensed verb in both declarative and interrogative sentences, but post-verbally whenever the imperative form is involved. Furthermore, the well known *clitic climbing* facts clearly point towards the involvement of some syntactic operation, since clitics in complex structures can alternatively appear connected to the verb from which they are arguments or to a matrix verb, thus suggesting the application of move- α . I will address these two points in order. First, on the restricted distribution of affixes, it must be observed that while it is common for affixal material in the Indo-European languages to not exhibit variation in the site of attachment to their host, there is evidence that this is not a universal property of all languages.

One example of a language where affixes of the same category can occur in different positions is Afar, an Ester Cushitic language which is discussed in Fulmer (1990). Afar has a set of 'dual-position' affixes which can appear as either prefixes, when verbs begin in [e,i,o,u], or as suffixes, whenever the verb begins with [a] or a consonant. This type of affix is found in the paradigms marking person, causative, benefactive, passive, and plurality. In (6), Fulmer's (1990) example (62), we can see data illustrating the distribution of the second person affix 't'.

⁶ I want to thank Julie Auger, Jon Franco, John Moore, Rolf Noyer, and Arnold Zwicky for their help with the data discussed in this section.

- (6) a. *t-okm-è* b. *yab-t-á* c. *ab-t-è*
 you-eat-perf speak-you-impf do-you-perf
 'You ate' 'You speak' 'You did'

Also, as pointed out to me by John Moore (p.c), in Arabic the marking of person is (usually) expressed in the imperfect by a prefix, whereas gender and number are marked by a suffix (the caveat "usually" is necessary because in the case of the 1st. person there is no overt distinction of gender in the suffix, although, unlike it is the case with the rest of forms, with the exception of 3rd. prs.fem., singulars and plurals are distinguished by a different prefix). In contrast, with perfects person/number/gender are all expressed via suffixation. Thus, the expression of the same grammatical category, person, is realized via prefixation or suffixation depending on whether the verb is in the imperfect or in the perfect form. As an illustration of this paradigm, see the patterns for imperfect versus perfect person-number affixes for the verb *ktub-katab* 'write' in (7) below.

(7)	Imperfect		Perfect	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1	?a-ktub-u	na-ktub-u	katab-tu	katab-naa
2 masc.	ta-ktub-u	ta-ktub-uuna	katab-ta	katab-tum
2 fem.	ta-ktub-iina	ta-ktub-na	katab-ti	katab-tunna
3 masc.	ya-ktub-u	ya-ktub-uuna	katab-a	katab-uu
3 fem.	ta-ktub-u	ya-ktub-na	katab-at	katab-na

In view of these facts, the observed differences on the relative positions of clitics and verbal heads in indicatives and imperatives cannot be used as an argument against the possible affixal status of the pronominal clitic (see also Noyer 1993 for discussion of additional relevant data).

An alternative explanation for the observed variation on the site of affixal attachment is available. In section 5.3.2. it was suggested that parallel developments in the phrase structure created a situation where $Cl-V_{[+finite]}$ strings became increasingly associated with a much wider range of discourse/syntactic environments, thus favoring this particular ordering in the final process of morphological regularization that must have taken place as a consequence of the reanalysis in the grammatical status of clitics. This situation, however, is not translatable to all the environments. Let us assume that $I^0\text{-to-}C^0$ never ceased to be operative in the case of imperatives in Spanish (see Rivero, 1993), or that, if it did, the change followed a completely different chronology from that affecting V1 declaratives. From this perspective, the $V_{[+inf]}-Cl$ order typical of sentences involving verbs in the imperative form could have been preserved through the hypothesized regularization processes in the morphological component as a consequence of the fact that, at a particular stage in the developments described above, this type of configuration appeared with much higher frequency with imperatives (100% of the time) than in association with the contexts where NI or other types of V1 declaratives typically occurred. In other words, as we have seen in the

previous chapter, the reanalysis in the status of clitics and the loss of I⁰-to-C⁰ in the relevant contexts were related but independent processes. What this means is that, during the relevant period in which the analysis of clitics as X^{max} was still available to speakers, but raising from I⁰-to-C⁰ was being lost, an increase in the frequencies of Cl-V_[+inf] strings would have been observable in contexts previously connected to NI or other V1 declaratives but not with imperatives. This creates a situation where both V_[+inf]-Cl and Cl-V_[+inf] strings are identified with the former set of contexts, but only V_[+inf]-Cl strings are identified with the latter. Once the parallel reanalysis of clitics into elements associated to X⁰ categories reaches its completion, we have a situation where both types of configurations, V_[+inf]-Cl and Cl-V_[+inf], are found with verbs in the indicative, but only V_[+inf]-Cl configurations are found with imperatives. Since the frequencies of V_[+inf]-Cl strings with declarative verbs are likely to have been lower than those of the form Cl-V_[+inf] in the relevant period (see the tables in section 5.3.2), the process of morphological regularization that has been hypothesized would be resolved by positing that object agreement is realized as a prefix with verbs in the declarative form, but as a suffix with verbs in the imperative form. As suggested by the data from Arabic and Afar, dual sites of affixation are an option in UG, hence the learner would not have any problem positing a generalization on these terms.

6.2.1.2 Agreement Gaps

Another objection usually raised against what we are referring to as the *object agreement hypothesis* is the fact that doubling is restricted to a certain type of arguments. We have seen that in all the Spanish dialects doubling with personal pronouns is obligatory; doubling with IOs is the norm in most dialects; and, only in some dialects doubling of DOs is possible. Thus, independently of the degree of obligatoriness and the range of environments requiring or permitting doubling among the different dialects, there is one restriction that all of them share: in no dialect of Spanish it appears to be possible to double indefinite DO NPs. If the elements referred to as clitics in connection with Modern Spanish are really the expression of the object-agreement inflection, it is argued, they should not be sensitive to whether the relevant argument is definite or not. Once again, however, there is evidence that such an objection is unwarranted.

As Comrie (1981b) notes "In some Uralic languages, we also find object-verb agreement, or at least encoding of certain features of the direct object in the verb. In all Uralic languages that have object-agreement, this agreement is triggered only by definite direct objects, although the precise characterisation of the set of triggering direct objects varies somewhat from language to language." A well known case of a language with an object-agreement system that manifests these kinds of restrictions is Hungarian. Farkas (1990) discusses some of the relevant facts of what she calls the *objective conjugation* in Hungarian, showing that the presence of certain verbal endings in this language depends on whether the verb has a DO with some specific characteristics. There are only four types of NPs that require the verb to display the object-agreement morphology: a) NPs whose article is definite, and proper names; b)

Definite 3rd person pronouns; c) Reflexive pronouns, independently of person; and d) Indefinite possessed NPs.⁷ Examples (8a-b) illustrate the contrast between indefinite NPs and definite NPs with respect to the presence of the verbal ending marking the objective conjugation. The examples are from Farkas (1990), her (16) a and b respectively.

- (8) a. János lát (egy kutyá-t)
 John sees a dog-acc
 'John sees a dog'
- b. János lát-ja a kutyá-t
 John sees-OC the dog-acc
 'John sees the dog'

6.3. Some Brief Remarks on Clitic Climbing

A somewhat different problem is posed by the clitic climbing facts. Before going on to speculate about the connection between clitic climbing phenomena in modern Spanish and the syntax of the previous system of 2P clitics, it must be observed once again that this kind of variability on the positions occupied by modern Romance clitics is not an obstacle for their treatment as morphological instantiations of abstract agreement features. In languages with object-agreement morphology (see Comrie 1981 a and b for extensive discussions of this phenomenon), the agreement markers can be expressed either on the main verb, or on the verb that bears the tense in a sequence of verbs (auxiliaries, modals, semi-modals, etc.). For instance, Miller (1991) notes that languages such as Basque and Maasai place object agreement affixes on the auxiliary verb rather than on the main verb whenever an auxiliary is present; for other languages, the site where the agreement features are expressed is always the main lexical verb, independently of whether other verbal forms bearing the tense

⁷ Farkas argues that the apparent contradiction with the definiteness restriction posed by the manifestation of objective conjugation with indefinite possessed NPs, can be explained away if we assume that the semantic content of the feature [def], required to trigger objective conjugation, is extended to cover not only familiar reference but also reference to an entity connected to a familiar referent.

marking are present or not.⁸ It appears, then, that it is an option in UG to allow for the expression of object-agreement autonomously from the expression of tense or subject (i.e. the spell out of these features can occur on different structural sites). Let us turn now to see how the results of the present study bear on the analysis of clitic climbing phenomena in Modern Spanish.

Clitic climbing phenomena have been neglected in the present study for two main reasons. The first reason has to do with the size limitation of the the corpus used as the basis for the main quantitative analysis. Due to the fact that clitic climbing is only manifested with a rather restricted set of verbs (see Suñer 1980, Rizzi 1982, Moore 1991), a substantially larger corpus would have been needed to collect enough tokens of the relevant constructions necessary to conduct a reliable quantitative analysis. Second, due to the properties that characterized the OSp clitic system, the issue of clitic climbing does not present the same type of problems it poses for the analysis of the present system. Being X^{\max} categories, clitics should be able move long distance via successive adjunction to reach the special position at the left edge of the main IP.

In the preliminary examination of the texts previous to starting this investigation I was surprised to find that, with the relevant verbs, clitic climbing was the norm (categorical or close to categorical in some of the texts) in the earlier periods rather than the exception. My surprise arised because I had always assumed that the upstairs clitic formations were somewhat more marked than configurations with the clitic downstairs. Perhaps the reason being that languages such as Modern French do not permit clitic climbing phenomena, or because I assumed that the "natural" locus of the clitic was close to the verb to whose argument structure it is connected. In fact, before starting this research (at which time I was not aware of the discussions of similar facts in OFr by Pearce 1990) I had conjectured that the patterns involving upstairs clitics were only a recent innovation in the modern Romance languages that manifest this phenomenon. The examination of the texts, although impressionistic, reveals quite the oposite situation. Downstairs clitics appear to be an innovation rather

⁸. Lipski (1990) reports data from bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish in the dialects known as Andean Spanish where the clitic is present in both the upstairs and the downstairs verb. This is illustrated in the following examples. He and a number of other authors have attributed these features to the influence of the substratal influences of Quechua, a language which has inflectional morphology marking object agreement.

- (i) No la he podido conocerla
Not her have.1Sg been-able to-know-her
'I haven't been able to know her'
- (ii) Me está castigandome
me is.3Sg punishing-me
'He is punishing me'

Sportiche (1992) also reports that "other cases of doubled clitics such as *Je le veux le voir*/ *I want to see him* [are] found in Romance dialects or in child speech" (Sportiche 1992:70). See also footnote #9 for similar facts in some dialects of Peninsular Spanish.

than the other way around.

However, as evidence linking the OSp clitics to the class of 2P clitics became more apparent, the explanation of how clitics elements could "travel" long distance from their canonical position to the special clitic position on the left-most branch of IP became less of a mystery. The explanation of why they must appear upstairs, however, still remains a mystery, but now it can be subsumed under the general mystery of Second Position phenomena. Thus, the following question has to be added to the list of unresolved problems: why do 2P clitics move to their characteristic position in the left edge of IP?

This notwithstanding, it seems clear that the facts from Old Spanish still seem to support the traditional idea that structures involving the so-called restructuring verbs are special in some way (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, Rizzi 1982 among others). As Klavans (1982), and later Taylor (1990), have observed, the rules that place phrasal clitics are highly sensitive to very specific syntactic domains. We must assume that 2P clitics in OSp ideally landed always on the left edge of the minimal IP containing them, and that in clitic climbing constructions both verbs are part of the same minimal IP. This must be so because, precisely in constructions involving non-restructuring predicates taking infinitival (and presumably CP) complements, the clitic always remains within the boundaries of the lower clause forming patterns which indicate their 2P clitic status. The relevant facts are illustrated in examples such as (9) below, where we can see an instance of interpolation, this time in a non-finite clause. These facts can receive a straightforward explanation under the analysis postulated here. We must only assume that, in structures such as those in (9), the clitic, a prosodically deficient NP, has undergone movement and adjoined to the left of the first XP node dominated by the minimal IP containing it.

- (9) Non =te es posyble de =te della apartar
 not you is possible for you of-her separate
'It is impossible for you to stay away from her' (Cor 167)

I take these facts to provide support for proposals that treat clitic climbing constructions in Spanish as involving a single IP. A case in point is Moore (1991). The basic position maintained in this work, and for which Moore provides convincing argumentation based on the examination of a wide range of data from modern Spanish dialects, is that distinctive characteristic of restructuring verbs is that they can subcategorize for bare non-finite VPs rather than for full-fledged CPs. This general view is not new and has been previously proposed in various forms by a number of other authors (e.g. Strozer (1976)). Assuming that the lexical properties of this class of verbs have gone unchanged, we can have a viable explanation for why OSp clitics are generally found in the upstairs configuration whenever a restructuring verb is involved. As noted above, if the account of the distribution of 2P clitics presented here is correct, then this would simply mean that OSp clitics had the left edge of the minimal IP containing them as the default site for adjunction. In structures involving restructuring verbs this would logically result in a CI-V_[+finite] configuration (unless I⁰-

to- C^0 has applied, in which case we will find a string of the form $V_{[+finite]-Cl}$; in structures involving infinitival IPs, $Cl-V_{[-finite]}$ configurations are also expected to be possible. There are, however, also some problematic cases in the data which involve downstairs clitics in configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]-Cl}$, both in constructions with restructuring verbs and in constructions which do not involve such verbs. If Moore (1991) is correct in his claim that restructuring verbs can subcaterize for a VP and for a full clausal complement, we have an explanation for why some downstairs clitics are found in such environments even in the earliest texts. In cases involving verbs like *querer* 'want' and an infinitival complement with the clitic downstairs, the clitic would simply have remained in the minimal IP. In the absence of evidence that verb movement was possible in non-finite clauses, however, the availability of $V_{[-finite]-Cl}$ strings in any of these contexts still remains unexplained. As observed before, however, due to the limitations in the size of the data base used in the quantitative component of this study, it is impossible at this point to discern any significant pattern that could throw any light on the developments that affected clitic elements in non-finite clauses. Therefore I will leave this for further research.

I will end these observations on clitic climbing on a speculative note. Suppose that constructions involving downstairs clitics are an innovation and could be taken as the result of the reanalysis that has been proposed here. Since there were many environments where clitics had to remain in the minimal IP domain where this was a non-finite clause (i.e. in those structures not involving restructuring verbs), when the reanalysis took place, learners might well have hypothesized that the verbal head in a non-finite clause was also a possible site for the expression of object-agreement marking. So-called clitic climbing phenomena could thus be the reflection of an ongoing process of regularization in the morphology, similar to what has been hypothesized for declarative verbs towards the end of section 5.4.2. Recall that there we observed that the alternation between $V_{[+inf]-Cl}$ and $Cl-V_{[+inf]}$ configurations survived in the literary language until as late as the XIXth century, well beyond the period when the reanalysis that has been postulated here is likely to have been completed. We are perhaps attending a process of regularization of morphological paradigms across Spanish dialects, by which object-agreement markers would end up categorically appearing after the non-finite form (infinitives and present participles) in complex verbal sequences, and would precede tensed declarative verbs only in simple clauses. If this hypothesis is correct, it would imply, in effect, that clitic climbing

phenomena are in the process of disappearing in the relevant Spanish dialects.⁹

This hypothesis could present an alternative view of why clitic climbing has completely disappeared from French: the morphological development that regularized the relative orders between clitics and finite/non-finite verbal heads in that language would be fully completed in that language. French speakers, however, would have taken a different path from the path followed by Spanish speakers, and posited a prefix type analysis for the clitic categories in their relationship with heads of the type $V_{[-finite]}$, also an option in UG. As is well known (e.g. Pearce 1990), OFr exhibited a set of environments, largely equivalent to those observed in OSp and, crucially, not coinciding with constructions involving typical restructuring verbs, where clitics had to remain within the minimal non-finite IP. In those contexts, although there is also some variation in the data by the time of the first extant texts, we see that frequently the clitic is on the left edge of that minimal IP, thus preceding the non-finite verb. The presence of a significant amount of this type of data in the input would have provided the necessary triggering experience (most likely accompanied also by other developments in the phrase structure) to posit that arrangement as the default configuration for the newly emerging head-related categories whenever a non-finite form was involved. For reasons that are not entirely clear, but that could be perhaps related to some difference in the course of syntactic developments affecting the phrase structure of both languages, Spanish speakers would have been prompted to select the alternative configuration, in terms of suffixation, as the hypothesized site for the spell out of the agreement features in non-finite verbal heads.

All these are, of course, empirical questions and determining whether in fact some of the dialects of Spanish are undergoing such a development will have to involve crossdialectal quantitative study with a large corpus of data from different generations of speakers. But that is a project for future research.

⁹. It is entirely possible, however, that some of the dialects could in fact be following an alternative course and positing that the spell out of object agreement marking be realized always in the head that carries the tense features, as noted above for languages such as Basque or Maasai. In this respect, it is interesting to note the existence, albeit restricted to some geographic areas, of yet a different type of development. Franco (p.c.) observes that in the dialects spoken in some Basque country villages it is not uncommon to hear examples such as (i), where a "clitic" appears associated to both the tensed verb and the infinitival form. See similar observations about Andean Spanish in footnote 8.

- (i) **Lo** he intentado arreglar**lo**, pero nada
it have.1Sg tried to-fix-it, but nothing
'I have tried to fix it, but to no avail'

Recall, however, that, as was observed in footnote 6 in Chapter 1, sociolinguistic variation between alternative forms can remain stable during extended periods of time. Thus, it is also conceivable that in some or all dialects the relative frequencies between constructions involving *upstairs clitics* and *downstairs clitics* may remain stationary.

6.4. Sportiche 1992

As I stated above, it is not the central goal of this dissertation to propose a specific formal analysis of clitic categories in Modern Spanish, nor to evaluate the success of specific analyses in handling the synchronic clitic facts in Modern Spanish. The results of this work are relevant to current theoretical debates about the nature of clitic elements in the modern Romance languages strictly in that they focus attention on an additional set of facts (this time involving diachronic data) which clearly point in the direction of one of the two competing general views on the subject. It has been argued, on the basis of quantitative and qualitative evidence discussed in the previous chapters, that Spanish clitics can no longer be treated as categories linked to argument positions via movement chains, but now exhibit the properties of affixal inflectional morphology whose only formal link to an argument position is in terms of an agreement relationship. The central claim here is then that Spanish gradually moved away from a 2P clitic system,¹⁰ towards an object agreement system which is similar in the relevant respects to those found in languages such as Basque or Hungarian.

Among proposals that treat clitics in Modern Spanish as the overt realization of inflectional features expressing agreement with an XP category in an argument position, there is one particular treatment that has some significant implications for the account of the diachronic developments that is at the center of the present work, and hence deserves closer scrutiny. In a circulating manuscript that has recently come to my attention, Sportiche (1992) has proposed a unified theory of clitic categories in the following terms. Very roughly, clitics are treated as the heads of their own maximal projections (which he calls *clitic voices*), which are associated with an XP element in an argument position (following Sportiche's convention, I will refer to the argument XP coindexed with the clitic as *the XP**) bearing the relevant features.

According to Sportiche, one of the main advantages of his treatment is that it allows us to solve some of the most recalcitrant analytical difficulties presented by clitic categories. Specifically, while some constraints on the distribution of clitic elements appear to indicate that movement is involved in cliticization operations (see Sportiche 1992 for arguments that cliticization is subject to SSC, CED and ECP effects; see also Kayne 1975), paradoxically, as the proponents of the base generation hypothesis have noticed, there is a lack of complementarity between clitics and full XPs in the positions where the clitic is assumed to have been base generated (i.e. there is clitic doubling). Thus, none of the existing analyses would provide an entirely satisfactory solution that takes care of all of the facts.

Sportiche argues, however, that while movement analyses have typically assumed that it is the clitic that moves, none of the arguments put forth by the

¹⁰ Recall that in Chapter 4 it was argued that clitics in languages such as Middle Dutch are in fact the same kind elements as those in OSp. Most of the relevant differences in distribution between Middle Dutch clitics (and possibly also those in German) and those in the general 2P class follow straightforwardly once other clitic-independent aspects of the syntax of these languages are factored in. Of course, on this view of things, the label 2P ceases to be useful as a descriptive term, since due to the differences in the phrase structure of these languages, clitics appear always in third position in main clauses.

proponents of this view actually shows that movement of the clitic is involved. Sportiche advances an interesting hypothesis in order to solve this apparent paradox. He claims that we can account for all the movement effects, while still maintaining the advantages of the base-generation hypothesis, by simply abandoning the assumption that the movement involved in clitic constructions is movement of the clitic. Within the system he lays out, all the movement properties holding of the relation between a clitic and its XP* would follow from the assumption that at some point in the derivation, the XP* must move into the specifier position of the projection headed by the relevant clitic (following Sportiche, I will refer to this position as *the XP[^]* position), to enter into the required Spec-Head agreement relationship. In Spanish and other languages with clitic doubling, movement of the XP* would take place at LF. In languages without clitic doubling such as Standard French or Italian, since the XP* is assumed to be a silent category *pro*, movement to the XP[^] position could take place in the syntax.

This treatment has some very obvious advantages. First, it is able to overcome some of the most serious problems faced by movement analyses from a theory internal perspective. Clitics are claimed to be arguments (essentially, XP type categories), yet at the same time they must be treated as elements of an X⁰ category to account for the fact that they appear necessarily attached to V⁰ at S-structure. Second, and very importantly, it is able to provide a unified analysis for systems of clitics which manifest most of the same essential properties but which differ from each other according to whether they allow clitic-doubling or not: specifically, those of languages such as Spanish or Catalan on the one hand, and Standard French and Italian on the other.¹¹ I will not discuss here any other possible advantages nor problematic aspects of this interesting hypothesis concerning the treatment of clitics in Modern Spanish. However, given the obvious ramifications this has for the account of the diachronic facts advocated here, a few brief comments are in order concerning Sportiche's explicit suggestion that clitics in the modern Romance languages and in the Germanic languages can be treated as a unified class. I will argue that Sportiche's proposal, while it could be adequate for the treatment of the systems of categories associated with the label *clitic* in most modern Romance languages, is not able to handle in a principled manner the facts associated with the systems of categories we have been referring to as 2P clitics, and by extension the clitics in the Germanic languages.

As we have seen, OSp clitics, once the relevant differences between the phrase structures are taken into account, are almost indistinguishable in their most basic attributes from those found in at least two of the Germanic languages: Old English and

¹¹ Clitic-doubling, of course, is not the only feature that distinguishes the clitic systems of the Romance languages. As is well known, both Standard Italian and Spanish, the former not allowing clitic doubling and the latter allowing it, differ from French in exhibiting clitic climbing phenomena and in not permitting clitics to attach to the left of infinitive verbal forms. See Kayne (1989,1991) for an interesting discussion of some other less well known differences found to exist across different Romance varieties.

Middle Dutch.¹² In the system envisioned by Sportiche, clitics in languages such as Modern Dutch would be essentially the same type of categories argued to be characteristic of the Romance languages, i.e. the head of a clitic voice projection related with the XP* via a Spec-Head agreement relationship. Obviously, since clitic-doubling phenomena are not manifested in the Germanic languages, the treatment of Dutch clitics must be equated to that of French and Italian in that the XP* is taken to be a silent category *pro* that moves in the syntax to occupy the XP^ position. This raises the obvious question of what changes we must assume took place between OSp and Modern Spanish given this hypothesis. Leaving aside for the moment the implications of Sportiche's analysis for the account of the diachronic changes, I will concentrate on some more problematic aspects having to do with its handling of the different traits exhibited by systems of clitic-like categories at a synchronic level.

First, one major difference between the clitic systems in the modern Romance languages and those with the general characteristics of the 2P clitic systems (I am including here the Germanic languages) is that in the latter, but not in the former, clitics do not have to be adjacent to the verb. For ease of exposition we will refer to the two major classes of clitics as *verbal-clitics* and *non-verbal clitics* respectively. As noted in Halpern and Fontana (1993), in the non-verbal clitic systems, clitics are uniformly enclitic¹³ in the phonology, regardless of the position of the verb. Thus, there is a distinction between being preverbal and being proclitic, one which is not always recognized. This is illustrated in the by now familiar example from OSp below. Here we see that the clitic precedes the tensed verb, but that, unlike in the present system, is not part of the same word unit as the verb in the phonology. Thus, it would be misleading to say that this element is *proclitic*. Rather, as has been argued extensively in this work, OSp clitics were, for the most part, encliticized to the preceding phonological segment independently of its lexical category.

- (10) Esto=t lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonsso
 this you dispute.1sg here before-the king D.A
 'I will challenge you on this before the king don A.'

If we add cases of interpolation such as the example in (11) below, we immediately become aware that this is a very unexpected trait if what we are dealing with is really an agreement system; at least given what is characteristic in most well known

¹² I have no idea about what developments could be responsible for the differences in clitic distribution observed to exist between Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch, or for the disappearance of the clitic system that characterized Old English. Interestingly, the basic distribution of pronominal clitics in Modern German is almost analogous, with some minor differences, to that described for Middle Dutch in Chapter 4.

¹³ This remark applies exclusively to the clitic systems traditionally studied under the rubric of 2P and to the Germanic languages. As Klavans (1982) has shown, there are languages whose clitics could be classified as non-verbal clitics, but which are proclitic in the phonology. Some exceptions to this generalization are found in the earliest Old English texts. See Pintzuk (1991) for discussion of examples found in *Beowulf* where a clitic appears in sentence initial position procliticized to a following subject or object NP.

agreement systems.

- (11) Mando al omne que =vos esta mj carta mostrara
 ordered.1Sg the man that you this my letter showed
'I ordered the man to show you my letter'

Specifically, it seems odd that elements which are assumed to be the overt manifestation of inflectional features appear to be so independent of the verb, both in the syntax and in the phonology. The strict relationship established between clitic elements and verbal heads in the modern Romance languages is one of the main reasons authors proposed to treat clitics as agreement morphology in the first place. Granted, this is a minor point, since it could be claimed that clitics are just a special type of agreement manifested on a different structural site. This leads, however, to a more serious problem. In the analysis advocated here, the three major differences between the clitic systems exhibited by OSp and Modern Spanish have been correlated with one particular assumption that crucially differs from the basic view advanced by Sportiche. Lack of clitic doubling, alternation between $V_{[+finite]-cl}$ and $cl-V_{[+finite]}$ strings in main clauses, and interpolation phenomena have been correlated with the fact that the clitics themselves are taken to be XPs. We have seen that there is a correlation between the loss of interpolation, the fixation in the orders between clitics and verbal heads (enclitic to an imperative form; proclitic to an indicative form, and enclitic to infinitives and present participle forms), and the appearance of clitic doubling.

According to Sportiche's view, this could be argued to be the result of a change in the parameter specifying the level at which movement of the XP^* takes place: doubling arises from a change from movement in the syntax to movement at LF. We would also have to say that, related to this parameter switch, there would be a change in the ability of clitics and their XP^* s to appear overtly in the same construction. But even this would not suffice, for we would still have to account for the differences between the two systems in terms of the alternations between $V_{[+finite]-cl}$ and $cl-V_{[+finite]}$ strings in main clauses, as well as for the loss of interpolation. In the preceding chapters I have suggested a principled account of most of the relevant patterns of data, as well as a plausible hypothesis for how such system ceased to exist. As we have seen, the results of the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 5 seem to confirm the correctness of such hypothesis. Crucially, the solution presented above relies on the assumption that OSp clitics were X^{\max} categories but Modern Spanish clitics are not. Furthermore, this solution is clearly incompatible with the assumption that the systems of clitics at the two extremes of the chronological line are simply two of the options in the model proposed by Sportiche. I cannot see any way in which an equivalent empirical coverage of the synchronic facts of OSp, and, more significantly, of the diachronic developments, can be achieved under this assumption.

Finally, even if some solution could be found for these problems, the unified treatment proposed by Sportiche's is considerably weakened by the fact that it makes one particular prediction. Given that UG is hypothesized to allow for movement of the

XP* both at LF and in the syntax, we expect to find a language with a clitic system like that of the Germanic languages, but which has an overt XP* that moves at LF, i.e. the effect of clitic doubling, but with languages of the type I have referred to as non-verbal clitic languages.¹⁴ This prediction, however, as far as I know is not borne out. Clitic doubling phenomena appear to be an exclusive trait of those languages where clitics exhibit the relevant subset of properties associated with languages such as Modern Spanish: i.e. languages where clitics occur invariably attached to the verbal head in fixed orders. For a more extensive discussion of the differences existing between these two general classes of clitic-like elements, I refer the reader to Halpern and Fontana (1993).

¹⁴ I am grateful to Tony Kroch for pointing out the relevance of this argument.

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