

The Verbal Syntax of Old Spanish:
A statistical analysis of *El libro del Caballero Zifar*

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Abstract

This paper is a quantitative study of the word order patterns in the Old Spanish text *El Libro del Caballero Zifar*. In the past, many have argued against or in favor of categorizing OSp as a V2 language, but to my knowledge none have based such a claim on the findings of a statistical analysis of OSp texts. In the essay, I compare 1000 clauses from this OSp work of prose with 185 clauses from a similar Modern Spanish text. From this analysis I not only give a comprehensive description of the syntax of the OSp of *Zifar*, but also observe that the word order patterns of Old and ModSp are for the most part identical. The only real difference between the two is the behavior of pronominal object clitics. There are only residual V2 effects in both OSp and ModSp, thus I am able to conclude that neither is a proper V2 language in a strict sense of the term.

1. Introduction

Linguists have long discussed the categorization of Old Spanish as a V2 language. Many support this classification, while others refute it. In this paper, I attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the verbal syntax of OSp by means of an analysis that to my knowledge has not been performed. I analyze an OSp work of prose dating from the beginning of the 14th century and catalog the word order of 1,000 clauses therein.

In Section 2, I begin with a survey of all the linguistic literature on the verbal syntax of OSp. Section 2.1 discusses the claim that OSp is a V2 language, first in Section 2.1.1 looking at the work of those researchers who claim it falls in with the rest of the Old Romance varieties by exhibiting V-to-C movement, then in Section 2.1.2 examining the specific claim of Fontana (1993) that OSp exhibits V-to-I movement. Section 2.2 investigates all the current theories on the placement of pronominal object clitics in OSp, especially the idea that it is a 2P or “second-position” language in which the clitic must always appear in second position.

Section 3 describes the systematic method of cataloging the word order of the Old and Modern Spanish texts as well as explaining why each one was chosen for this analysis. Section 4 presents the statistical results of the 1000 clauses studied in *Zifar* and the 185 clauses studied in the ModSp text, *El Alba de Viernes Santo*. Section 4.1 specifically deals with the 485 matrix clauses of *Zifar*, beginning in Section 4.1.1 with a look at the V2 clauses which compose 47% of the total. Section 4.1.2 discusses the incidence of subject-verb inversion as a marker for V2, which occurs in only 12% of the total matrix clauses. Section 4.1.3 gives a more comprehensive look at the V1 clauses

which represent 46% of the whole, and Section 4.1.4 does the same for the V3 and V4 clauses which represent the remaining 6% of the total.

In Section 4.2, I compare this data from *Zifar* to that of the ModSp text *Alba*, showing that the word order patterns are almost identical in the two languages. In Section 4.2.1 I show that not only does ModSp have a similar 45% frequency of V2 clauses, but that they also share matching compositions. In Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 I show that the same is true for the V1 and V3/V4 clauses in both languages, respectively. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 parallel the structure of 4.1 and 4.2, examining embedded clauses instead of matrix.

In Section 4.5 I write about the behavior of clitics in the OSp of *Zifar*. In Section 4.5.1 I prove that the majority of clitics in embedded clauses can be described by a simple two-part rule, and then I examine the few exceptions. In Section 4.5.2 I prove that the behavior of clitics in embedded clauses is even more uniform than in matrix, again describable by a simple rule. Section 4.5.3 provides a brief investigation of a specific clitic construction known as Long Head Movement. Section 4.6 describes the structure of interrogatives in *Zifar* and Section 4.7 describes all of the unusual constructions which stood out during the analysis. Finally in Section 5 I conclude that OSp is not a V2 language any more than ModSp is, and that both exhibit residual V2 characteristics which may be indicative of an earlier V2 stage that pre-dates the text of *Zifar*.

2. Contemporary Linguistic View of Old Spanish

This chapter gives a survey of the current literature on the syntax of Old Romance in general and that of Old Spanish in particular.

2.1 The Verb Second Constraint

Many linguists (Salvi 1993, Benincà 1989, among others) have argued in favor of classifying OSp as a V2 language. Before we can investigate the validity of this claim in regards to the OSp text *Zifar*, first we must take a closer look at the existing arguments surrounding this topic.

2.1.1 Old Romance V⁰-to-C⁰

It has long been assumed that OSp, in conjunction with the rest of the Old Romance languages, is a verb-second (V2) language. Salvi (2000) postulates that Latin, primarily an SOV language, allowed other sentence constructions that eventually led to the creation of V2. The more important of these other possible word orders was the verb-initial construction, which raised the verb in the first position in the sentence “per ragioni de focalizzazione o di enfasi” (“for reasons of focalization or of emphasis,” translation mine, Salvi 2000: 671). Later, other elements were similarly raised to first position in the sentence to the Specifier position of a Theme or Focus Phrase preceding the verb in F⁰ or T⁰. This word order became the unmarked standard for the later Romance languages.

The underlying phrase structure of Old Romance was later reanalyzed, placing the verb in C⁰ and raising another element, not necessarily the subject, to [Spec, CP]. This is the traditional analysis for the modern Germanic V2 languages and the one most commonly associated with the term V2. Indeed, Salvi (1993) and Benincà (1989) propose exactly such a structure for the syntax of Old Romance. Salvi (1993: 189) lists three important characteristics of this word order: (1) the verb occupies the second position in main clauses (in C⁰), and is preceded by an element which is not necessarily

the subject in [Spec, CP], if this position is empty, the verb is the first element in linear order; (2) the subject, when not found in initial position, usually immediately follows the verb in [Spec, IP]; (3) in subordinate clauses, C^0 is occupied by a complementizer and is not an available landing site for the verb, thus accounting for the lack of V2 in subordinate environments of various Old Romance varieties. He notes, however, that the verb is often preceded by more than one constituent, a seeming violation of the V2 word order described above. In his analysis, all such elements (excluding the one immediately preceding the verb) are actually on the periphery of the sentence in what he calls “dislocazione a sinistra” (“left dislocation,” trans. mine, Salvi 1993: 192) and therefore do not count in computing the constituents preceding the verb, which remains in second position.

Benincà (1989) presents an almost identical description of the medieval Romance languages. However, she limits her analysis to Old French, about which there is little debate concerning its V2 status, noting that it exhibits “una sintassi più rigida con restrizioni più chiare, quindi più facile” (“a more rigid syntax with clearer restrictions, therefore easier,” trans. mine, Benincà 1989: 1062), as opposed to the other Romance varieties, “nessuno di esse mostra una rigida struttura con V al 2. posto: possiamo trovare sia V iniziale, sia V in 3. posiz.” (“none of these shows a rigid structure with V in the 2nd position: we can find both V initial as well as V in 3rd pos.” trans. mine, Benincà 1993: 1064). She does not differ from Salvi in stating that the V2 order in all its forms is the result of two operations: (1) the raising of V^0 to C^0 , and (2) the raising of another phrasal constituent to the [Spec, CP] (a maximal projection). However, Benincà goes on to note that the raising of such a constituent to [Spec, CP] does not have the strong topicalization

connotation that a preposed element in the modern Romance languages would have; that is to say, a sentence-initial direct object would most likely be interpreted the same way as if it had been pronounced in its base-generated position (Benincà 1993). She also notes that null subjects are permitted in Old Romance, and that the word order of embedded clauses is much more complicated and varied across the different Romance varieties. Benincà (1993: 1068) also makes a key distinction in analyzing the syntax of Old Romance, claiming that the most important feature is the movement V^0 -to- C^0 , of which the verb-second position is one of the various superficial consequences.

Ribeiro (1995) proposes a similar analysis for the syntax of Old Portuguese. Brazilian Portuguese currently exhibits subject-verb inversion in *wh*-questions, which has been labeled residual verb-second under the assumption that the *wh*-word appears in [Spec, CP] and the verb raises from I^0 to C^0 . Ribeiro notes that this verb-subject order in interrogative constructions is not as common in modern spoken Brazilian Portuguese as it was in past periods, where it occurred with a frequency of 100%. Ribeiro thus performs a statistical analysis of a 14th century Old Portuguese text in which she studies a total of 113 constructions. The underlying word order of Old Portuguese is SVO, thus making it difficult to tell if declarative sentences with the word order SVO have undergone any verb-raising. However, of the 57 root clauses studied, 31 were occurrences of XP-V-(S) (Ribeiro 1995: 113). Ribeiro considers this extremely relevant in classifying Old Portuguese as a V2 language, especially taken into consideration with the fact that 15 more of the 57 root clauses had the order SVO. Ribeiro also finds a significant amount of V2 in subordinate environments, though usually with bridge verbs that do not require overt complementizers in their embedded complements. For these she proposes a

possible analysis of CP-recursion.

Moreover, the sentences which do not exhibit strict V2 ordering are still compatible with an overall V2 analysis for Old Portuguese. All 11 of the remaining root clauses are verb-first. The instances of V1 with a null subject are said to be “licensed by a discursive factor” (much like the narrative V1 described by Fontana, see below) with a phonologically null subject in [Spec, CP] which makes it possible to “maintain that these are true verb-second structures” (Ribeiro 1995: 121-22). Ribeiro also proposes two alternative analyses. The first is what she calls Romance inversion, or free-subject inversion, meaning that the verb may have raised to C^0 and the subject did not. The second explanation simply suggests that the verb does not raise out of I^0 to C^0 at times because it was not obligatory in declarative clauses. The other non-declarative V1 sentences are simply yes/no interrogatives and imperatives. The instances of V3 found in this text, though only in embedded environments, are attributed to the ability of certain adverbials to adjoin to CP, a characteristic shared by other V2 languages such as Old French.

Ribeiro concludes that while the Old Portuguese examined in her study was not “perfect” in the strict sense of V2, “the OP grammatical system was verb-second in the technical sense, a system in which C^0 has the feature [+Agr]” (Ribeiro 1995: 126). Ribeiro backs up this claim with evidence that the clitics in embedded environments in Old Portuguese always appear directly adjacent to the complementizer, never allowing intervening elements, and that “only a head C^0 associated with Agr can host a clitic” (Ribeiro 1995: 127). Thus, it is once again affirmed that the most important aspect of a “V2” language is verb movement to C^0 and the presence of elements other than the

subject in the highest specifier position, as opposed to the strict qualification that the verb appear in second position in the resulting linear word order.

However, the V2 status of the Old Romance languages is contested by some. Rivero (1993: 217) states in no uncertain terms that the Old Romance varieties, excluding Old French, “are not V2 in the Germanic sense.” Her argument is based on a phenomenon in OSp which she calls Long Head Movement, illustrated in the following example (Rivero 1993: 218):

- (1) *Dezir-vos he cosa que ... vos ser-á pro*
Tell+inf.-you will+1s thing that...you be+inf-will+3s beneficial
 “I will tell you something which...will be good for you.” (CD 146)

The non-finite verb has been raised to first position in the sentence, followed by a clitic pronoun and the finite auxiliary verb. This is an example of the analytic or “split” future and conditional constructions in OSp, which Rivero calls Long Head Movement (LHM). LHM occurs when V_{-fin} moves to C^0 as a last recourse rule to prevent the clitic from occurring sentence-initially.¹ LHM contrasts with Short Head Movement, in which V_{-fin} moves to I^0 where it is incorporated into the auxiliary, forming the synthetic future or conditional, as can be seen by *ser-á* in the relative embedded clause in (1). LHM is strictly a root phenomenon and never occurs in negated clauses. Rivero takes this as further proof that the non-finite verb is indeed moving to C^0 . In embedded clauses C^0 is occupied by the complementizer and thus cannot host the non-finite verb, and in negative clauses the head Neg (of the projection NegP in between CP and IP) blocks further movement of the non-finite verb up to C^0 .

Rivero argues that LHM contains two fundamental conflicts with a V2 analysis.

¹ In accordance with the Tobler-Mussafia Law. See the section on clitics, below, for explanation.

First, it places a non-finite constituent in C^0 , while V2 languages “impose a *finite* content on a root C^0 as licensing head” (Rivero 1993: 231). Secondly, it only occurs when both [Spec, CP] and C^0 are empty, while V2 languages require that “the Spec-of-CP be *phonologically non-null*” (Rivero 1993: 231). Thus, based on this analysis, Rivero concludes that it is impossible for any language with LHM, such as OSp, to be a V2 language.

2.1.2 Old Spanish V^0 -to- I^0

The aforementioned authors group all of the Old Romance varieties together under one cohesive analysis, though all remark on the difficulty of such a task, noting especially the deviant behaviors of embedded clauses. Fontana has produced the most comprehensive research concerning the syntax of OSp, most notably in his 1993 dissertation on the placement of clitics. After examining two texts from each century from the 12th-15th, Fontana classifies OSp as both a 2P (second-position clitic) and V2 language. His analysis overcomes the opposition presented by Rivero (1993) concerning the requirement that a V2 language exhibit V^0 -to- C^0 . He draws a distinction between two types of V2 languages: those that are asymmetric, meaning V2 only occurs in matrix clauses and never in embedded environments, involving V^0 -to- C^0 movement, and those that are symmetric, meaning V2 occurs in both matrix and embedded clauses, involving V^0 -to- I^0 movement. The modern V2 Germanic languages fall into the former category, while Old English, Yiddish, and Old Icelandic are in the latter, along with OSp.

In this symmetric form of V2, the verb raises to I^0 and another element, any XP, raises to [Spec, IP]. This order is also found in embedded environments because the

presence of an overt complementizer in C^0 does not affect the domain of V2, namely IP.

Fontana notes various exceptions to this V2 word order in OSp, all of which are also found in “other languages for which a V2 analysis is uncontroversial” (Fontana 1993: 135). In fact, one of the most important conclusions that Fontana keeps returning to is the idea that strict V2 word-ordering is actually rather rare. As he says:

What is not well known, however, or at least has received much less attention in the literature, is the fact that the rigid verb-second configurations which are often cited in support of certain accounts of the V2 constraint are only a very recent innovation in the Germanic family...restricted to a very small subset of the modern Germanic varieties, and that even in the most well-behaved standard dialects this restriction cannot be taken as an absolute. (Fontana 1997: 210)

Clearly, the presence of exceptions to the V2 constraint should not be seen as grounds for exclusion from the V2 class of languages. Indeed, Fontana finds numerous such exceptions in the OSp texts included in his study.

The first of these exceptions is the rare occurrence of verb-final clauses. Such occurrences are so uncommon that Fontana deems them negligible and leaves them on the periphery of his analysis. For example (taken from Fontana 1993: 142):

(2) que yo **so** ciego o vos desnudo **ides**
 that I **am+1sg.** blind or you naked **are+2sg.**
 “‘That either I’m blind or you are naked” (Lucan. 148)

Verb-final exceptions like the example in (2) never involve more than one clause in a series; thus we can conclude that they are rare anomalies. Pintzuk (1991) has argued for a similar analysis of OE, and Fontana (1993:145) states that both Old Icelandic and Old English have “what appears to be some degree of alternation between INFL-final and INFL-medial structure.” Fontana thus presents the idea that these few verb-final occurrences are remnants of an INFL-final system (OSp is classed as INFL-medial in all other situations).

The next exception to the V2 rule is V1 declaratives, in which the verb appears sentence-initially in main clauses. The most important form of declarative V1 for the purposes of an analysis of V2 is that known as Narrative Inversion (NI), a construction which exhibits subject-verb inversion that occurs rather frequently in the Germanic symmetric V2 languages. As many as 30% of the sentences in Old Icelandic sagas exhibit Narrative Inversion (Fontana 1993: 150). According to Fontana (1996: 45), Narrative Inversion occurs in “a highly restricted set of contexts characterized by very specific discourse conditions.” Namely, subjects in this type of discourse are always definite NPs, always follow the verb, and are interpretable as topics, or discursal “links,” not as focus (Fontana 1996: 45). Narrative Inversion never occurs discourse-initially, thus “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” (Fontana 1993: 148). Most importantly, Narrative Inversion is strictly a root phenomenon. To give an example (taken from Fontana 1993: 146):

- (3) & **fizo** el papa penitencia & **dixo** Sant Antidio la missa en su lugar
 & **did+3sg.** the pope penance & **said+3sg.** Saint A. the mass in his place
- & **consagro** la crisma
 & **consecrated+3sg.** the host
- “And the pope did penance and Saint Antidio said the mass in his place and
 consecrated the host” (EE-I.126r)

Each of these clauses exhibits subject-verb inversion (except for the last, in which the subject is the same as the preceding clause and therefore omitted) and the repeated use of the coordinating conjunction “and” illustrates the narrative sense of the passage. Thus Fontana postulates that it involves V^0 -to- I^0 -to- C^0 movement,² which is compatible with

² Others have noted the possibility that it is merely V-to-I with no XP in SpecIP, supported by the fact that no other element intervenes in between the verb and its NP subject in NI (see Fontana 1993: 153).

his V2 classification of OSp .

The third and final exception is the occurrence of V3 and V4 constructions. As Fontana (1993: 161) notes, OSp is not the only V2 language that allows other elements to “adjoin to positions external to IP or CP,” positions which traditionally do not factor into the calculation of V2. Such elements tend to be “a restricted set of adverbials that exhibit a somewhat greater distributional freedom” and are of course found in the other early Germanic V2 languages such as OIce (Fontana 1993: 165). One such adverbial is *estonçes* “then”(Fontana 1993: 165):

- (4) *estonçe* los mas altos omnes dela corte **fizieron** llamar a sus hermanos
then the most high men of-the court **made+3pl.** call to his brothers
 “Then the noblest men in the court had his brothers called” (EE-II.21v)
- (5) Ell *estonçes* **llego** muj grand hueste et fue contra Yuçaf Alhacri
 he *then* **took+3sg.** very big army and went against Y. A.
 “Then he gathered a big army and fought with Yuçaf Alhacri” (EE-II.11v)
- (6) Josep **fizo** *estonçes* fazer por las cibdades...
 Josep **made+3sg.** *then* do around the cities
 “Then Josep had people go around the cities to do...” (GE-I.101r)

As illustrated above, *estonçes* can appear (4) before the subject and the verb, (5) after the subject and before the verb, and (6) after both the subject and the verb. The adverbial in sentence (4) Adv-S-V is an example of what Fontana calls a sentence adjunct outside the domain where V2 is calculated.

Fontana thus concludes that the term V2 begs a more precise definition if its use is to be understood properly. He repeatedly emphasizes 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” (Fontana 1993: 141). Indeed, “none of the putative V2 languages discussed require that the finite

verb be in absolute second position in main clauses,” bringing into question the very idea of V2, and raising the issue that “the label V2 itself is not the most appropriate to describe the syntax of this group of languages” (Fontana 1993: 180; 136). Rather, the distinguishing factor is the presence of verb movement to INFL or COMP and the ability for both subject and non-subject constituents to move to [Spec, IP] or [Spec, CP].

2.2 Clitics in Old Spanish

No explanation of OSp syntax would be complete without a comprehensive description of pronominal clitics. The behavior of OSp unstressed object pronouns (clitics, for their phonologically weak properties) is perhaps the most intensely studied aspect of this language, and one of the most contested. In OSp they are most characteristic of what Zwicky (1977: 5) calls the *simple clitic*: “a free morpheme, [that] when unaccented, may be phonologically reduced, the resultant form being phonologically subordinate to a neighboring word.” Unlike ModSp, clitics in OSp can be placed almost anywhere. The following examples illustrate their seemingly erratic behavior (all taken from Fontana 1996, clitics in italics):

(7) *respondiol* don Pelayo en guisa, et *dixol*
answered-him don Pelayo in way, and *said-him*
 “And Don Pelayo responded, and he told him...” (GE-I.79r)

(8) *yl* ella *acogiere*
and-him she *accommodated*
 “And she would accommodate him” (EE-II.85v)

(9) *yos* *prometo* que oy en este dia...
I-you *promise* that today in this day
 “I promise you that today...” (EE-II.12v)

- (10) &' otro dia que *les* este buen mandado **dixo** Moyses
 and another day that *them* this good command **said** Moses
 “And in the day when Moses gave them the good commandment...”
 (GE-I.216v)

In (7) the clitic follows the verb, in (8) the clitic precedes both the subject and the verb, in (9) the clitic intervenes between the subject and the verb, and in (10), a subordinate clause, the clitic is separated from the verb by the definite NP direct object. Note also the various elements which the clitic is phonologically attached to on its left: (7) the verb itself, (8) the conjunction “and,” (9) the subject, and (10) a complementizer.

The foremost property associated with Romance clitics in particular is the Tobler-Mussafia Law (TML), which prohibits sentence-initial clitics. Wackernagel's Law (WL) similarly states that clitics tend to appear in second position in main clauses of early Indo-European languages (Wackernagel 1892). Meyer-Lübke (1897) further stipulates that the crucial feature of Old Romance clitics is their status as phonologically enclitic elements which require lexical material to their left to satisfy an essentially prosodic condition.

Benincà (1995) is one of many to argue that the syntax of Old Romance clitics is not easily reduced to such simple constraints. She focuses on the specific phenomenon of *enclisis*, which in this context refers to the clitic following the verb producing the sequence V_{+fin} -CL (as opposed to *proclisis*, in which the clitic precedes the verb). Mussafia (1886) notes that enclisis is obligatory in sentence-initial position, but is apparently possible everywhere else. Benincà disagrees with this statement, arguing instead that enclitic variation can be explained by structural conditions. Maintaining that the Old Romance varieties are V2 languages, she proposes that the domain of CP is the most important determinant in the placement of clitics. She rewrites the TML to say that

enclisis only occurs when the verb is in C^0 and [Spec, CP] is empty.³ When other elements precede the sequence V_{+fin} -CL they are not in [Spec, CP] but rather a Topic Phrase above CP and outside the domain of the clitic. Such elements may be anything from subjects to adverbial clauses, which can “either be generated as a constituent of the main clause (or a [Spec, CP] occupier) – in which case enclisis is impossible – or as an extra-sentential complement – in which case enclisis is obligatory” (Benincà 1995: 336). It is more accurate then to say that clitics cannot appear *clause* initially, with no preceding elements in CP. Her analysis is supported by various characteristics of Old Romance, most important among them the fact that enclisis never occurs in subordinate clauses, where C^0 is always occupied by a complementizer.

Fontana's (1993) dissertation on the placement of clitics in OSp brings up many of the same points as Benincà. For Fontana, both WL and TML are approximate descriptive generalizations and agreement with either one is never strict. The placement of clitics with respect to underlying structures is far more important than these surface constraints. He notes the following properties of clitics:

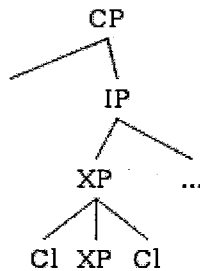
1. They can never appear sentence initially. (Fontana 1993: 53)
2. They are phonologically enclitic, “that is, they needed to lean on a phonologically overt element to their left.” (Fontana 1993: 71)
3. The category of the element to which they attach or “lean on” (which is a phrasal constituent, and never split) is irrelevant. (Fontana 1993: 53)
4. They are never placed blindly, but always with respect to the sentential (IP) boundary. (Fontana 1993: 60)

³Benincà (1989: 1072) has earlier proposed that an empty [Spec, CP] triggers subsequent verb movement from C^0 to [Spec, CP] to form the enclitic sequence.

5. While they attach phonologically to words, they attach syntactically to phrases, thus they are neither heads nor affixes but what Klavans (1982) calls *phrasal affixes*. (Fontana 1993:39)

Thus, Fontana (1993: 70) adopts 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.” More specifically, according to Fontana (1996: 56), there are two available sites that the fronted clitics can select for syntactic adjunction: either to the left of the first node dominated by IP (mainly in embedded clauses), or to the right of the first node dominated by IP (mainly in root contexts), shown by Figure 2.1 (where Cl stands for clitic):

Fig. 2.1



Thus, the clitic can appear either to the right or the left of the first element in the domain of IP. This clitic placement can also be described by Klavans' (1982) typology involving three parametric values: the first value states that clitics are attached to the INITIAL daughter of IP; the second states that their default placement is BEFORE the element present in this daughter node; and the third states that they are ENCLITIC, meaning they must attach to something on their left. The second parameter can be overridden to comply with the third. Under this analysis the sentences in (8) and (9) receive a unified explanation; they are repeated here as (11) and (12), respectively:

- (11) *yl* ella acogiére
 and-*him* she accommodated
 “And she would accommodate him” (EE-II.85v)

- (12) *yos* prometo que oy en este dia...
 I-*you* promise that today in this day
 “I promise you that today...” (EE-II.12v)

In (11) the clitic adjoins to the left of [Spec, IP] preceding the subject, because the coordinating conjunction *y* “and” is present for it to phonologically lean on. In (12) the clitic adjoins to the right of [Spec, IP], following the subject, in order to fulfill the ENCLITIC requirement, because there is no other element present at the beginning of the sentence. In both of these examples we are assuming the subject is in [Spec, IP] and the finite verb is in I⁰. The following trees illustrate the proposed underlying structures:

Fig. 2.2

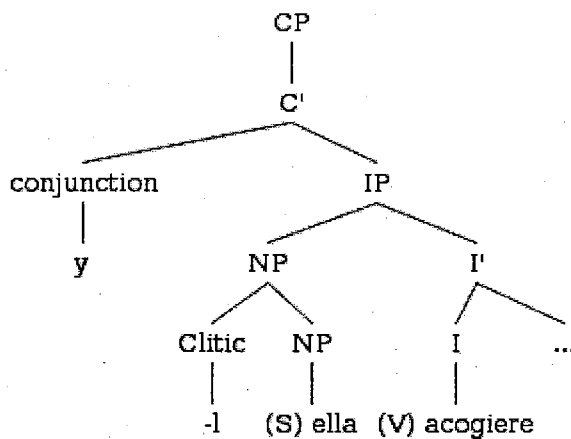
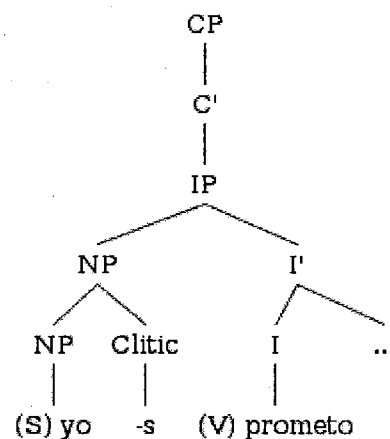


Fig. 2.3



Thus, the clitic can adjoin onto either the left or right of the head in [Spec, IP].

These observations fit perfectly with the analysis performed by Nieuwenhuijsen (2002) on the placement of OSp clitic pronouns. Using texts beginning in the 13th century and continuing into the 16th, Nieuwenhuijsen catalogs the placement of clitics in main

clauses depending on the type of element preceding them. While it has been shown that the category of the element preceding a clitic is irrelevant, his findings nevertheless prove insightful. OSp clitics are found to exhibit uniform behavior in very specific contexts. They always directly follow a negative particle, an interrogative pronoun, or a NP corresponding to the object (not co-indexed with the clitic itself) with 100% strict adherence when these elements begin the sentence. In other words, there are no instances of Neg-V_{+fin}-CL. Equally strict is the appearance of clitics after the verb when the verb itself begins the sentence, follows a comma, follows the conjunctions *pero/mas* meaning “but”, follows a vocative, or follows the NP which is co-indexed with the clitic itself, in this case a resumptive pronoun.

The most important structure in determining the syntax of clitics is that of enclisis, as already mentioned in Benincà, above. To review, enclisis in this sense is simply the string V_{+fin}-CL in which the clitic follows the finite verb and is adjoined to it. If Fontana is correct in placing the clitic always at the left edge of IP with the finite verb always raising to I⁰ below it, enclisis requires special explanation. Enclisis also never occurs in embedded environments or negative clauses.

One possible explanation for the variation in enclisis is the aforementioned teleological approach. In this view, supported by Benincà (1995), Rivero (1989, 1993), and Lema & Rivero (1991), the verb moves to C⁰ as a “last recourse rule to prevent a violation of the constraint against initial clitics” (Lema & Rivero 1991: 253). In other words, enclisis occurs whenever the clitic appears CP-initially with no clause-internal element on the left to host it. In embedded contexts C⁰ is occupied by a complementizer and in negative clauses the head of the phrasal projection Neg intervenes between C⁰ and

IP as a phonological host.

However, this approach is problematic for various reasons. Most importantly among them is the proposal that the phonology can affect the syntax, namely the ability for the phonology to cause syntactic operations at PF. Benincà (1995: 331) addresses this as the “prosodic hypothesis,” expressing her doubts that the TML is a purely phonological constraint “that is able to read syntactic labels in order to distinguish clitic pronouns from other kinds of clitic (unstressed) constituents.” Benincà (1995: 331) states in no uncertain terms that “it has never been reported, nor can be expected on theoretical grounds, that phonological constraints feed syntactic movements,” an interesting point when taken in comparison to Fontana's alternative approach.

Fontana presents a different analysis of enclisis. While he agrees that it is the position of the verb, not the clitic, that changes its status to yield different syntactic configurations, he claims that it does so independently, never as a last recourse rule (Fontana 1996). He calls this the autonomous verb-movement approach, which claims that the “verb-movement to COMP is independently available in the syntax of OSp” (Fontana 1993: 216). The basis of his argument is that “syntactic cliticization (the process by which the clitic is placed at the left edge of the sentence) and phonological cliticization (the process by which the clitic attaches to a phonological host on its left) operate independently of one another” (Fontana 1997: 230). Thus, it logically follows from this assumption that “sequences involving sentence initial clitics...are syntactically acceptable, and could in principle arise in matrix environments” (Fontana 1997: 230). They never do, as we have seen, because “the syntax can license more structures than are actually acceptable, and the phonological component filters out representations in which

the clitic lacks a host" (Fontana 1996: 69). Thus, by his argument, the differences between (13) and (14) below are easily explained (Fontana 1993: 205, 207):

(13) *yl fuessen leales yl obedesciessen yl guardassen* como a Rey
and-*him were* +3pl. loyal and-*him obeyed*+3pl. and-*him kept*+3pl. as a king
"And they were to be loyal to him and to obey him and to consider him as their
king." (EE-I.181v)

(14) *e lidio con el, e vençioło, y ençerroło* en el
and *fought*+3sg. with him and *defeated*+3sg.-*him* and *locked*+3sg.-*him* in the
Alhambra de Granada
A. of G.
"And he fought with him, and defeated him, and then locked him in the
Alhambra of Granada." (Alf 11)

By the autonomous verb-movement approach, there is no need to explain why the conjunction "and" is an acceptable phonological host for the clitic in (13) but not in (14), as we would have to do in the teleological "last recourse rule" approach. Rather, it is clear that the verb in (14) has raised to C^0 because of Narrative Inversion an independently available construction in narrative contexts, while the verb in (13) remains in I^0 .

Rivero (1997) later develops an entirely different analysis. She proposes two maximal projections in between C^0 and IP where the clitic can occur. The proposal is based on the fact that clitics in main clauses seem to be more I-oriented (as in, tend to appear adjacent to the verb in I^0) while clitics in embedded clauses seem to be more C-oriented (as in, tend to appear adjacent to the complementizer in C^0). The I-oriented clause is called TMP (suggesting Tobler (1875) and Mussafia (1886)) and takes IP as its complement. I-oriented clitics raise to the head of TMP. The C-oriented clause is called WP (suggesting Wackernagel (1892)) and complements C^0 . C-oriented clitics occupy the

[Spec, WP], or WP^0 in rare circumstances. By this analysis, the clitic is either always adjacent to C^0 or always adjacent to the verb in I^0 . Enclisis is caused by verb movement to the head of TMP with “the verb and the clitic functioning as a morphological complex,” again as a last recourse rule (Rivero 1997: 191). This helps to explain why no element ever intervenes between V_{+fin} -CL, and also why enclisis never occurs in embedded clauses: only C-oriented clitics are permitted in such environments.

Thus, there are various proposals to the syntax of clitics in OSp, many of which are closely tied to the analysis of V2.

3. Method of Cataloging Word Order in Old and Modern Spanish Texts

The research for this project consisted of a close reading of sections of the OSp text *El Libro del Caballero Zifar*, a work of prose dating from the beginning of the 14th century, estimated to be the year 1301 (Walker 1974: 13). This book was chosen because it falls within the time period of OSp that is distinct from ModSp, before the major changes of the 17th century took place. Secondly, it is a single-authored work of prose with many instances of direct speech.⁴

Modeled after the study performed by Ribeiro (1995) of Old Portuguese, every clause on every tenth page of the book *El Libro del Caballero Zifar* was cataloged until 1,000 had been systematically studied. Each clause was numbered, labeled “matrix,” “embedded,” or “interrogative,” and then described in terms of the sentential elements present. (Relative clauses and non-finite verb clauses were excluded based on the nature

⁴Special Note: the author in the beginning of the book states that it was translated from Arabic. This is most likely true (Walker 1974), although such claims were often falsely made about literary works of this time to lend them authority.

of their constructions.⁵⁾ For example, a sentence such as “The cat ate the mouse” would be given a label M for matrix and described as being of the order S-V-Obj. A sentence with the same meaning but of the order “The mouse ate the cat” (a possible construction in OSp) would be described as Obj-V-S.

In addition, a ModSp text was analyzed for comparison. A short story by Emilia Pardo Bazán entitled *El Alba de Viernes Santo* (“The Dawn of Holy Friday”) was chosen both for the nature of the story, which was a narrative containing several instances of direct speech, much like the OSp *Zifar*, and for the area of Spain from which the author hails. Pardo Bazán is Galician, from the north of Spain. While the author of *Zifar* is anonymous, he is most likely from Toledo, as Walker (1974: 14) confirms, “there appear to be few, if any, traces of dialects other than Toledo-standard Castilian in the text.” Thus, most importantly, the authors of both texts are not from the south of Spain, the dialect of which has been known to exhibit rather unique characteristics. The *Alba* was written in the beginning of the 20th century in standard ModSp, and the entire story was analyzed from start to finish for a total of 185 clauses.

4. Results of Statistical Analysis of the Old Spanish Text *Zifar*

The results of the two analyses were surprisingly similar. Of the 1,000 clauses analyzed in the OSp text, 45 are interrogatives in the form of direct and indirect questions, 485 are matrix clauses including declaratives and imperatives, and 460 are embedded clauses including adverbial phrases. 10 others fall into none of the above categories but exhibit noteworthy characteristics. Moreover, of the 185 clauses analyzed

⁵ Relative clauses, for example, often contain a subject trace or a complementizer in place of the subject, making them irrelevant for our purposes here.

in the ModSp text, 5 are interrogatives, 133 are matrix clauses, and 49 are embedded clauses.

Below I will discuss both the statistical occurrence of V1, V2, and V3 in the OSp of *Zifar* and the specific nature of each. I will pay special attention to the frequency of subject-verb inversion as a marker for V2. Then I will compare the results of *Zifar* with the results from the ModSp text *Alba*.

4.1 Matrix Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

V2 effects in any language are most strongly represented in matrix environments, so we shall begin our analysis here with the 485 main clauses chosen from *Zifar*. Table 4.1 illustrates the results:

Table 4.1 - Word Order in Matrix Clauses of the Old Spanish Text *Zifar*

<i>Verb Position</i>	<i>Number of Clauses</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
V1	225	46.39%
V2	229	47.22%
V3 or V4	31	6.39%
Total:	485	100%

The majority of the matrix clauses in *Zifar* have either V1 or V2 word order, split almost evenly between the two at approximately 46% and 47%, respectively. A very small portion, roughly 6%, were of the V3 or V4 type. Neither negative particles nor pronominal object clitics nor coordinating conjunctions were included in this count, while none are traditionally considered syntactic placeholders in determining the word order of a V2 language. It may be assumed that all the following descriptions likewise exclude these elements unless otherwise noted.

4.1.1 Matrix V2 in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

As stated above, 231 of the 485 matrix clauses in *Zifar* are V2. Table 4.2 illustrates the composition of these clauses:

Table 4.2 - V2 Matrix Clauses in Old Spanish of *Zifar* (229 out of 485 total)

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Number of Clauses</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Adjective	Adj-V-(S)	6	2.62%
Adverb	Adv-V-(S)	77	33.62%
Embedded clause	CP-V-(S)	8	3.49%
Non-finite verb form	INF-V	6	2.62%
	Part-V	1	0.44%
Object	Obj-V-(S)	9	3.93%
Prepositional phrase	PP-V-(S)	21	9.17%
Subject	S-V-(O)	101	44.10%
Total:		229	100%

The subject is the element which most frequently appears in initial position when the verb is in second position, represented here by the 101 clauses which compose 44% of the 229 total instances of V2. Adverbs are the second most frequent initial element with 77 clauses representing a frequency of roughly 34%. Next come prepositional phrases, 21 clauses representing 9%, followed by the non-pronominal objects with 9 phrases representing approximately 4%. Lastly are the embedded clauses, non-finite verb forms, and adjectives, each of which represent less than 4% of the total number of occurrences of V2. Once again, pronominal object clitics and negative particles were omitted in this counting process.

4.1.2 Matrix Subject-Verb Inversion in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

However, more information than the superficial linear word order is needed to accurately classify the syntax of OSp. The best V2 indicator is the presence of subject-verb inversion, particularly when an element other than the subject appears in initial position. The following sentences illustrate this type of inversion:

- (15) E por esta razón e esta desventura **era** él siempre e su buena deuña
and for this reason and this misfortune **was+3sg.** he always and his good woman
e sus fijos en grant pobreza.
and his sons in great poverty
“And for this reason and this misfortune, he and his good wife and his sons were
always in great poverty.”⁶ (Zifar 60)
- (16) Estas palabras non **quiere** Dios que se digan de balde
these words no **want+-3sg.+pres.** God that *part. say+3pl.+subj.* of nothing
“God does not want these words to be spoken in vain.” (Zifar 160)
- (17) E otro día mañana **ovo** el rey acuerdo con todos los condes
and other day morning **had+3sg.+past** the king meeting with all the earls
“And the next morning the king held council with all the earls...” (Zifar 200)

In all three of the above example sentences the subject follows the verb and another element occupies the initial position. This first element is (15) a prepositional phrase, (16) a definite NP object, and (17) an adverbial time phrase.

However, subject-verb inversion is a difficult measure to use with OSp, which frequently employs null subjects. Only 272 of the 485 matrix clauses in *Zifar* have overt subjects, representing roughly 56%. Of these sentences, 111 are subject-initial clauses, thus demonstrating the underlying S-V-O word order of OSp and excluding them from the possibility of subject-verb inversion. That leaves us with 161 clauses (33% of the total matrix clauses) with a non-initial overt subject that could possibly exhibit the inversion

⁶ Translations of *Zifar* are both mine and taken from Nelson (1983).

we are looking for. Table 4.3 illustrates the results:

**Table 4.3 - Non-Initial Overt Subjects in the Matrix Clauses of Zifar
(161, 33% of total)**

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Number of clauses with overt subject</i>	<i>Subject precedes verb</i>	<i>Subject follows verb</i>
Verb	105	-	105 (65.22%)
<i>Quotative V1</i>	89	-	89 (55.28%)
<i>Other</i>	16	-	16 (9.94%)
Adverb	39	13 (8.07%)	26 (16.15%)
Prepositional Phrase	9	0	9 (5.59%)
Adjective	3	0	3 (1.86%)
Embedded clause	3	1 (0.62%)	2 (1.24%)
Object	2	0	2 (1.24%)
Total:	161 (100%)	14 (8.69%)	147 (91.31%)

In the 161 clauses where there is an overt subject that does not appear clause-initially, subject-verb inversion takes place in 147, roughly 91% of them. The 105 verb-initial clauses compose the majority of these, representing 65% of the data. It deserves special note here that 89 of these 105 clauses are instances of quotative V1 (to be discussed below). The second largest group is the 39 adverb-initial clauses, 13 of which (8%) maintained the standard S-V-O order and 26 of which (16%) instead showed subject-verb inversion. Next are the 9 clauses beginning with a prepositional phrase and the 3 clauses beginning with an adjective, all 12 of which (8%) showed subject-verb inversion. Of the 3 matrix clauses preceded by an embedded clause, 2 exhibited subject-verb inversion (1.24%) and 1 did not (0.62%). Lastly, the 2 object-initial clauses both contained subject-verb inversion (1.24%).

If the 89 instances of quotative V1 are excluded, we have a new total of 72 clauses

overt subject and a declarative in the first person with an overt subject. Note that the subject follows the verb in the imperative but not in the declarative clause, illustrating the tendency for subject-verb inversion in the former.

Quotative V1 is also extremely common in *Zifar*. This construction involves subject-verb inversion with verbs such as “say” which introduce or follow a direct quote, as in the following example:

- (20) “Çertas, amigo,” **dixo** el otro
 certain friend **say+3sg.+past** the other
 “Certainly, friend,” said the other. (Zifar 70)

In (20) the verb *dixo* “(he) said” follows a quote of direct speech and precedes the subject of the clause, illustrating a prime example of quotative V1. There are 89 instances of quotative V1 in the OSp of *Zifar*, nearly all of which involve the same verb as in (20).

The third V1 construction important for our analysis here is that known as Narrative Inversion. To review, NI is a root phenomenon involving the linking of a series of verb-initial clauses in a discursal fashion, all exhibiting subject-verb inversion with a definite NP subject, according to Fontana’s (1996) definition. The sentence in (21) is an example of one such series from *Zifar*:

- (21) **Levantóse** el hermitaño e **fuese** al cavallero e **dixo**
arose-self the hermit and **went** to the knight and **said**
 “The hermit got up and went to the knight and said” (Zifar 140)

In (21), the actions of the subject of the sentence are reported in a narrative fashion linked together by coordinating conjunctions, and the overt subject is a definite NP which follows the verb. In *Zifar*, there are approximately 65 narrative series of verbs which are linked in the same manner as the example in (21). However, only 16 of them are V1

clauses and only 6 of these show overt subject-verb inversion like the example above.

Another 31 of these 65 narrative series are distinctly subject-initial clauses with no instances of inversion, of the form shown in (22):

- (22) E el enperador **enbió** éste e **mandó** traer el otro e
 and the emperor **sent** this and **order+3sg.+past** bring+inf. the other and
díxole
say+3sg.+past-him
 “And the emperor sent this one away and ordered that the other one be brought
 and told him...” (Zifar 75)

In (22), there are three verbs linked in a narrative fashion with a definite NP subject, but no subject-verb inversion. Thus while it deserves mention that 16 of the V1 clauses found in *Zifar* can be labeled Narrative Inversion, it must also be noted that this is not a very common construction in OSp.

Table 4.4 gives a more detailed picture of the 225 occurrences of V1 in *Zifar*:

Table 4.4 - V1 Matrix Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar* (225 total)

<i>Type of V1</i>	<i>Number of Clauses</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Imperative	20	8.89%
Quotative V1	89	39.56%
Narrative Inversion	16	7.11%
Declarative	100	44.44%
Total:	225	100%

Imperatives constitute roughly 9% of the total instances of V1 in *Zifar*, while quotative V1 lays claim to 40% and Narrative Inversion accounts for another 7%. This leaves 100 clauses, approximately 44% of the total instances of V1, which do not fall into the three special categories discussed above. Rather, clauses of this type are labeled simply

“declarative,” and are of the type shown in (23):

- (23) E **prométovos** que quando Dios a esta onra me llegare...
 and **promise+1sg.-you** that when God to this honor me arrive+3sg.+subj.
 “And I promise you that when God brings me to this honor...” (Zifar 140)

In this representative example, the verb begins the sentence and is followed by a clitic and an embedded clause, which serves as the complement to the verb. Note that it is a null subject sentence, just as 90 of the 100 “declarative” V1 clauses are.

4.1.4 Matrix V3 and V4 in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Only 31 of the 485 matrix clauses of *Zifar* exhibit a V3 or V4 word order, representing approximately 6% of the total. Sentences of this type contain more than one element in the beginning of the sentence before the verb, much like the following sentences:

- (24) E mientras ellos oían misa, el ribaldo **estava** contendiendo con su amo
 and while they hear+3pl.+past mass, the knave **was** contending with his lord
 “And while they were at mass, the knave was arguing with his lord...” (Zifar 140)

- (25) E pues la mia conçençia non me **acusa**
 and hence the my conscience no me **accuse+3sg.+pres.**
 “And hence, my conscience does not accuse me...” (Zifar 62)

- (26) Pero el señor de buen seso, si dubdar de aquellos que le han
 but the lord of good sense if doubt+inf. of those that him have+3pl.+pres.

de seguir, para ser cierto **llámalos** a su consejo
 to follow+inf. for be+inf. certain **call+3sg.+pres.-them** to his counsel

“But the prudent lord, if he doubts his followers, in order to be certain, should call them into his counsel...” (Zifar 61)

The first sentence (24) begins with an embedded clause and a subject, with the verb

following in the third position. The second sentence (25) begins with an adverb and a subject, similarly placing the verb in third position. The third sentence (26) begins with the subject of the main clause followed by an embedded clause and a prepositional phrase, placing the verb in fourth position. Of the 31 clauses in *Zifar* exhibiting V3 or V4 word orders, the majority, 20 clauses, begin with an adverb like the example in (25) and 10 begin with a subject followed by another element as in (26). Sentence (24) is the only one of its kind.

4.2 Old Spanish Word Order in Matrix Clauses Compared to Modern Spanish

All of the word orders found in the analysis of OSp are also possible in ModSp (with the exception of pronominal clitic placement, to be discussed below). The verbal syntax of the OSp in *Zifar* reads very much like that of the ModSp text *Alba*. Indeed, the syntax of the Old and Modern Spanish texts proved to be almost statistically identical in matrix clauses. The table below compares the word order of the 485 matrix clauses of *Zifar* with the 133 matrix clauses of *Alba*:

Table 4.5 - Word Order of Matrix Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar* v. the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

<i>Verb Position</i>	<i>Old Spanish of Zifar</i>	<i>Modern Spanish of Alba</i>
V1	(225) 46.39%	(65) 48.87%
V2	(229) 47.22%	(60) 45.11%
V3 or V4	(31) 6.39%	(8) 6.02%
Total:	(485) 100%	(133) 100%

The majority of the matrix clauses are either V1 or V2 in both of the OSp and ModSp texts studied. Approximately 46% of the matrix clauses in OSp are V1 while 49% are V1 in ModSp. Similarly, 47% are V2 in OSp and 45% in ModSp. Lastly, roughly 6% of the

matrix clauses exhibit V3 or V4 word order in both Old and Modern Spanish.

4.2.1 Matrix V2 in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

The specific composition of the V2 matrix clauses in ModSp is also similar to that of OSp. Table 4.6 illustrates which elements occupied initial position in ModSp and repeats the same information for OSp from Table 4.2 for comparison:

**Table 4.6 - V2 Matrix Clauses
in the Modern Spanish of *Alba* v. the Old Spanish of *Zifar***

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Old Spanish</i>	<i>Modern Spanish</i>
Adverb	(77) 33.63%	(25) 41.67%
Object	(9) 3.93%	(1) 1.67%
Prepositional phrase	(21) 9.17%	(5) 8.33%
Subject	(101) 44.10%	(29) 48.33%
Total:	(208) 90.83%	(60) 100%

In both Old and Modern Spanish, the subject is the most frequent initial element in V2 clauses, representing 44% and 48% respectively. The second most frequent is adverbs, which occupy the first position in 34% of the matrix V2 clauses in OSp and 42% in ModSp. Third is prepositional phrases, which represent 9% of OSp and 8% of ModSp. The last element to occupy initial position in ModSp V2 clauses is the non-pronominal object, which represents 4% of the clauses and only 2% in OSp. Adjectives, embedded clauses, and non-finite verb forms do not occur clause-initially in this particular ModSp text, which account for the other 9% of OSp V2 clauses not shown in this table. Their absence in a ModSp text of 133 matrix clauses is not surprising, considering none of these elements appeared more than 8 times each in the 485 matrix clauses of the OSp

text, each representing less than 4% of the total V2 clauses.

4.2.2 Matrix Subject-Verb Inversion in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

Subject-verb inversion also occurs in ModSp. Again, null subjects are frequent; only 57 of the 133 matrix clauses in the ModSp text had overt subjects, roughly 43% (as compared to 56% in OSp). 29 of these are subject-initial, illustrating once again the underlying S-V-O word order. That leaves 28 clauses in which subject-verb inversion could possibly take place. The results are shown in the following table:

**Table 4.7 - Non-Initial Overt Subjects
in the Modern Spanish of *Alba* (28, 21% of total)**

<i>Initial element</i>	<i>Number of clauses with overt subject</i>	<i>Subject precedes verb</i>	<i>Subject follows verb</i>
Verb	17	-	17 (60.71%)
<i>Quotative V1</i>	4	-	4 (14.29%)
<i>Other</i>	13	-	13 (46.43%)
Adverb	9	5 (17.86%)	4 (14.29%)
Prepositional phrase	2	1 (3.57%)	1 (3.57%)
Total:	28 (100%)	6 (21.43%)	22 (78.57%)

Of the 28 ModSp matrix clauses with an overt subject that does not appear as the first element in the sentence, subject-verb inversion takes place in 22 of them, roughly 79%. The 17 verb-initial clauses represent 61%. There are 4 adverb-initial clauses with subject-verb inversion, representing 14% of the total clauses, and 5 with no inversion, representing 18%, while there is 1 clause beginning with a prepositional phrase in each category, each representing roughly 4%.

As mentioned earlier, quotative V1 is a type of subject-verb inversion that is restricted to a very specific set of conditions and should not be considered applicable in a

V2 analysis. Thus, if we subtract out the 4 instances of quotative V1 found in the ModSp text, we are left with 24 clauses where subject-verb inversion is possible and 18 actual instances of it, for a new frequency of 75% inversion. As stated in Section 4.1.2, if the instances of quotative V1 are also left out of the OSp data, we have a similar frequency of 81% inversion.

4.2.3 Matrix V1 in Modern Spanish of *Alba*

The word order V1 was present in 65 of the 133 matrix clauses in the ModSp text examined. As discussed in Section 4.1.3, there are three distinct types of V1 which deserve special note: imperatives, quotatives, and instances of narrative inversion. In the ModSp text, 4 of the V1 clauses were imperatives and all were null subjects. Another 4 were examples of quotative V1, and 2 were series of narrative verbs although both were null subject. The remaining 55 were all simple declarative sentences, as shown in the table below, with the OSp data repeated from above:

Table 4.8 - V1 in Old Spanish of *Zifar* v. the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

<i>Type of V1</i>	<i>Old Spanish</i>	<i>Modern Spanish</i>
Imperative	(20) 8.89%	(4) 6.15%
Quotative V1	(89) 39.56%	(4) 6.15%
Narrative Inversion	(16) 7.11%	(2) 3.08%
Declarative	(100) 44.44%	(55) 84.62%
Total:	(225) 100%	(65) 100%

Thus, while both OSp and ModSp have a similar frequency of type V1 within the matrix clauses as a whole, the composition of V1 in each is different. Declarative clauses represent the majority of V1 clauses in both Old and Modern Spanish at roughly 44% and

85% respectively, and narrative inversion represents the least at 7% and 3% respectively. There is also a low occurrence of imperatives in both, at 9% and 6% each, but the main difference lies in the number of quotative V1 clauses. OSp has a much higher frequency of quotative V1, representing approximately 40%, as compared to ModSp's low instance of 6%. This may be explained by the fact that the OSp text of *Zifar* contains more written dialog and situations of direct speech than the ModSp text selected.

4.2.4 Matrix V3 and V4 in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

Both OSp and ModSp had a low instance of V3 and V4 matrix clauses, representing approximately 6% of the total matrix clauses in each. This word order is thus extremely rare in both languages and is most frequently caused by the addition of an adverb at the beginning of the sentence. Of the 8 V3 and V4 clauses found in ModSp, 6 began with an adverb and 2 began with a prepositional phrase, and all were subsequently followed by another adverb or the subject. This is comparable to the 20 clauses which began with an adverb out of 31 exhibiting V3 and V4 in OSp. Thus in both languages adverbs are the first element in roughly two-thirds of the V3 and V4 sentences. In contrast, the remaining 11 clauses in OSp begin with the subject or an embedded clause.

4.3 Embedded Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Embedded clauses account for 460 of the 1,000 clauses analyzed in *Zifar*. The terms "V1," "V2," and "V3" require special definition in embedded environments because each clause is introduced by its own word which is not included in the count. In the case of *Zifar*, this word is either an adverb or a complementizer, illustrated in the

following sentences (with the embedded clause in brackets, the introductory word in italics, and the verb in bold):

(27) [*E quando* **llegué** a esta villa,] **fallé** las peurtas çerradas
 [and *when* **arrived+1sg.** to this town,] **found+1sg** the gates locked
 “When I arrived in this town, I found the gates locked.” (Zifar 75)

(28) E **dixe** [*que* lo yo **avía** muerto]
 and **said+1sg.** [*that* him I **had+1sg.** killed]
 “And I said that I had killed him.” (Zifar 75)

In the example in (27), the adverb *quando* “when” introduces the embedded clause at the beginning of the sentence. It’s not counted as an element, thus the clause in (27) is classified as V1. In the sentence in (28), the complementizer *que* “that” introduces the embedded clause that serves as the complement of *dixe* “(I) said” and is not counted as an element. Note also that coordinating conjunctions such as *e* “and”, pronominal object clitics such as *lo* “him”, and negative particles such as *non* “no/not” are still not counted as syntactic placeholders, hence this clause is labeled V2. In *Zifar*, 104 of the embedded clauses begin with an adverb as in (27), and the remaining 356 begin with a complementizer as in (28).

Table 4.9 illustrates the distribution of the word orders in embedded clauses in the OSp of *Zifar*:

Table 4.9 - Word Order in Embedded Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Number of Clauses</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
V1	298	64.78%
V2	150	32.61%
V3 or V4	12	2.61%
Total:	460	100%

Out of the 460 total embedded clauses in *Zifar*, 298 of them are V1, representing 65%.

150 are V2, representing approximately 33%, and the remaining 12 clauses are V3 or V4, occupying a little less than 3%.

4.3.1 Embedded V2 in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Of the 460 embedded clauses studied in the OSp of *Zifar*, 150 of them are V2, which represents roughly 33%. Within these, 34 begin with an adverb and 116 begin with a complementizer. The nature of these clauses is shown in Table 4.10:

Table 4.10 - Embedded V2 Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Number of Clauses</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Adjective	<i>Adv-Adj-V-(S)</i>	0	3.33%
	<i>C-Adj-V-(S)</i>	5 = 5	
Adverb	<i>Adv-Adv-V-(S)</i>	3	21.33%
	<i>C-Adv-V-(S)</i>	29 = 32	
Object	<i>Adv-Obj-V-(S)</i>	7	11.33%
	<i>C-Obj-V-(S)</i>	10 = 17	
Prepositional Phrase	<i>Adv-PP-V-(S)</i>	2	11.33%
	<i>C-PP-V-(S)</i>	15 = 17	
Subject	<i>Adv-S-V-(O)</i>	22	52.67%
	<i>C-S-V-(O)</i>	57 = 79	
Total:		150	100%

The majority of the V2 embedded clauses begin with a subject, represented by 79 clauses which compose 53% of the total. Adverbs are the next most frequent initial element with 32 clauses representing 21%. Non-pronominal objects and prepositional phrases come next with 17 clauses each for 11% of the total, respectively. The least common initial element is the adjective, at 5 clauses or 3%.

4.3.2 Embedded Subject-Verb Inversion in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Once again, the true measure for a V2 language is the incidence of subject-verb inversion rather than a numerical count of the elements in linear order. Examples of inversion are given below (once again with the introductory adverb/complementizer in italics and the verb in bold):

- (29) [*ca* así los **acostunbraron** e los **nodresçieron** aquella buena dueña]
 [for this way them **taught+3pl.** and them **raised+3pl.** that good woman]
 "...for in this way that good lady had taught them and reared them well."⁷
 (p.120)

- (30) e él díxome [*que* con çient cavalleros de buenos **podría** ome
 and he said-me [*that* with hundred knights of good **could+cond.** man
 acometer mill de non tan buenos]
 attack+inf. thousand of no such great
 "And he told me that with one hundred good knights a man could attack more
 than one thousand not as good." (p.90)

- (31) [*Quando* esto oyó el huésped,] baxó la cabeça e salió de la cámara
 [*when* this **heard+3sg.** the host,] lowered the head and left of the room
 "When the host heard this, he lowered his head and left the room." (p.90)

In the sentence in (29), the adverb *asi* "thus, in this way" begins the clause, followed by two verbs linked by a coordinating conjunction, and finally by the subject. In (30) the embedded clause begins with a prepositional phrase, followed by the finite verb, the subject, and the non-finite verb. In (31), a demonstrative object is the first element in the clause, followed by the verb and then the subject. Thus in all three clauses, the usual S-V-O order is inverted when another element occupies the initial position.

Of the 460 embedded clauses of *Zifar*, 145 of them have overt subjects, which

⁷ The verbs in this sentence are somewhat inexplicably conjugated for the third person plural, though the subject is clearly the singular "lady" at the end. The author may have been using the impersonal third person plural or may have shown agreement with the plural clitic that precedes the verbs.

correspond to approximately 31.74%. Of these 145 clauses, 84 are subject-initial, thus leaving 62 clauses with the potential to show subject-verb inversion. Table 4.11 gives a description of these clauses:

Table 4.11 - Non-Initial Overt Subjects in the Embedded Clauses of *Zifar*
(61, 13% of total)

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Number of clauses with overt subject</i>	<i>Subject precedes verb</i>	<i>Subject follows verb</i>
Verb	49	-	49 (80.33%)
Adverb	5	3 (4.92%)	2 (3.28%)
Prepositional Phrase	6	2 (3.28%)	4 (6.56%)
Object	1	0	1 (1.64%)
Total:	61 (100%)	5 (8.20%)	56 (91.81%)

In the 61 embedded clauses of *Zifar* in which the subject does not appear clause-initially, subject-verb inversion occurs in 56 of them, roughly 92%. The verb-initial clauses compose the vast majority of these with 49 clauses, representing 80% of the 61 total clauses. On the other hand, only 2 of the embedded clauses that begin with an adverb show subject-verb inversion (3%), while the other 3 do not (5%). Similarly, 4 of the embedded clauses that begin with a prepositional phrase show inversion (7%) while the other 2 do not (3%). Lastly, the only embedded clause with a non-pronominal object in initial position does not show inversion. It deserves mention that out of the 56 embedded clauses exhibiting subject-verb inversion, only 7 of them are of the strict V2 word order.

4.3.3 Embedded V1 in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

The majority of the embedded clauses in *Zifar* are type V1, with 298 clauses representing 65% of the total. In addition to the example given above in (27), the

following sentences provide a sample of the clauses classified as embedded V1 in *Zifar*:

(32) E [*si estudiere* ome alguno en los andamios,] dezirle hedes que...
and [*if he+3sg.+subj.* man any on the scaffolding] tell+inf.-him will+2sg. that
“And if there is anyone on the scaffolding, you will tell him that...” (Zifar 150)

(33) E contóle todo su fecho e el pensamiento que pensó
and told+3sg.-him all his deed and the thought that thought+3sg.

[*por que non se perdiesen* estos omes que non eran en culpa]
for that no part. lose+3pl.+subj. these men that no were+3pl. in fault]
“And he told him all that he had done and the thoughts he had thought so that
these men would not be executed, who were not at fault.” (Zifar 75)

In (32) the embedded clause is introduced by the word *si* “if” and is immediately followed by the verb, then the subject and the matrix clause of the sentence. In (33) the embedded clause is introduced by the phrase *por que* “so that” and is followed by a negative particle, a clitic, and the verb. Considering these first two are not counted as placeholders, this embedded clause is classified as V1.

The three different types of V1 in matrix clauses discussed above, imperatives, quotatives, and narrative series, are less frequent in the realm of embedded clauses. A direct command is never found in an embedded clause in *Zifar*. Instances of quotative V1 are rare; the verb *dezir* “to say” is found 3 times with subject-verb inversion, only once quoting direct speech:

(34) [...e *que dixiera* el uno al otro: “Hermano, ...”]
[...and *that said+3sg.+subj.* the one to-the other: “brother, ...”]
“...and that one said to the other, ‘Brother...’” (Zifar 180)

Narrative series are also found in embedded clauses, but are equally rare. They tend to be one of two types: a series of verbs joined by coordinating conjunctions and introduced by one complementizer or adjective, or a series of verbs in which each is individually

introduced by its own complementizer or adjective:

(35) De guisa [*que acordaron* en lo que Roboán dixo e *cavalgaron*
of way [*that agreed+3pl.* in it that R. said+3sg. and *mounted+3pl.*

e *fuéronse* para la hueste del conde...]
and *went+3pl.-refl.* for the army of-the count]

“In such a way that they agreed with what Roboán said and mounted and left for
the army of the count...” (Zifar 190)

(36) E dize el cuento [*que este su amigo fue* casado en aquella tierra
and tells the story [*that this his friend was* married in that land

e *que se le muriera* la muger e *que non dexara* fijo ninguno]
and *that refl. him died* the woman and *that no left* son none]

“And the story relates that this friend of his was married in that land, and that his
wife died and left him with no children.” (Zifar 70)

In (35), there are three verbs linked together in a narrative fashion by coordinating conjunctions, all of which is introduced by the single complementizer *que* “that”. In contrast, each of the three verbs linked together in a narrative fashion in (36) is introduced by its own separate *que*. Out of all 460 embedded clauses in *Zifar*, there are only 18 instances of narrative series such as these, 9 of which fall into the V1 category. The second verb of the series in (36) is also the only instance of subject-verb inversion in all of them. Note also that such inversion does not occur with the first verb of the embedded clause. Thus, the type of Narrative Inversion discussed above is quite rare in embedded clauses.

Therefore, excluding the few exceptions mentioned above, the majority of the V1 embedded clauses in *Zifar* are simply declarative sentences. The composition of these is given below:

Table 4.12 - Embedded V1 in the Old Spanish of Zifar (298 total)

<i>Introduced by a...</i>	<i>Null Subject</i>	<i>Overt Subject</i>
Complementizer	190 (63.76%)	40 (13.42%)
Adverb	60 (20.13%)	8 (2.68%)
Total:	250 (83.89%)	48 (16.11%)

Most of the V1 embedded clauses in *Zifar* have null subjects, with 250 clauses representing 84%. Within these 250 clauses, 190 are introduced by a complementizer (64%) and 60 by an adverb (20%). The remaining 48 clauses have an overt subject, representing 16%. 40 of these are introduced by a complementizer (13%) and 8 by an adverb (3%).

4.3.4 Embedded V3 and V4 in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Only 12 of the 460 embedded clauses in *Zifar* exhibited V3 or V4 word order representing less than 3% of the total. In these types of sentences, more than one element intervenes between the introductory complementizer or adverb and the verb itself:

(37) [*Ca* muchas veces algunos [porque son sotiles e agudos] **trabájanse**
for many times some [because are+3pl. clever and sharp] **work-refl.**

de mudar los derechos e los buenos consejos en mal]
of change+inf. the right and the good advice in bad]

“For often some, because they are clever and sharp, will try to change correct and good advice into bad...” (Zifar 61)

(38) E [*si* en la uña del pie vos **dolierdes...**
and [*if* in the nail of-the foot you **hurt+2sg.**]

“And if your toenail hurts you...”

(Zifar 170)

The embedded clause in (37) contains an adverbial time phrase, the subject, and an embedded clause before the verb comes in fourth position. In (38), a prepositional phrase

and the subject precede the verb, placing it in third position. 10 of the 12 clauses in this category have an overt subject in one of the initial positions before the verb as in the two examples given above. The remaining two have a prepositional phrase followed by another element before the verb.

4.4 Old Spanish Word Order in Embedded Clauses Compared to Modern Spanish

There are 47 embedded clauses in the ModSp text *Alba*. The word order patterns of these clauses are shown in the table below, with the corresponding data from OSp repeated from Table 4.9 for comparison:

Table 4.13 - Word Order of Embedded Clauses in the Old Spanish of *Zifar* v. the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Old Spanish of Zifar</i>	<i>Modern Spanish of Alba</i>
V1	(298) 64.78%	(25) 53.19%
V2	(150) 32.61%	(20) 42.55%
V3 or V4	(12) 2.61%	(2) 4.26%
Total:	(460) 100%	(47) 100%

The majority of the embedded clauses are V1 in both the texts examined, with 65% in the OSp of *Zifar* and 53% in the ModSp of *Alba*. V2 is actually more common in ModSp than OSp, with 33% in *Zifar* and 43% in *Alba*. The least common word order in both texts is V3 and V4, occupying less than 3% in *Zifar* and approximately 4% in *Alba*.

4.4.1 Embedded V2 in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

In the ModSp text *Alba*, 20 of the 47 embedded clauses exhibited V2 word order. Out of these 20, only one is introduced by an adverb and the other 19 are introduced by a

complementizer. The nature of these clauses in comparison to those of the OSp of *Zifar* is given below:

**Table 4.14 - V2 Matrix Clauses
in the Modern Spanish of *Alba* v. the Old Spanish of *Zifar***

<i>Initial Element</i>	<i>Old Spanish</i>	<i>Modern Spanish</i>
Adverb	(32) 21.33%	(5) 25.00%
Prepositional phrase	(17) 11.33%	(3) 15.00%
Subject	(79) 52.67%	(12) 60.00%
Total:	(128) 85.33%	(20) 100%

In both texts, the subject is the most frequent initial element in embedded V2 clauses (just as it is in matrix V2 clauses), with 53% in the OSp of *Zifar* and 60% in the ModSp of *Alba*. The next most frequent initial element is adverbs at 21% in *Zifar* and 25% in *Alba*. The last initial element is prepositional phrases, with 11% in *Zifar* and 15% in *Alba*. Adjectives and non-pronominal objects compose the missing 14.67% of the *Zifar* data, which do not appear initially in the embedded V2 clauses of the ModSp of *Alba*.

4.4.2 Embedded Subject-Verb Inversion in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

Subject-verb inversion occurs in the embedded clauses of *Alba*. Only 18 of the 47 embedded clauses have overt subjects, corresponding to about 38%, and 12 of these are subject-initial, thus removing them from the possibility of inversion. Of the remaining 6 clauses, 2 are verb-initial, thus exhibiting subject-verb inversion, and the other 4 are adverb-initial, 2 of which show inversion and 2 of which do not. Thus, 4 out of 6 or 67% of the embedded clauses with a non-initial overt subjects show inversion in the ModSp of *Alba*, compared to the 92% rate of inversion for non-initial overt subjects in the embedded clauses of the OSp of *Zifar*.

4.4.3 Embedded V1 in Modern Spanish of *Alba*

In the ModSp text *Alba*, 25 embedded clauses are type V1, representing 53% of the total 47. Out of these 25 clauses, 8 are introduced by an adverb, representing 32% (compare with 23% in *Zifar*), and 17 are introduced by a complementizer, representing 68% (compare with 77% in *Zifar*). The composition of these clauses is given below in comparison to their OSp counterparts in *Zifar*:

**Table 4.15 - Embedded V1
in the Old Spanish of *Zifar* v. the Modern Spanish of *Alba***

	<i>Old Spanish</i>	<i>Modern Spanish</i>
Null Subject	(250) 83.89%	(23) 92.00%
Overt Subject	(48) 16.11%	(2) 8.00%
Total:	(298) 100%	(25) 100%

The majority of embedded V1 clauses are null subject in both texts, with 84% in the OSp of *Zifar* and 92% in the ModSp of *Alba*. Only 16% have overt subjects in *Zifar* and 8% in *Alba*.

4.4.4 Embedded V3 and V4 in the Modern Spanish of *Alba*

The frequency of V3 and V4 is equally rare in both the OSp and ModSp texts. This word order represents only 3% of the embedded clauses of *Zifar* and 4% of *Alba*. Both of the only two examples of this word order in *Alba* contain an adverb and a subject in the two initial positions before the verb, which was also the most common form of V3 and V4 in *Zifar*.

4.5 Clitics in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

The behavior of pronominal object clitics in *Zifar*, though markedly different from their ModSp counterparts, is much more uniform than Fontan (1993, 1996) portrays them to be.

4.5.1 Clitics in Matrix Environments in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Every single clitic in a matrix environment in *Zifar* appears directly adjacent to the verb. However, unlike ModSp, there is a great deal of variation on whether the clitic precedes or follows the finite verb. The behavior of the majority of clitics in matrix environments in *Zifar* can be described by a two-part rule. When the verb is the first element in the sentence, the clitic follows it (the phenomenon known as enclisis). When another element is in initial position, the clitic precedes the verb (proclisis). In other words, the clitic always precedes the verb unless doing so would place it clause-initially, a constraint which cannot be violated.

There are 163 matrix clauses in *Zifar* which contain pronominal clitics. Out of these, 61 are verb-initial and therefore enclitic, of the order V_{+fin} -CL. The remaining 102 matrix clauses contain an element other than the verb in initial position, and 62 of these are proclitic, of the order CL- V_{+fin} . This difference is illustrated in the following sentence (with the clitics in italics and the verbs in bold):

- (39) E el capellán *se fue* para el señor de la casa e *díxole* que...
 and the chaplain *refl. went+3sg.* for the lord of the house and *said+3sg.-him* that
 “And the chaplain went to the lord of the house and told him that...” (Zifar 70)

The sentence in (39) contains two verbs linked by the coordinating conjunction *e* “and”.

The clitic precedes the verb in the first half of the sentence because the subject is in initial

position, therefore preventing the clitic from appearing clause-initially. In the second half of the sentence, however, there is nothing but the verb in initial position so the clitic follows it. Note that while these two verbs share the same subject and may not necessarily be part of two separate clauses, the boundary created by the coordinating conjunction *e* is enough to cause enclisis. In fact, in the entire text of *Zifar*, a clitic is immediately adjacent to a coordinating conjunction only three times, and never in a matrix clause.⁸ This is a marked difference from the examples given in section 2.2 above, particularly (8) and (13) from Fontana (1996), in which the clitic is not only adjacent to the conjunction but is written as one word with it.⁹

Nonetheless, we are left with 40 clauses, or 25% of the clitics in the matrix clauses of *Zifar*, which do not at first glance seem to fit into the rule above. In each of these 40 sentences, the clitic follows the verb despite the fact that an element other than the verb appears in initial position. These clauses can be divided into four different categories. The first is one in which a relative or adverbial clause immediately precedes the V_{+fin} -CL combination, the second is imperatives, the third is those clauses which can be classified as showing Narrative Inversion, and the fourth and final category is for all the clauses which do not fit into the first three.

In the first category of enclisis, a relative or adverbial clause precedes the verb. Out of the 40 clauses which break the two-part rule stated above, 17 are of this type.

⁸ One of which was already shown above as example (29) and is repeated here for convenience:

ca así *los* **acostunbraron** e *los* **nodresçieron** aquella buena dueña
 for this way *them* **taught+3pl.** and *them* **raised+3pl.** that good woman
 "...for in this way that good lady had taught them and reared them well." (Zifar 120)

⁹ Sentence (13) is also repeated here for convenience:

yl **fuessen** leales *yl* **obedesciessen** *yl* **guardassen** como a Rey
 and-*him* **were+3pl.** loyal and-*him* **obeyed+3pl.** and-*him* **kept+3pl.** as to king
 "And to be loyal to him and to obey him and to consider him as their king"

(EE-I.181v)

Examples of such sentences are given below (with the relative or adverbial clause in brackets, the clitic in italics, and the verb in bold):

(40) E los moços [quando *se* **vieron** en uno,] **començáronse** abraçar
 and the boys [when *refl.* **saw+3pl.** in one] **began+3pl-refl.** hug+inf.
 “And when the boys saw each other, they began to hug one another.” (Zifar 119)

(41) E los otros [que **avían** sabor de servir al rey], [entendiendo
 and the others [that **had+3pl.** desire of serve+inf. to-the king], [understanding
 que *se* **libraría** el fecho más aína por él,] **consejáronle** que
 that *refl.* **expedite-cond.** the deed more easily by him,] **advised+3pl.-him** that
 “And the others, who wanted to serve the king, understanding that the deed
 would be expedited more easily by him, advised him to...” (Zifar 200)

In the first sentence (40), a finite adverbial time phrase (beginning with the word “when”) precedes the V_{+fin} -CL sequence. In (41) both a relative clause and another finite embedded clause precede the V_{+fin} -CL sequence.

One possible explanation for the occurrence of enclisis in this first category is that these relative and adverbial clauses are followed by a prosodic break. It has already been stated in Fontana (1993) and is indeed proved by the data from *Zifar* that clitics in OSP cannot occur at the beginning of an utterance because they require a phonological host to their left. Perhaps there is a pause after the embedded clauses in these sentences, as indicated by the comma, which makes them unfit phonological hosts and creates a break in the utterance not unlike that at the beginning of a sentence. Indeed, such is very much the case in Modern English. In ModE, the third person singular verbs *has* and *is* encliticize to preceding NP's, regardless of their syntactic status, but are “sensitive to prosodic phrasing” (Hock 1996: 202). Note the following examples (adapted from Hock 1996: 202):

- (42) The king of England's come to visit.
 (43) The king of England, who recently started a world tour, **has** come to visit.
 (44) *The king of England, who recently started a world tour, 's come to visit.

In sentence (42), the verb *has* attaches to the preceding word *England* despite the fact that this word modifies the noun and has little to do with the verb phrase itself. In (43), the relative clause *who recently started a world tour* is followed by a prosodic break, thus depriving the verb of a phonological host to its left. Cliticization in this scenario would be impossible, as shown in (44). I would argue that this is exactly what is going on in the OSp sentences of the form in (40) and (41) from *Zifar*. While many linguists are reluctant to give so much weight to prosodic considerations when dealing with syntactic operations, others have noted that “the placement of second position (2P) clitics cannot be entirely explained in syntactic terms, but that prosodic and other non-syntactic facts need to be considered as well” (Hock 1996: 202).

The second category of “rule-breaking” enclisis in OSp is imperatives. All of the imperatives with clitics in *Zifar* are of the order V_{+fin}-CL. Out of the 40 clauses which contain the sequence V_{+fin}-CL with another element in initial position, 6 are direct second or first person imperatives. One begins with the phrase “for the love of God” and the remaining 5 begin with an adverb as in (45):

- (45) “Pues **endreçaldo**,”¹⁰ dixo el señor de la hueste.
 well **arrange+2sg.imp-it** said+3sg. the lord of the army
 “‘Well, arrange it,’” said the army commander. (Zifar 110)

The sentence in (45) begins with the adverb *pues* “well” which is often inserted in the

¹⁰ **endreçaldo** = **endreçad+lo**

Metathesis of consonant clusters is not uncommon in OSp, especially those containing liquids. Note also *demostralde* = *demostrad+le* (Zifar 150).

beginning of conversational sentences, and is followed by the imperative sequence V_{+fin} -CL. This construction survives to ModSp, where clitics may never precede the finite verb in affirmative imperatives. More importantly, these 6 clauses upon closer inspection do not violate the two-part rule formed above.

The third category is that of resumptive pronouns in Narrative Inversion. In this class of enclisis, a series of verbs is connected by coordinating conjunctions in a narrative fashion. There are two sentences which fall into this category, both of which exhibit subject-verb inversion (the so-called Narrative Inversion of Fontana 1996) as illustrated:

(46) E estas palabras que decía el cavallero oyólas Grima,
and these words that said+3sg. the knight **heard+3sg-them** G.

la su buena muger, e **entró** en la cámara...e **dixole**
the his good woman and **entered+3sg.** in the room and **said+3sg.-him**
“And his good wife Grima heard the words that the knight said and entered the
room and said to him...” (Zifar 63)

The clitic *las* in (46) is a resumptive pronoun that refers to the object *estas palabras* “these words” at the beginning of the sentence, therefore implying that the NP of the object is left-adjoined outside the minimal CP that contains the verb and the clitic. This then leads to the conclusion that the verb is CP-initial, supported by the the fact that both the clitic and the subject follow the verb in this sentence. This fits perfectly with Fontana’s (1996) definition of Narrative Inversion, in which the verb is independently raised to C^0 , therefore causing enclisis. The other instance of Narrative Inversion exhibits the same characteristics:

(47) E por la su ventura **matélo** yo, o **cortéle** la cabeça e
and for the his fortune **killed+1sg.-him** I and **cut+1sg.-him** the head and

los pies e los braços e las piernas, e **echélo** en aquel pozo,
the feet and the arms and the legs and **threw+1sg.-it** in that well

e el cuerpo **metílo** en un saco e **téngolo** so el mi lecho,
and the body **placed+1sg.-it** in a sack and **put+1sg.-it** under the my bed

“And by his good fortune, I killed him and cut off his head and feet and arms and legs, and threw all of it into that well, and placed the body in a sack and put it under my bed.”
(Zifar 65)

Again we have a sentence in which both the subject and the clitic follow the verb, and again we have a resumptive pronoun *lo* for an NP object *el cuerpo* “the body” left-adjoined before the verb, or in other words, another prime example of Narrative Inversion with a resumptive pronoun which explains the occurrence of enclisis. Thus, Narrative Inversion is a possible construction in the OSp of *Zifar* but is quite rare, judging by the fact that the sentences in (40) and (41) are the only 2 instances of it with subject-verb inversion and enclisis, while there are 11 narrative series of verbs which do not fit the definition (with neither subject-verb inversion nor enclisis).

Thus, we are left with 15 matrix clauses in the fourth category of “unexplained” enclisis. 10 of these sentences begin with the subject as in (48), 3 begin with an adverb as in (49), and one begins with an object which is followed by another resumptive pronoun in (50):

(48) E él **hízogelo** cual ellos quisieron.
and he **did+3sg.-them-it** as they wanted+3pl.+subj.
“And he did it for them as they wished.”

(Zifar 75)

(49) E aún **preguntóme** más
 and even **asked+3sg.-me** more
 “And he even asked me more...” (Zifar 90)

(50) e a los logares del rey **dexávanlos** perder
 and to the locations of-the king **allowed+3pl.-them** lose+inf.
 “And they allowed the cities of the kind to be lost.” (Zifar 62)

In sentence (48) and others of its type, the clitic follows the verb despite the presence of an overt subject at the beginning which would prevent the clitic from appearing clause-initially. Similarly, in sentence (49) the clitic follows the verb despite the presence of an adverb in initial position. In sentence (50), the clitic *los* refers to the NP object at the beginning of the sentence (*los logares*), implying once again that this object is left-adjoined outside the minimal CP containing the V_{+fin} -CL sequence.

The sentences of the type in (49) could be explained by the fact that the adverbs are conversational interjections and not syntactic placeholders in the beginning of the sentence, or interjections which create a prosodic break. In other words, the three sentences of type (49) could be considered V1, an environment in which enclisis is expected. However, sentences of type (48) pose a greater problem. There is no doubt that an overt subject is an acceptable phonological host for a pronominal clitic; in fact, it serves as such in 30 of the matrix clauses in *Zifar*. Thus these 10 sentences (representing approximately 6% of all the matrix clauses with clitics) are true exceptions to the two-part rule formed above.

4.5.2 Clitics in Embedded Environments in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Clitics behave with remarkable uniformity in the embedded environments in *Zifar*.

The sentence in (52) is the only embedded clause of its kind in which the clitic follows the clause-initial finite verb. In fact, it is identical to a matrix clause except for the complementizer *ca* “for” at the beginning. These few exceptions account for less than 2% of the total embedded clauses with clitics.

Negative embedded clauses compose the largest class of exceptions to the CL-V_{+fin} word order rule. In *Zifar*, there are 9 embedded clauses of the order C-CL-Neg-V_{+fin} and 6 of the order C-Neg-CL-V_{+fin}. To illustrate:

(53) que semejava al rey que *lo non podía* sufrir
 that seemed+3sg. to-the king that *it no could+3sg.* suffer+inf
 “...that it seemed to the king that he could no longer tolerate it.” (Zifar 60)

(54) de guisa que nin por agua que la echasen nin por otras cosas
 of way that nor for water that her gave+3pl. nor for other things
 que le faziesen *non la podían* meter en acuerdo
 that her did+3pl. *not her could+3pl.* put+inf. in accord
 “Even though they gave her water and tried other things for her, they could not bring her to consciousness.” (Zifar 100)

In (53) the clitic precedes the negative particle and in (54) the clitic follows it. It would seem that these two elements are in free variation before the verb in embedded clauses.

This is not surprising when taken in consideration with the fact that each of these elements is always adjacent to the verb when the other is not present. It seems reasonable to suggest that when both are present, only one can be adjacent to the verb and the results vary fairly evenly.

The last 3 exceptions constitute the third class, in which the subject intervenes between the clitic and the finite verb. An example of one is given below:

- (55) que *me* yo **maravillé** mucho qué cosa podría ser
 that *refl.* I **wondered+1sg.** much what thing could+3sg. be+inf.
 "...that I really wondered what it could be." (Zifar 190)

Exceptions of the type in (55) in which the subject intervenes between the clitic and the complementizer are rare, and only account for 1% of the total.

4.5.3 Rivero's Long Head Movement in *Zifar*

The Long Head Movement proposed by Rivero (1993) occurs 5 times in all of the 1000 clauses of *Zifar* studied here. To review, Long Head Movement refers to the process of raising the non-finite verb of a future or conditional verb phrase to initial position as a last-recourse rule to prevent the clitic from appearing clause-initially. This movement creates the sequence V_{-fin} -CL- V_{+fin} . (Theoretically, if there were no clitic present, the non-finite verb would raise only as far as I^0 to be incorporated into the auxiliary, creating the synthetic future/conditional.) Fontana (1993, 1997) for one has argued that raising the finite verb to C^0 is the most common means of preventing a clitic from appearing at the beginning of an utterance, and that there is no motivation for raising the non-finite verb instead. While this may be true, there were no instances in *Zifar* of the synthetic future/conditional finite verb complex appearing clause-initially followed by a clitic. Note the following example:

- (56) e **quierome** **ir** para él e **dezirle** **he**
 and **want+1sg-me** **go+inf.** for he and **tell+inf-him** **will+1sg.+fut.**

algunas cosas ásperas e graves, e **veré...**
 some things ugly and serious, and **see+1sg.+fut.**
 "And I want to go to him, and I will tell him some ugly and serious things, and I will see..."
 (Zifar 130)

The example sentence above is a series of three matrix clauses joined together by

conjunctions. In the first clause, a simple declarative, the finite verb has been raised to the first position presumably to prevent the clitic from appearing clause-initially. Note that the non-finite verb of this first clause has not been raised. The second clause is in the future tense, and we observe LHM: the non-finite verb has moved to initial position, followed by the clitic and the finite auxiliary verb. In the third clause, also in the future tense, there is no clitic and the non-finite verb forms a complex head with the finite auxiliary. This illustrates that raising the finite verb to initial position to prevent the clitic from appearing clause-initially is not an available option for verbs in the future/conditional tense, where the non-finite verb must be raised instead.

4.6 Interrogatives in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

The 45 interrogative clauses found in *Zifar* exhibited uniform behavior. Subject-verb inversion takes place in direct questions but not in indirect ones, wh-words are always raised to initial position, and clitic placement reflects the two-part rule formulated for matrix clauses. As stated in Section 2.1.1 above, subject-verb inversion in interrogatives is seen as residual V2 by Ribeiro (1995) among others.

4.7 Interesting Constructions in the Old Spanish of *Zifar*

Several interesting features of the text of *Zifar* stood out during the analysis. Principle among these are clauses showing a lack of finiteness, repetitive use of complementizers, and the interjection of an adverb between a finite verb and its non-finite complement.

Several of the clauses in *Zifar* lack a finite verb where a finite interpretation is

assumed. For example, in the following sentence there is a finite verb in the embedded clause but not in the part that would be interpreted as the matrix clause:

- (57) E si en la uña del pie vos **dolierdes**, **dolerme** yo en el corazón
and if in the nail of-the foot you **hurt+2sg**, **hurt+inf-me I** in the heart
“And if your toenail hurts you, my heart hurts me.” (p.170)

The verb *doler* is left unconjugated, despite the presence of the nominative pronoun *yo* and the implication of finiteness in the semantics of the sentence. There are several other sentences of this type in the OSp of *Zifar*.

The second phenomenon worth noting in *Zifar* is the proliferation of the complementizer *que* “that” and the coordinating conjunction *e* “and”. These words are often unnecessarily repeated several times within the same sentence (a literal translation is given for each of the sentences below to better illustrate the peculiarity of this phenomenon):

- (58) E dize el cuento...**que** un ome bueno su veçino, de grant
and says the story **that** a man good his neighbor of great

lugar e muy rico, **que** le enbió una fijuela
place and very rich **that** him sent a daughter

“And the story relates that his neighbor, a good man of high station and very wealthy, **that** he sent a young daughter...” (Zifar 70)

- (59) E yo como estava desesperado e me enojava yo de bevir
and I as was+1sg. desperate and refl. angered+1sg. I of live+inf.

en este mundo, ca más codiçiaava ya la muerte que la vida,
in this world, for more desired+1sg. then the death than the life

e dize que lo yo avía muerto
and said+1sg. that him I had+1sg. killed

“And I, as I was desperate and angry to be alive in this world, for I wanted death more than life at that time, **and** said that I had killed him.” (Zifar 75)

In the first example, the complementizer *que* “that” introduces the subject of the embedded clause and several adjectives modifying this subject, and then another seemingly unnecessary *que* appears before the sequence CL-V_{+fin}. Similarly, in the second example the coordinating conjunction *e* “and” introduces the subject of the clause, which is followed by several embedded clauses and then another seemingly unnecessary *e* appears before the finite verb. Perhaps this phenomenon can be attributed to scribal error, due to the amount of information that intercedes between the first and second occurrence of each word, but the repetition of *que* in (58) may also be a means of providing an adequate phonological host for the pronominal clitic.

The last phenomenon that stands out in the OSp of *Zifar* is the tendency for elements to intervene between the finite verb and its non-finite complement. This rarely happens in ModSp, and then only usually in literary contexts. An example of this type in *Zifar* is given below:

(59) E señor, agora veyendo que lo querían matar,
and sir, now seeing that him wanted+3pl. kill+inf.

quise yo ante **murir**
wanted+1sg. I instead **die+inf.**

“And sir, seeing now that they were planning to kill him, I wanted to take his place to die.” (Zifar 75)

In this example, the subject and an adverb intervene between the finite verb and its infinitival complement, resulting in a rather strange construction by ModSp standards.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, based on this study, OSp appears not to be a V2 language. A statistical analysis of the OSp text *Zifar* reveals that less than half of the sentences in both matrix and embedded clauses are V2, with 47% of the matrix and 32% in the embedded clauses. The incidence of subject-verb inversion is also quite low. Excluding the phenomenon of quotative V1, which I argue is residual V2 much like in Modern English, 81% of the matrix clauses with non-initial overt subjects in OSp show inversion. However, these 58 clauses represent only 12% of the total 485 matrix clauses in *Zifar*, a rather insignificant number.

Moreover, these numbers fit exactly with the data from the ModSp text studied. V2 word order was found in 45% of the matrix clauses of the ModSp text as compared to the 47% of the OSp text. The incidence of V2 in embedded contexts was actually higher in the ModSp text at 43% compared to 32% in OSp. The frequency of subject-verb inversion was also almost identical in the ModSp text. Excluding quotative V1, 75% of the matrix clauses with non-initial overt subjects show inversion, a comparable figure to the 81% of the OSp in *Zifar*. These 18 clauses in ModSp represent 14% of the total 133 matrix clauses in *Alba*, which is actually higher than the 12% of *Zifar*. A similar analysis of the embedded clauses in the Old and Modern Spanish texts revealed that yet again the syntax of the two was remarkably similar.

Based on this evidence, I am able to conclude that the verbal syntax of OSp of the text *Zifar* appears to be very similar to that of ModSp. The incidence of V2 clauses and subject-verb inversion appears not to be high enough in either to merit the status of V2. However, it must be acknowledged that a fair amount of residual V2 exists in both

languages, especially in the form of interrogative subject-verb inversion. Further research is thus needed into a time period that predates the 1301 composition of *Zifar*, to determine if such a V2 phase ever did exist.

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