

## RESEARCH

## Fronting in Old Spanish

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The article focuses on a cross-genre study of fronting phenomena in 13<sup>th</sup> Century Old Spanish. In particular, we study stage topics and deictic fronting, fronting in quotative inversion, quantifier fronting and information/broad/weak focus fronting comparatively, for the first time, in three types of texts (that is, (a) *Cantar de Mío Cid*, (b) *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar*, and (c) *Estoria de España* and *General Estoria*) while we compare with equivalent judgements from Modern Spanish in order to establish what exactly has changed. “Fronting” a term which has been used to describe all sorts of configurations ranging from stylistic fronting to focus fronting to non-focus fronting receives here a principled discussion. We show that, overall, fronting with a *verum focus* interpretation has largely been preserved into Modern Spanish, albeit often restricted, while the most notable change seems to be the loss of a preverbal focus position conveying broad focus. In doing so, we reconcile Leonetti’s (2017) claims for an informational partition, which does not divide the fronted element from the verb, but, rather, the fronted element together with the verb from the postverbal subject with our own claims about the syntactic mechanisms which yield this partition. We proceed to conclude that fronting operations are not a derivative of the V2 parameter being operative (*contra* Wolfe 2015).

**Keywords:** information structure; X/OVS; Old and Modern Spanish; V2; fronting; information/broad/weak/unmarked/*verum focus*

## 1 Introduction

In this paper, we examine three types of Old Spanish texts and compare data involving fronting against Modern Spanish native judgements in order to find out to what extent the different types of fronting in Old Spanish texts are still possible in Modern Spanish.

Fronting corresponds to different syntactic configurations (equally involving A'-dependencies and base-generation) and various discourse readings (sub-types of both topic and focus), namely: stylistic fronting (see Elvira 2018), fronted stage topics (either locative or temporal), deictic fronting (see Costa and Martins 2010, 2011), fronting in quotative inversion (see Leonetti 2017: 896), quantifier fronting, scrambling, clitic left dislocation (hereafter CLLD, see Bouzouita 2014; 2017) and focus fronting be it contrastive or informational (see Sitaridou 2011, Batllori and Hernanz 2015, a.o.). Although some authors use the term “fronting” as synonymous to focus fronting operations (see Cruschina 2008 et seq.; in fact, Cruschina uses the term exclusively for information focus, not for contrastive focus), others use it to suggest a type of non-focal fronting (see Leonetti 2017). We follow Biber et al (1999: 900) in that “fronting refers to the initial placement of core elements which are normally found in post-verbal position”. It follows that, for us, fronting is a theory-neutral term to capture different types of preposing and it is precisely this “informal vagueness” of the term (see Cormack and Neil 2000: 387), which partly motivates the present paper. To delimit the discussion on fronting types, we focus here on

stage topics, deictic fronting, fronting in quotative inversion, information/broad/weak<sup>1</sup> focus (to be defined), and quantifier fronting, most of which involve verb-subject inversion and strict adjacency between the fronted element and the verb.

Fronting in Old Spanish is linked to a number of key issues; in particular: (a) to what extent it can be associated with pragmatic neutrality (namely, the commonest, canonical or unmarked word order, to the extent of course such a thing does exist) or lack thereof, which would, in turn, feed into a non-V2 analysis of Old Spanish given that it will offer evidence against formal movement (see Sitaridou 2019 for the most updated summary of the V2 debate and arguments against a V2 analysis; see Wolfe 2015 for fronting operations as a derivative of the V2 parameter being operative; see Hsu 2017 on how OVS orders are a case of so-called “relaxed V2 system”); (b) the role of genre in triggering word order variation, that is, whether or not some texts exhibit certain fronting possibilities; and (c) establishing whether fronting is preserved in Modern Spanish or not, thus affording us some insights into diachrony.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In §1.1 we discuss the choice of texts, the problem (and opportunity) posed by genres as well as the methodology we have used; in §1.2 we present the fronting puzzle and some relevant aspects of Leonetti’s (2017) analysis on which we shall base parts of our discussion; and in §1.3 we present our main hypotheses to test and claims. The discussion of the data starts with stage topics and deictic fronting in §2 while quotative inversion, quantifier fronting and information/broad/weak focus fronting are discussed in §3, §4 and §5, respectively. In §6 we summarise our findings and discuss some diachronic implications following from the discussion of the data in this paper.

### 1.1 Texts, genres and methodology

In this article, we examine fronting possibilities in three types of Old Spanish texts. The reason why we decided to compare three different types of texts not only does it relate to the perennial issue of representativeness of 13th Century speech, but, rather, it is a conscientious effort to be mindful of the constraints, coding norms and traditions of medieval writing (see Schneider 2008). Syntax-discourse phenomena such as fronting are particularly susceptible to discourse traditions: for instance, consider the role of latinising syntax in triggering grammaticalisation (see Bouzouita 2019; Cornillie & Octavio de Toledo 2015) and the broader discussion on syntactic variation and genre (Dorgeloh & Wanner 2010); hence the need to establish which fronting configurations are due to normative bias and/or discourse traditions or, rather, reflect core, genre-free syntactic mechanisms.

Our choice of texts is guided by Badia i Margarit’s (1960) and Cano’s (2006) comments concerning the construction of discourse in the history of Spanish. Both authors consider

<sup>1</sup> See Gallego (2007) for the term *weak focus*, Benincà (2004) for *unmarked focus*, and Sitaridou (2011) for *information focus*. The research done by these authors goes back to Uriagereka’s (1995), Ambar’s (1999), and Torrego’s (1980) proposals, among others, regarding the fronted constituent in sentences such as (i):

- (i) a. Modern Spanish  
 Mi abuela dice que mucha chorrada hace el Gobierno.  
 my grandma say.PRS.IND.3SG that a.lot silly.things do.PRS.IND.3SG the government  
 ‘My grandma says that the government keeps buggering about a lot.’  
 (Gallego 2007: 221; Torrego 1980)
- (ii) b. Modern Portuguese  
Muitos livros os meus pais me deram.  
 many books the my parents DAT.2SG give.PRF.3PL  
 ‘Many books did my parents give me’  
 (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 691, footnote 19)

As is well-known, Uriagereka (1995) states that the examples under study in his work do not pattern with a V2 analysis and considers this type of constituents to be in a sentence internal ‘F category which encodes point of view’ (Uriagereka 1995: 163, 169). Ambar (1999) considers them as evaluative expressions.

epic poetry such as *Cantar de Mío Cid* (thereafter *Mío Cid*)<sup>2</sup> to be closer to the oral organisation of discourse than Alfonso X's *Estoria de España* and *General Estoria* (thereafter *GE&EE*)<sup>3</sup> prose. According to them, *Mío Cid* was written in order to be recited/narrated to a wider audience, whereas Alfonso X's prose was written to be read to a learned, smaller audience; hence, in the latter, every concept needs to be specified, elaborated and clarified by means of abundant subordination for the purpose of which, a wide range of innovative conjunctions/subordinators is introduced for the first time (see Elvira 2002). On the contrary, as shown by Batllori and Suñer (2008), in *Mío Cid*, embedded clauses display oral strategies<sup>4</sup> significantly more than in Alfonso X's prose. Moreover, to further complement our selection of genres, we have also included *La Fazienda de Ultra Mar* (thereafter *Fazienda*)<sup>5</sup> because, according to Sanchis Calvo (1991), its prose reflects the *koiné*<sup>6</sup> of the time.<sup>7</sup>

To source data from the above-mentioned texts we have used *CORDE* (i.e., *Real Academia Española Corpus Diacrónico del Español*) following some necessary modifications in the search function, for instance: we specified the search for *Autor* 'author' and *Obra* 'piece of work'. Hence, when examining the data of *Mío Cid*, we inserted *Anónimo* in the slot provided for *Autor* and *Poema de Mío Cid* in the one for *Obra*; for the data extracted from *Fazienda*,<sup>8</sup> we put *Almerich* for *Autor* and *La fazienda de Ultra Mar* for *Obra*. Finally, for *GE&EE*, we wrote *Alfonso X* in the *Autor* slot and either *General Estoria* or *Estoria de Espanna* (or *Estoria de España*, depending on the edition we wanted to access) in the *Obra* one. Moreover, we contrasted the examples obtained with other editions of the same works.<sup>9</sup> As for the Modern Spanish data, some examples were extracted from *CREA* (i.e., *RAE, Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) or provided by the first author.

<sup>2</sup> A 12<sup>th</sup> Century epic poem.

<sup>3</sup> A 13<sup>th</sup> Century prose.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, consider the copious use of *que* 'that' for both coordination and juxtaposition as well as for different types of embedded clauses (such as causal, purpose, concessive and conditional ones, among others) in combination with different verbal moods (indicative vs. subjunctive) and word order.

<sup>5</sup> An early 13<sup>th</sup> Century itinerary with some parts translated from the Bible.

<sup>6</sup> The suspected Gallo-Romance origin of the translator has been adduced to explain the abundance of Aragonese, Catalan or Occitan lexical and syntactic features (apart from the Hebrew syntactic loans attributable to the original text). However, in recent years the Gallo-Romance origin of the translator has been brought into question and has now generally been accepted that he could have indeed been from the Iberian Peninsula: '*presenta fuertes caracteres aragoneses, por lo que tal vez habría que situar su redacción en la zona fronteriza entre Castilla, Navarra y Aragón, a falta de datos precisos*' (it presents a strong Aragonese character, which is why we could possibly situate its redaction in the border area between Castilla, Navarre and Aragon) [translation our own] (Rodríguez Molina 2010: 747). This resonates with Sanchis Calvo (1991: 550), according to whom, '*rasgos semejantes a los mencionados se encuentran en textos castellanos de fines del XII y de la primera mitad del XIII, época de fuerte influencia ultrapirenaica en España*' (features similar to the ones mentioned are found in Castilian texts at the end of 12th Century and the first half of 13th Century which is an era marked by strong influence from across the Pyrenees in Spain) [translation our own]. In fact, Sanchis Calvo's dissertation was supervised by Lapesa, who had labeled the influence of oriental features (Aragonese, Catalan, Occitan, etc.) in the charters he had studied, as part of the Spanish *koiné* of that period.

<sup>7</sup> One reviewer correctly points out that *Fazienda* contains parts of the Bible, which in itself is a collection of different text types (Rosemeyer and Enrique-Arias 2018; see also Vincis 2008; 2009, etc.). Therefore, the reviewer rightly suggests we should verify from which book of the Bible each fronting example comes from in order to determine its genre (e.g., lyrical, sapiential, narrative, prophetic, etc.). This is, in fact, the reason why the discourses contained in *Fazienda* and *GE* partly overlap. Crucially, this issue has not been taken into account in this paper — we leave this task to future work.

<sup>8</sup> Notice that *CORDE* contains Moshé Lazar's [Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca), 1965] edition of this work. We know that this edition has been recently described as riddled with interpretational errors (see Rodríguez Molina/Octavio Toledo y Huerta 2017: 10), but it is the edition chosen by RAE and we therefore, use it for methodological coherence; however, we scrutinized each case for any potential philological problems.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, in the case of *Mío Cid*, *CORDE* contains the edition by Montaner [Crítica (Barcelona), 1993]. We contrasted the data of Montaner's edition with Menéndez Pidal's paleographic edition [Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), 1961] and eventually adopted the verse numbering of the latter because *CORDE* does not include any numbering. As for *Fazienda*, we contrasted the data extracted from *CORDE*, whose edition is Lazar's [Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca), 1965], with the actual book and we took the page numbering from the latter. With regards to *General Estoria* and *Estoria de Espanna que fizo el muy noble rey don Alfonso* (or *Estoria de España*, which corresponds to different parts of Alfonso X's work), the data from the former are extracted from *CORDE* as well as the data of the *Estoria de Espanna*, which correspond to the

The data sourced from the above-mentioned texts have not been treated statistically. In this sense, we agree with Leonetti (2017: 889) in that textual frequency “is not always a reliable criterion, since frequency may vary from one type of text to another” and, furthermore, we add, it is an even less reliable a criterion given that frequency can vary from one part (i.e., the prologue) to other parts of the same text.

## 1.2 The fronting puzzle

According to Leonetti’s (2017) approach to word order, dislocations and focus fronting aside, there is an additional fronting mechanism which yields X/OVS in both Modern and Old Spanish, whereby, the fronted element does not seem to bear any focus hence why Leonetti dubs this fronting operation non-focal fronting — consider (1) as exemplified from Modern Spanish:

- (1) *Modern Spanish* (Leonetti 2017: 910)  
*Más alumnos* teníamos el año pasado.<sup>10</sup>  
 more students have.IPFV.IND.1PL the year pass.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘We had more students last year.’

As such, he introduces an informational partition, which does not divide the fronted element from the verb, but, rather, the fronted element together with the verb from the postverbal subject. We agree that in examples such as (1) and (2) there cannot be any intonational breaks following the fronted material or emphatic stress on *más alumnos* ‘more students’. Importantly, however, (2a) is not a felicitous answer to a ‘What happened?’ type of question, to which the felicitous answer would be (2b), instead; crucially, informational/broad focus does not trigger fronting in Modern Spanish.<sup>11</sup>

- (2) a. *Modern Spanish* (Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal 2009)  
 #*Bastante trabajo* tengo ya.  
 enough work have.PRS.IND.1SG already  
 ‘(Let me alone) I have ENOUGH WORK already.’  
 b. Ya tengo bastante trabajo.  
 already have.PRS.IND.1SG enough work  
 ‘I have enough work already.’

Importantly, for Leonetti, the interpretation of the fronted constituent in (2a) is underspecified and context dependent: it could be a topic, wide/informational focus, or devoid of any specific informational load. The latter, whereby the fronted material does not have any specific informational load, would have important ramifications for the V2 debate since it could be used as evidence for claiming that the fronted material is the result of formal movement, not A’-movement (see discussion in §2 and Sitaridou 2015; 2019).

parts of these works edited by Sánchez Prieto while the latter (i.e., *Estoria de España*) follows the edition of Kasten and Nitti (1978/1997).

<sup>10</sup> The glossing system followed in this paper is consistent with the conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses provided by the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Examples unless otherwise indicated are from Old Spanish. In the examples we use italics to indicate non-contrastive fronting (especially when we refer to examples from Leonetti 2017); bolding for subjects; and small caps for focus.

<sup>11</sup> To illustrate a context in which (2a) can be produced, consider the following scenario: speaker A is disturbing speaker B, who has got a lot of work to do. In this context, speaker B would then say: “Déjame en paz. Bastante trabajo tengo hoy, como para estar aguantándote todo el día.” [Leave me in peace. I have got enough work today to be putting up with you as well.] Thus, (2a) is a discourse-linked utterance, whereby ‘ENOUGH WORK’ is not focused, yet it highlights the fact that speaker B has enough work. In terms of prosody, this type of construction has a different prosody from unmarked asserted sentences (a particular intonation, in fact). However, it is completely different from that of contrastive focused constituents.

Although Leonetti does not offer any technical implementation, his proposal is truly minimalist in spirit since it seems to rule out features like [focus] and/or [topic] from being present in the derivation. Nevertheless, at this point there are a few crucial questions with Leonetti's analysis: (a) To what extent is this proposal tenable from a theoretical perspective given the well-known quantificational properties of focus versus topics; in other words, can topics and foci occupy the same position? (b) Even if we do not assume a cartography framework, but a minimalist one instead with fewer or even a single CP projection, which could presumably be occupied by both topics and foci, how would that work in terms of phases given that the verb is in  $T^0$  (a weak one) and the fronted material is in spec-CP (a strong one) assuming, as we shall show, adjacency? (c) How are we going to explain the fact that although topics and foci occupy the same spec-CP position they trigger different configurations, namely enclisis and proclisis for pronominal object pronouns,<sup>12</sup> respectively?

### 1.3 Hypotheses to test and main claims

Fronting, given the discourse-syntax nature of the phenomenon, is independently known to be vulnerable to attrition and change (see Tsimpli et al. 2004). As such, it allows us to test for the following hypotheses:

- a) If structural V2 is operative, we should not find any register variation affecting fronting possibilities; in other words, fronting should operate under identical structural conditions irrespective of register differences;
- b) Fronting possibilities in Old Spanish should be fundamentally different from Modern Spanish ones, if the former was V2 and the latter is no longer so;
- c) Non-focal fronting is an operation to “avoid focus” (as claimed for scrambling/interpolation by Martins (2002) for Old Portuguese) or it can actually convey information/broad/weak focus while still distinct from quantificational contrastive focus;
- d) Contrastive focal fronting should have a different grammar from non-focal fronting given that the former is quantificational while the latter is not.

It is argued that fronting operations in 13th Century Spanish and the organisation of Information Structure (hereafter IS) in general, in spite of some register variation, are intrinsically similar to Modern Spanish.<sup>13</sup> Any differences can be attributed to rhetorical restrictions and schemata, which the Medieval *Ars dictaminis* and *Ars dictandi* imposed on writing (see Batllori 2015; Sitaridou 2015; Elvira 2017).

The single most important difference in the organisation of IS remains the unavailability of fronting objects and other non-finite verb forms — both of which are linked to an OV syntax of the past, namely the Latin one. Our findings also show that (a) in neither Old nor Modern Spanish all stage topics are in spec-TP, but that some may indeed be generated in the left periphery; (b) deictic fronting is neither focus nor topic: while it refers to something previously mentioned, it is used in order to elevate the referent to a higher level of salience, thus it cannot be said to be entirely non-focal; (c) fronting in quotative inversion has remained stable; (d) only one type of quantifier fronting has survived whilst

<sup>12</sup> Just for the reader to be aware that these are syntactic terms for preverbal and postverbal object placement, which however, do not always coincide with phonological proclisis and enclisis, i.e., preverbal clitics can be phonologically enclitic.

<sup>13</sup> Our approach is strictly synchronic: we compare 13th C. Spanish to Modern Spanish. We cannot therefore rule out, at this stage of our research, that the Modern Spanish grammar may have accidentally developed a similar IS to the 13th C. one, without necessarily having stably remained so in the intervening centuries.

it got grammaticalised. Overall, our findings offer further support to the idea that Old Spanish declaratives exhibit an unmarked SVO order (Sitaridou 2011; 2012; 2019; Dufter and Octavio de Toledo 2014; Castillo Lluch and López Izquierdo 2015, and the works therein) and fronting, including OVS, should be considered an expression of different IS values (Sitaridou 2011; Eide and Sitaridou 2014; and Leonetti 2017) rather than V2.

## 2 Stage topics and deictic fronting in Old Spanish

In Modern Spanish, as well as in several other languages, fronting of temporal and locative expressions — (3) and (4), respectively — anchors the meaning of the sentence in a particular time or place of the narration providing a scene setting topic value (see Erteschik-Shir 1997), and it is usually produced in the absence of a canonical “aboutness topic” (in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Ojea (2017) argues that in Modern Spanish (3)–(4), the discourse legible features of these expressions are edge features that are targeted by T and thus occupy spec-TP.<sup>14</sup>

- (3) *Modern Spanish* (Ojea 2017: 80)  
 Hoy llegaron los turistas franceses.  
 today arrive.PRF.3PL the tourists French  
 ‘The French tourists arrived today.’
- (4) *Modern Spanish* (Ojea 2017: 80)  
 Aquí falta el catálogo de la exposición.  
 here lack.PRS.IND.3SG the catalogue of the exhibition  
 ‘The exhibition catalogue is missing here.’

Fronting of temporal and locative expressions in Old Spanish was extremely frequent (see Mackenzie & van der Wurff 2012), so there is no doubt as to whether this type of fronting was operative or not. What remains debatable is the sort of movement it involves (formal movement or A'-movement) as well as the landing site (spec-TP or in the left periphery). To this end, clitic placement may provide a useful diagnostic since it has been shown to correlate with IS. In particular, it is trivially considered that focus triggers proclisis, whereas topic correlates with enclisis (see Bouzouita 2008; Fernández-Ordóñez 2008–9 for Spanish, among others; Costa & Martins 2011 for European Portuguese; Donaldson 2016, for Old Occitan). In light of this, consider (5):

- (5) (Fazienda: 101)  
 E agora dyovos el Criador tierra  
 & now give.PRF.3SG = DAT.2PL the Creator land  
 ‘and now the Creator gave you land’

Example (5) shows enclisis, which would then have to be taken to indicate that the stage topic *agora* ‘now’ is not in the left periphery.<sup>15</sup> However, by far the commonest order is proclisis; in fact, temporal and locative adverbs attested in *Mío Cid*, in (6) and (7), trigger proclisis (as shown by 6a, 6b, 6g, 7a, 7c, 7e, 7h, and 7j). Notice that in (6a) and (6b), as well as in (7a) to (7e), the subject is postverbal and there is strict adjacency with the verb (except for 7a), which may well be a case of right dislocation<sup>16</sup>. In contrast, in (6c), (6d),

<sup>14</sup> See Jiménez and Miyagawa (2014) for more arguments to support topic fronting to spec-TP in Modern Spanish and in Japanese as well as Sifaki and Tsoulas (to appear) for Modern Greek.

<sup>15</sup> See Granberg (1988: 157–194) and Bouzouita (2008a: 21, 101–103, 149–151 163–164, 254–257) on how they treat these adverbs and their effect on clitic placement.

<sup>16</sup> Recall that manuscripts show no commas — the latter are inserted by the editors.

(7f), and (7g) the subject is a left-peripheral topic (as indicated by the fact that the subject also precedes the adverb) and the reading of these sentences is notthetic but categorical (see also Granberg 1988; Bouzouita 2008a;b).

(6) Fronting of temporal expressions

a. (Cid: v. 951)

Estonces se mudó el Cid al puerto de Alucant  
 then =REFL move.PRF.3SG the Cid to.the port of Alucant  
 ‘Then Cid moved to the port of Alucant’

b. (Cid: v. 3199)

luego se levantó mio Cid el Campeador  
 immediatly =REFL stand.up.PRF.3SG my Cid the Campeador  
 ‘Immediately after that my Cid, the Campeador, stood up’

c. (Cid: v. 2048)

vós agora llegastes  
 you now arrive.PRF.2SG  
 ‘You have now arrived’

d. (Cid: v. 3470)

nós antes abremos a ir a tierras de Carrión  
 we before have.FUT.1PL to go.INF to lands of Carrion  
 ‘Before we will have to go to the lands of Carrión’

e. (Cid: v. 3450)

agora besaredes sus manos  
 now kiss.FUT.2PL his hands  
 ‘Now you will kiss his hands’

f. (Cid: v. 1504)

agora llegarán  
 now come.FUT.3PL  
 ‘Now they will come’

g. (Cid: v. 373)

agora nos partimos, Dios sabe el ayuntar  
 now =REFL leave.PRS.IND.1PL God know.PRS.IND.3SG the congregate.INF  
 ‘Now we leave, God knows the congregation’

h. (Cid: v. 2808)

e luego dent las partió<sup>17</sup>  
 and after from.there =ACC.F.3PL made.leave.PRF.3SG  
 ‘And afterwards he made them leave from there’

i. (Cid: v. 754)

Oy en este día de vós abré grand bando  
 today in this day from you have.FUT.1SG big help  
 ‘Today I will have a big help from you’

(7) Fronting of locative expressions

a. (Cid: v. 3492)

allí se tollió el capiello el Cid Campeador  
 there =REFL take.off.PRF.3SG the hat the Cid Campeador  
 ‘There the Cid Campeador took off his hat’

<sup>17</sup> One reviewer points out that preverbal clitic placement might be due to the fronting of the prepositional element *dent* ‘from there’ rather than the fronting of *luego* ‘after’ (see Bouzouita 2008a: 37–39; 2008b).

- b. (Cid: v. 1126)  
allí aparecerá **el que merece** **la soldada**  
there appear.FUT.3SG the that deserve.PRS.IND.3SG the salary  
'There will appear the one that deserves the salary'
- c. (Cid: v. 3730)  
en este lugar se acaba **esta razón**  
in this place =REFL end.PRS.IND.3SG this reason  
'At this point this explanation is over'
- d. (Cid: v. 573)  
allí yegó **mío Cid** complidas quince semanas  
there lie.down.PRF.3SG my Cid pass.PTCP.F.PL fifteen weeks  
'there lay down my Cid for fifteen weeks'
- e. (Cid: v. 1730)  
Desd'allí se tornó **el que en buen ora**  
from.there =REFL come.PRF.3SG the that in good hour  
**nasco**  
be.born.PRF.3SG  
'The one that was born at a fortunate hour came back from that place'
- f. (Cid: v. 0565)  
que **el Campeador** **mío Cid** allí avié  
that the Campeador my Cid there have.IPFV.IND.3SG  
poblado  
settle.PTCP.M.SG  
'(It was known) that my Cid the Campeador had settled there'
- g. (Cid: v. 506)  
**Estas ganancias** allí eran **juntadas**  
these profits there be.IPFV.IND.3PL gather.PTCP.F.PL  
'These revenues were gathered there'
- h. (Cid: v. 2720)  
Allí les **tuellen** los mantos e los pelliciones  
there =DAT.3PL take.off.PRS.IND.3PL the cloaks & the fur-lined.coats  
'(The princes of Carrión) take their cloaks and fur-lined coats off there'
- i. (Cid: v. 3653)  
allá levó **el almófar**  
there take.off.PRF.3SG the hood  
'There he took his hood off'
- j. (Cid: v. 2578)  
allá me **levades** las telas del corazón  
there =DAT.1SG take.off.PRS.IND.2PL the clothes of.the heart  
'there you take off the fabrics of my heart'
- k. (Cid: v. 3119)  
acá posaré **con todos** **aquestos míos**  
here stay.FUT.1SG with all these mine  
'I will rest here with all these (knights) of mine'
- l. (Cid: v. 900)  
Aquel poyo, **en él** **priso** **posada**  
that stone.bench in it take.PRF.3SG rest  
'On that stone bench, he rested on'

Provided that the correlation between proclisis and focus is correct, fronted expressions in (6)–(7) are either (i) not true stage topics (as defined by Leonetti 2017) or (ii) occupy



a left-peripheral position in Old Spanish. On the one hand, for Leonetti (2017), as previously discussed, these preverbal XPs are unaccented and form one single unit alongside the verb while bearing no focus. On the other hand, Costa and Martins (2011) consider deictic fronting (which, according to them, includes fronting of deictic adverbs –i.e., temporal, locative and manner ones such as the ones in (6) and (7)) to convey contrastive focus. We do not agree with either analysis because we believe that there is a third alternative, which in fact captures insights from both approaches, namely: deictic fronting involves movement to the left periphery as indicated by proclisis whilst the interpretative value of salience could be viewed as akin to broad/informational focus.<sup>18</sup>

The discussion at this stage is very reminiscent of Speyer's (2010) discussion about the loss of unaccented fronting in the history of English. According to him, who essentially follows Frey (2004, 2006), there are two possible fronting mechanisms in the history of English: (a) True A-Bar Movement (TAB), which, in turn, results in a contrastive interpretation on the fronted XP; or (b) Formal Movement (FM), which has no interpretive effect. Clearly, the latter is fully compatible with V2 syntax. In Sitaridou (2015) there was extensive discussion of whether FM can be detected in the fronting of participles and the answer was a negative. Before we return to these issues, let us now explore the examples of deictic fronting farther.

Moreover, there are other types of deictic expressions (mostly demonstratives, manner expressions or identity adjectives) that also help to set out the discourse background and which are often dubbed as deictic fronting (see Costa and Martins 2010 and 2011 for Portuguese, see also Light 2012 for Germanic) — consider the examples in (8):

- (8) Deictic fronting
- a. (Cid: v. 2488)  

Assí lo		fazen		<b>todos</b>
so	= ACC.M.3SG	do.PRS.IND.3PL	all	

 'They all do it in this way'
  - b. (Cid: v. 983)  

essora	lo		coñosce		<b>mio Cid el de Bivar</b>
at.this.time	= ACC.M.3SG	know.PRS.IND.3SG	my Cid	the of	Vivar

 'In that moment Mio Cid, the one from Vivar, recognises him'
  - c. (Cid: v. 2633)  

assí fazían		<b>los cavalleros del</b>		<b>Campeador</b>
so	do.IPFV.IND.3PL	the knights	of.the	Campeador

 'So did the knights of the Campeador'
  - d. (Cid: v. 1397)  

assí faga		a vuestras	fijas
so	do.PRS.SBJV.3SG	to your	daughters

 'Like this he should do with your daughters'
  - e. (Cid: v. 259)  

<b>yo</b>	assí vos	lo		<b>mando</b>
I	thus	= DAT.2PL	= ACC.M.3SG	order.PRS.IND.1SG

 'I order you (to do) it in this way'
  - f. (Cid: v. 2258)  

<b>Los vassallos de mio Cid</b>	assí		son		<b>acordados</b>
the vassals	of my Cid	in.this.way	be.PRS.IND.3PL	agree.PTCP.M.PL	

 'the vassals of my Cid have agreed in this way'

<sup>18</sup> An interesting issue, which can be subject to crosslinguistic variation, is the degree of deixis, which is morphologically encoded by the demonstrative pronouns — we leave this issue to future research.

- g. (Cid: v. 92)  
**el Poyo de mio Cid así<sup>1</sup>** dirán por carta  
 the stone.bench of my Cid so = ACC.M.3SG say.FUT.3PL by charter  
 ‘They will call it the Stone Bench of my Cid by charter’
- h. (Cid: v. 2306)  
 Quando los fallaron & ellos vinieron,  
 when = ACC.M.3PL find.PRF.3PL & they come.PRF.3PL  
 assi vinieron sin color<sup>19</sup>  
 so come.PRF.3PL without colour  
 ‘When they found them and they came, they came like this, completely pale’
- i. (Cid: v. 2025)  
**De aquesta guisa a los pies le** cayó  
 of that manner to the feet = DAT.3SG fall.PRF.3SG  
 ‘In this way, he fell at his feet’
- j. (Cid: v. 953)  
**en aquessa corrida diez días** ovieron a morar  
 in this run ten days have.PRF.3PL to dwell.INF  
 ‘In this outing they had to stay 10 days’
- k. (Cid: v. 3170)  
 Con aquesta fabla tornaron ala cort  
 with this speech come.back.PRF.3PL to.the court  
 ‘They went back to the court talking this way’

In *Mío Cid*, we observe that (a) with regards to clitic placement we find mostly proclisis (8a, 8b, 8e, 8g, 8h and 8i); (b) the occurrence of deictic adverbs triggers verb-subject inversion (see also Meyer-Hermann 1988) — as shown in (8a) and (8b), and in (7b) to (7e), but not for the cases in which the subject is a base-generated left-peripheral topic (8e and 8f). Notice that left-peripheral subjects are also compatible with a fronted temporal or locative adverb (6c, 6d, 7f,<sup>20</sup> and 7g), which renders them compatible should the latter be focused. In line with Donaldson (2016), for Old Occitan, we consider that proclisis ensues when (i) spec-FocP is filled or (ii) a constituent has moved to a left-peripheral position. Even in the cases of clitic left dislocation (CLLD) contexts, if there is fronting of a focal constituent (i.e., *assí* ‘thus’), there is proclisis and we consider the clitic to have moved at the left of V<sup>o</sup>, namely in T<sup>o</sup>.

Therefore, for us, it is not the case that all fronted temporal, locative, manner and deictic expressions are necessarily stage topics in spec-TP. Some of this fronted material undergoes movement, the interpretational result of which is a new information focus reading. This can be seen in (8c), for example, which could be envisaged as the answer to *What happened?* The context is the following: the Cid and his daughters were crying. Then, one could ask *and what happened?* and the answer could perfectly be *So did the knights*.

As for the IS value of the subject, let us start with Modern Spanish: VS triggers narrow focus on the subject (or wide focus with unergatives) whereas SV expresses a categorical

<sup>19</sup> We take this verse from Menéndez Pidal’s paleographic edition because Montaner’s, which is the one found in *CORDE*, does not follow the manuscript. In *CORDE*, the sentence is as follows: *Cuando los fallaron, ellos vinieron assí sin color*. The actual manuscript version can be consulted here: [http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/cantar-de-mio-cid-manuscrito-el-manuscrito-de-per-abbat--0/html/ff8d9e14-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064\\_98.html](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/cantar-de-mio-cid-manuscrito-el-manuscrito-de-per-abbat--0/html/ff8d9e14-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_98.html).

<sup>20</sup> (7f) is the kind of assertive sentence in which main clause phenomena are allowed (left-peripheral subject topics, among them).

reading with a topic-comment partition in unaccusative configurations (following Leonetti 2017: 895). Incidentally, most often, when the subject is inverted or absent, the verb occupies the second position. However, this cannot be taken as evidence for a prototypical V2 configuration because many of the examples showing inversion exhibit, in fact, V3—as in (6c), (6d), (7f), (7g), (8e), (8f), (8g), (8i), (8k) (see Sitaridou 2019 for a detailed discussion on V3 constructions).

So far we have shown the existence of deictic fronting in the data of *Mío Cid*, which is the Old Spanish text in which fronting seems to reach maximal exponence (and consequently, a text with a high frequency of linear V2). Martínez-Gil (1989: 896 and 1898) and Elvira (2017: 179) attribute this aspect of the text to the prosodic requirements imposed by the meter and the rhythm of the composition. Prosody and, in particular, the use of the colon<sup>21</sup> (see Adams 1994 for the same concept in Latin) yields a composition with plentiful fronting, the value of which is more akin to informative than focal, always according to the above-mentioned authors. Next, we provide evidence for the existence of similar strategies in the other Old Spanish texts under study.

As for *Fazienda*, our prediction is that we will also find cases of fronting of temporal, locative, manner adverbs and deictic expressions independently of the different rhetoric nature of the text. The important thing to look out for, though, is whether fronting triggers proclisis or not. That is, whether the fronted material is going to be in spec-TP or in a left-peripheral focal projection, like in *Mío Cid*. Notice that in *Fazienda* temporal and locative adverb fronting are mostly used with unaccusative verbs like *ir* ‘go’—in (9a) and (9b)—, *venir* ‘come’—in (9c)—, but they can also be used in other unaccusative configurations (for instance, in passives, in (9d), or locatives, in (9e)) or even with other types of verbs, like in (9f) and (9g). In general, these fronted deictic expressions display postverbal subjects; however, there is no need for strict verb-subject adjacency, as illustrated in (9b). Crucially, (9g)[ = (5)] shows that under some circumstances this type of preposing could correspond to a stage topic because it does not involve movement to the left periphery and does not trigger proclisis. Hence, *Fazienda* might have stage topics in spec-TP.

- (9) a. (Fazienda: 81)  
 E **todo omne que avia** **cueta**, **alli** **yva**  
 & all man that have.IPFV.IND.3SG problems there go.IPFV.IND.3SG  
 al(l) Nuestro Sennor pedir merced  
 to.the Our Lord ask.INF mercy  
 ‘And everybody who had problems, there they went to Our Lord to ask him for help’
- b. (Fazienda: 112)  
 En la ribera de mare Galilee, a parte de syerço,  
 in the shore of sea Galilee at part of north.wind  
**alli fue a las bodas Jhesu Christo e Sancta Maria**  
 there go.PRF.3SG to the wedding Jesus Christ and Saint Mary  
**su madre**  
 his mother  
 ‘At the shore of the Sea of Galilee, at the north wind side, Jesus Christ and his mother Saint Mary went there to the wedding’

<sup>21</sup> Elvira (2017: 158–159) defines the colon as a discursive unit with a prosodic stance, a piece of speech that can be characterised by the link between its particular intonation and the unit of information of spoken speech that it outlines. He adds that this unit does not necessarily have to coincide with the notions of focus and topic used in formal grammar.

- c. (Fazienda: 137)  
 alli veno **David** e pidio las armas  
 here come.PRF.3SG David & ask.PRF.3SG the weapons  
 ‘David went there and asked for the weapons’
- d. (Fazienda: 115)  
 En cabo daquela fuent, alli fue soterrado **Job**  
 in direction of.that fountain there be.PRF.3SG bury.PTCP.M.SG Job  
 ‘Job was buried there, towards that fountain’
- e. (Fazienda: 103)  
 Alli en Jerico estaba **el ciego** prueb de la carrera  
 there in Jerico be.IPFV.IND.3SG the blind near of the pathway  
 ‘The blind (man) sat there, in Jerico, near the pathway’
- f. (Fazienda: 145)  
 Agora afirmo **el Sennor** sue palabra que fablo  
 now confirm.PRF.3SG the Lord his word that speak.PRF.3SG  
 ‘now our Lord confirmed the words that he had spoken’
- g. (Fazienda: 101)  
 E agora dyovos **el Criador** tierra  
 & now give.PRF.3SG.=DAT.2PL the Creator land  
 ‘and now the Creator gave you land’
- h. (Fazienda: 124)  
 Alli aduxieron **los Phylisteos** el arca del testament  
 there bring.PRF.3PL the Philistines the Arc of.the Testament  
 ‘The Philistines brought the Arc of Testament there’

As for deictic fronting in *Fazienda*, the data from (10a) to (10b) and (10f) show that it triggers proclisis and (10d) to (10f) illustrate strict verb-subject adjacency (in particular, (10d) shows that, even in the case of passive structures, the subject is adjacent to the auxiliary verb).

- (10) a. (Fazienda: 73)  
 Esto vos acomendo que cojades dello  
 this =DAT.2PL recommend.PRS.IND.1SG that take.PRS.SBJV.2PL of.it  
 cada uno .i. almud  
 each one one almud  
 ‘This I recommend you, that you take one almud each’
- b. (Fazienda: 152)  
 e dixol: [...] tornatvos cada uno a su  
 & say.PRF.3SG.=DAT.3SG go.back.IMP.2PL.=REFL each one to his  
 casa”. e assi lo fizieron [e] tornaronse  
 house & so =ACC.N.3SG do.PRF.3PL & go.back.PRF.3PL.=REFL  
 ‘And told him: go back home. And so they did.’
- c. (Fazienda: 89)  
 E assi lo fiço  
 & so =ACC.N.3SG do.PRF.3SG  
 ‘And so he did’
- d. (Fazienda: 153)  
 Assi fue **la ara** crebantada  
 so be.PRF.3SG the altar break.PTCP.F.SG  
 ‘The altar was broken in this way’

- e. (Fazienda: 136)  
 alli aduxieron **fijos de Israel** los huessos  
 there bring.PRF.3PL sons of Israel the bones  
 ‘The sons of Israel brought the bones there’
- f. (Fazienda: 115)  
 En aquella plaça, aquella fontana de Medan, allis  
 in that square that spring of Medan there. = REFL  
 aplega **grant cavalleria e grant yent ...**  
 gather.PRS.IND.3SG big cavalry & big people  
 ‘In that square, in that spring of Medan, there gather a great cavalry and many people’

Let us turn our attention now to *GE&EE* in which fronting of temporal, locative, manner adverbial expressions and deictic ones (11) is also widely attested (see also Eide and Sitaridou 2014) with no noticeable difference from the other two texts in terms of distribution and discourse value for either the fronted material or postverbal subjects:

- (11) a. (CORDE:<sup>22</sup> c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 335r)  
 a la muerte deste puerco se ayuntaron [...] = REFL gather.PRF.3PL  
 to the death of.this pig = REFL gather.PRF.3PL  
 Alli uinieron otrossi **Castor & Pollux hijos de la reyna**  
 there come.PRF.3PL also Castor & Pollux sons of the queen  
**leda**  
 Leda  
 ‘when this pig was dead, they gathered ... There came Castor & Pollux, sons of Queen Leda’
- b. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 335r)  
 Alli llego estonces **el poder de los de dentro**  
 there arrive.PRF.3SG then the power of the of inside  
 ‘then there came the power of those who where inside’
- c. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Estoria de España, II, fol. 301v)  
 Et alli estauan **unas compannas de moros**  
 & there be.IPFV.IND.3PL ones companies of Moors  
 ‘And there were several groups of Moors’
- d. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 140v)  
 Alli se tornaron **ellos** otra uez  
 there = REFL come.back.PRF.3PL they another time  
 ‘they came back there again’
- e. (CORDE: c.1270. Alfonso X. Estoria de Espanna)  
 Agora uos diremos de los consules  
 now = DAT.2PL say.FUT.1PL of the consuls  
 ‘now we will talk about the consuls’
- f. (CORDE: c.1270. Alfonso X. Estoria de Espanna)  
 Agora uos digo que esta es toda su  
 now = DAT.2PL say.PRS.IND.1SG that this be.PRS.IND.3SG all his  
 fuerça  
 force  
 ‘Now I tell you that this is all his force’

<sup>22</sup> We include the information regarding site of extraction of data because we want to be explicit as to which data were extracted from corpora and contrasted with the corresponding edition in books (see *Cantar de Mio Cid* and *Fazienda*) and which ones from databases. Only the former bear page numbers and the number of verses in the references.

- g. (CORDE: c.1270–1284. Alfonso X. Estoria de España, II)  
 Agora empos esto aun diremos de otros fechos del Rey don  
 now after this still say.FUT.1PL of other deeds of.the King sir  
 fernando  
 Fernando  
 ‘Now, after this, we will tell (you) of the deeds of Sir Fernando, the King’
- h. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X, General Estoria, fol. 257v)  
 Assi acaescio que quando yo era mancebilla  
 thus happen.PRF.3SG that when I be.IPFV.IND.3SG young  
**que tome marido un rey a que dixieron Layo.**  
 that take.PRF.1SG husband a king to that say.PRF.3PL Layo  
 ‘It happened in this way, that when I was young, I took as husband a king  
 who was called Layo.’
- i. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II, fol. 198v)  
 Asi las leuaron muy bien & muy onrada mentre pora  
 so =ACC.F.PL bring.PRF.3PL very well and very honest-ly to  
 ‘So they brought them very well and very honestly to the Cid’  
 el Cid  
 the Cid
- j. (CORDE: c. 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna, fol. 116r)  
 En aquella sazón se començo en Nero **la primera de las**  
 in that way =REFL start.PRF.3SG in Nero the first of the  
**doze persecuciones**  
 12 persecutions  
 ‘In that way it started in Nero one of the twelve persecutions’

Regarding the preposing of locative adverbs with unaccusative verbs and existential *estar* ‘be’ (from 11a to 11c), the examples of *GE&EE* seem to pattern with Modern Spanish, except for the fact that the subject is not always adjacent to the verb. These cases might be analysed the same way as Modern Spanish stage topics (in Spec-TP position). However, (11d) to (11f) display proclisis and also the verb of the former is unaccusative and its subject is postverbal and adjacent to it. (11g) is one of the many examples of V4 that can be found in these works. As for (11h), the verb is unaccusative and the subject is postverbal and introduced by the conjunction *que* (in a clear case of recomplementation), and *assi* ‘thus’ might also be analysed as a stage topic. However, in (11i) there must have been movement to the left periphery because we have proclisis.<sup>23</sup> Finally, it can be seen that the preposing of the deictic expression that contains a demonstrative also triggers proclisis (11i). Hence, even if we could think that some sentences could be considered as examples of stage topics in spec-TP, there are others that involve movement to the left periphery.

To sum up, the only register variation found in the 13<sup>th</sup> C. texts that we have examined relates to the fact that in *Mío Cid* preverbal temporal, locative, manner adverbs and other deictic expressions move to the left periphery and we may say that even if they are not focal they may convey information focus, which could be checked in a position external to FinP/TP because it triggers proclisis.

<sup>23</sup> Consider also cases where the adverbs do not move to the left periphery, as in (i)-(ii):

- (i) Esto fechos agora, ál feredes adelant  
 (Cid: v. 896)
- (ii) por la su voluntad non serién allí llegados  
 (Cid: v. 2349)

### 3 Quotative inversion in Old Spanish

Another type of fronting is generally found with *verba dicendi* (or communication verbs, see Leonetti 2017: 896, but also Devine & Stephens 2006 for Latin, Petrova & Hinterhölzl 2010 for Old High German). *Verba dicendi* can be preceded by preposed temporal, locative or manner adverbial expressions and can also involve subject-verb inversion — see (12) from *Mío Cid*:

- (12) a. (Cid: v. 3143)  
 Agora demande **mío Cid el Campeador** ...  
 now ask.PRS.SBJV.3SG my Cid the Campeador  
 ‘Now my Cid the Campeador should ask’
- b. (Cid: v. 1505)  
 Essora dixo **Minaya: -¡ Vaimos** cavalgar!-  
 in.this.time say.PRF.3SG Mynaya go.PRS.IND.1PL ride.INF  
 ‘Then Minaya said: – “Let’s go and ride!”’
- c. (Cid: v. 1947)  
 Essora dixo **el Cid: -¡ Plazme** de  
 in.this.time say.PRF.3SG the Cid please.PRS.IND.3SG. = DAT.1SG of  
 coraçón!-  
 heart  
 ‘Then the Cid said: – “it really pleases me!”’
- d. (Cid: v. 3237)  
 Luego respondió **el conde don Remond: - El oro...**  
 immediately answer.PRF.3SG the count sir Remond the gold  
 ‘Immediately after the count sir Remond answered: – “The gold ...”’
- e. (Cid: v. 3467)  
 Luego fablaron **infantes de Carrión: - Dandos** ...  
 immediately speak.PRF.3PL infantes of Carrión give.IMP.2PL. = DAT.1PL  
 ‘Immediately after the infantes of Carrión spoke: – “Give us...”’
- f. (Cid: v. 1262)  
 Allí dixo **Minaya: - Consejo es** aguisado.  
 there say.PRF.3SG Minaya council be.PRS.IND.3SG prepare.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘There Minaya said: -“the council is prepared.”’
- g. (Cid: v. 3212)  
 así dezimos **nós: a lo que demanda** **el Cid** ...  
 so say.PRS.IND.1PL we to the that ask.PRS.IND.3SG the Cid  
 ‘(If it pleases our king) so we say: “Whatever the Cid asks (you help him with)”’

Apart from temporal, locative and manner adverbs being fronted, quotative inversion is also documented with fronting of objects: the direct object, as in (13a), the indirect object, as in (13b), or both, as in (13c), and even a fronted embedded clause, as in (13d).

- (13) a. (Cid: vv. 1193–1195)  
 Quien quiere ir conmigo cercar a Valencia  
 who want.PRS.IND.3SG go.INF with.me siege.INF to Valencia  
 (todos vengan de grado, ninguno non ha  
 all come.PRS.SBJV.3PL of pleasure nobody not have.PRS.IND.3SG  
 premia), tres días le speraré en Canal de Celfa

hurry three days =DAT.3SG wait.FUT.1SG in Canal of Celfa  
 Esto dixo **mío Cid**, el que en buen ora nasco  
 this say.PRF.3SG my Cid the that in good time be.born.PRF.3SG  
 “Who wants to come with me to render Valencia under siege? All should  
 be pleased to come, nobody must be in a hurry. I will wait for everyone in  
 Canal de Celfa.” My Cid, the one who was born the right time, said this.’

- b. (Cid: vv. 2197–2198)  
 A vós digo, mis hijas, don Elvira e doña Sol,  
 to you say.PRS.IND.1SG my daughters lady Elvira and lady Sol  
 d’este vuestro casamiento creçremos en onor  
 of.this your wedding grow.FUT.1PL in honour  
 ‘I tell you, my daughters, Lady Elvira and Lady Sol, we will gain honour by  
 (having) this wedding’
- c. (Cid: vv. 2954)  
 Verdad te digo **yo** que me  
 truth =DAT.2SG say.PRS.IND.1SG I that =DAT.1SG  
 pesa de corazón  
 regret.PRS.IND.3SG of heart  
 ‘I tell you the truth that I deeply regret’
- d. (Cid: vv. 2724–2725)  
 Cuando esto vieron las dueñas, fablava doña Sol:  
 when this see.PRF.3PL the ladies speak.IPFV.IND.3SG lady Sol  
 - ¡Don Diego e don Ferrando, rogámosvos por Dios!  
 sir Diego & sir Ferrando beg.PRS.IND.1PL.=DAT.2PL by God  
 ‘When the ladies saw this, Lady Sol said: -“Sir Diego and Sir Ferrando, we beg  
 you for God’s sake”’

The organisation of IS in quotative inversion in *Mío Cid* works as follows: (a) when there is a temporal, locative or manner adverbial expression, there is narrow focus on the subject (12). Notice that this has remained stable to present day (14a). In contrast, in OVS configurations, which are illustrated in (13), fronting triggers subject inversion, but it does not convey narrow focus on the subject. We agree with Leonetti (2017: 907–911) in that the fronted constituent can neither be interpreted as a topic nor as a contrastive focus and also in that fronting contributes to IS in an indirect way—since there are not intonational breaks—because the fronted element can create a connection with a discourse antecedent –like in (13a) –, without however being an aboutness topic. This use has also been preserved in Modern Spanish (see 14b). Besides, in most cases it gives rise to *verum focus* (see 13c, for instance).

- (14) a. *Modern Spanish* (CREA: 1994. El Mundo, 20/08/1994)  
 Entonces dijo ella: “Pues vamos disfrazadas” ...  
 then say.PRF.3SG she so go.PRS.IND.1PL dressed-up.PTCP.F.PL  
 ‘Then she said: “So we go and dress up”’
- b. (CREA: 1993. Fulgencio Argüelles, Letanías de lluvia. ESPAÑA. 07.Novela)  
 - La muerte todo lo iguala. Esto dijo  
 the death all =ACC.N.3SG equal.PRS.IND.3SG this say.PRF.3SG  
 la afable María Gloria ...  
 the affable Mary Glory  
 ‘The affable Mary Glory said this: “Death is the great equaliser”’



As for *Fazienda*, XVS also denotes narrow focus on the subject, as illustrated in (15):

- (15) a. (Fazienda: 194)  
 Assi diz **el Sennor de los fonsados:** Tornat ...  
 so say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord of the armies go.back.IMP.2PL  
 ‘So says the Lord of the armies: go back ...’
- b. (Fazienda: 197)  
 Assi diz **Cirus, rey de Persia:** Todos ...  
 so say.PRS.IND.3SG Cirus king of Persia all  
 ‘So says Cirus, king of Persia: “all...”’
- c. (Fazienda: 129)  
 Assi dize **el Criador:** con estos descornaras a los  
 so say.PRS.IND.3SG the Creator with these dehorn.FUT.2SG to the  
 de ...  
 of  
 ‘So says the Creator: “With these you will dehorn the ones of (Syria)”’
- d. (Fazienda: 145)  
 Esto[n]z dixo **Salomon:** “El Sennor ...  
 then say.PRF.3SG Salomon the Lord  
 Then Salomon said: “Our Lord ...”’

In spite of a few examples of OVS (16), the most wide-spread strategy in *Fazienda* seems to be no fronted material or a coordinator (for the role of coordinators, see discussion in Sitaridou 2019), namely V1 syntax (17).

- (16) a. (Fazienda: 64)  
 Esto diz **el Sennor Dios de Israel:** dexa mio  
 this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord God of Israel leave.IMP.2SG my  
 pueblo...”  
 people  
 ‘Our Lord, God of Israel says this: “Leave my people ...”’
- b. (Fazienda: 168)  
 Esto diz **el Sennor de los fonsados de Jherusalem:**  
 this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord of the armies of Jerusalem  
 Folgad ...  
 be.at.leisure.IMP.2PL  
 ‘The Lord of the armies of Jerusalem says this: “Be at leisure ...”’
- c. (Fazienda: 179)  
 Esto diz **la letra:** mene mene tequel ufarcin ...  
 this say.PRS.IND.3SG the letter mene mene tequel ufarcin  
 ‘The letter says this: “mene mene tequel ufarcin...”’
- (17) a. (Fazienda: 179)  
 Respuso **Daniel e dixo:** “Rey,...  
 answer.PRF.3SG Daniel & say.PRF.3SG king  
 ‘Daniel answered and said: “King, ...”’
- b. (Fazienda: 45)  
 E dixo **el:** “Non, ca reyst”  
 & say.PRF.3SG he no because laugh.PRF.2SG  
 ‘And he said: “no, because you laughed”’

- c. (Fazienda: 46)  
 E dixo **la maior** a la menor: “Nuestro padre  
 & say.PRF.3SG the oldest to the youngest our father  
 es vyeio...  
 be.PRS.IND.3SG old  
 ‘And the oldest said to the youngest: “Our father is old...”’
- d. (Fazienda: 47)  
 E dixo Jacob: “Yo so”  
 & say.PRF.3SG Jacob I be.PRS.IND.1SG  
 ‘And Jacob said: “I am”’
- e. (Fazienda: 57)  
 e dixoles **Josep**: “Que fiziestes?...”  
 & say.PRF.3SG. = DAT.3PL Joseph what do.PRF.2PL  
 ‘And Joseph said: “What did you do?”’

Turning our attention to *GE&EE*, many of the examples seem to be related to Alfonso X’s having turned epic poems and biblical itineraries of the Vulgate into prose. The examples of XVS show a certain epic flavour,<sup>24</sup> as shown in (18a) or they are narrations of biblical stories, as shown in (18b–d). Notice that in (18a) the clitic pronoun is proclitic, which implies that there has been movement of the temporal deictic adverb to the left periphery. Thus, in quotative inversion contexts, XVS patterns with *Mío Cid* and OVS is configured the same way as in *Mío Cid* and *Fazienda*. Moreover, in *GE&EE*, VS is also the most frequent context to convey narrow focus on the subject—see (18e) and (18f).

- (18) a. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Essoral dixo **el portero** muy omillosamientre.  
 in.this.time. = DAT.3SG say.PRF.3SG the porter very humbly  
 Sennor un omne esta a la puerta  
 sir a man be.PRS.IND.3SG at the door  
 ‘At that time, the porter told him very humbly: “Sir, there is a man at the door...”’
- b. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Esto dize **el sennor**. & tendre la mi mano sobre  
 this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord & have.FUT.1SG the my hand on  
 Judas.  
 Judas  
 ‘The Lord says this: “And I will have my hand on Judas”’
- c. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 ensuziada eres en tu maldat ante mi. Esto  
 dirty.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.IND.2SG in your wickedness before me this  
 dize **el sennor dios**  
 say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord God  
 ‘God, our Lord, says this: “You are dirty to my eyes because of your wickedness”’
- d. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Enuia a toda la trasmigracion. & dezirles  
 send.PRS.IND.3SG to all the migration & say.INF = DAT.3PL  
 as. Esto dize **el sennor** a Semeyas  
 have.AUX.PRS.IND.2SG this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord to Semeyas

<sup>24</sup> By ‘epic flavour’ essentially we mean that this is an oral narration of a story in which the narrator uses several strategies to keep the attention of the audience, quotative inversion being one such strategy.

- de Neelamit.  
of Neelamit  
'Send them to the migration and you shall tell them: "This says our Lord to Semeyas of Neelamit'
- e. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
& dixo **el Rey daniel** por que non aoras tu  
& say.PRF.3SG the king Daniel for that not worship.PRS.IND.2SG you  
a bel. Respondio el & dixo. Sennor rey. Estos  
to Bel answer.PRF.3SG he & say.PRF.3SG sir king these  
ydolos fechos son con mano de omne  
idols do.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.IND.3PL with hand of man  
'And king Daniel said: "Why don't you worship Bel?". He answered and  
said: "Sir, my king, these idols are made by men"
- f. (CORDE: c. 1270. Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna, 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph)  
Aqui dixo **ponpeyo** a sus compannas. amigos aqui  
here say.PRF.3SG Pompeyo to his companions friends here  
aprendet que la luna clara ...  
learn.IMP.2PL that the moon bright  
'Here Pompeyo said to his troops: "Dear friends, learn here that the bright moon...'
- g. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Estoria de España, 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph)  
Aqui dixo **aquella buena mandadera** a la Infante donna  
here say.PRF.3SG that good maiden to the infant lady  
Sancha. Sennora. Ruego uos [...] que uayades  
Sancha Lady pray.PRS.IND.1SG =DAT.2PL that go.PRS.SBJV.2PL  
a el.  
to him  
'Here, that good maiden said to the Infante Lady Sancha: "Milady, I beg you  
to go to him'

Overall, we note that quotative inversion seems to have remained stable in Modern Spanish (but for the cases in which we have proclisis, such as (18a), which have certain epic flavour). For the rest, a similar pattern is found, consider (19):

- (19) a. *Modern Spanish* (CREA: 1985. Emilio Romero, Tragicomedia de España (Unas Memorias sin contemplaciones. ESPAÑA. 03.Política)  
Eso dijo **Francisco de Quevedo**. No he  
this say.PRF.3SG Francisco de Quevedo not have.PRS.IND.1SG  
de callar por más que coaccione ese señor en el  
of shut.up.INF for more that coerce.PRS.SBJV.3SG this man in the  
poder asido  
power handle.PTCP.M.SG  
'Francisco de Quevedo said this: "I shall not shut up even if that nobleman  
with great power coerces me'
- b. *Modern Spanish* (CREA: 1990. Armonía Somers, Un retrato para Dickens. URUGUAY. 07.Novela)  
Entonces respondió **Tobías** a su padre, diciendo:  
then answer.PRF.3SG Tobías to his father say.PROG  
Haré [...] todo lo que me has mandado.  
do.FUT.1SG all the that =DAT.1SG have.PRS.IND.3G order.PTCP.M.SG  
'Then Tobías answered his father and said: "I will carry out all that you  
ordered me'

#### 4 Quantifier fronting

According to most studies on quantifier fronting (QP fronting hereafter) in Modern Romance (Ambar 1999; Quer 2002; Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal 2009; Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti 2011; Cruschina and Remberger 2017, among others), QP fronting does not involve any kind of informational partition since it conveys an evaluative value (see Ambar 1999) that Leonetti (2017: 913) identifies with a *verum focus* interpretation denoting narrow focus on the positive polarity of the utterance and thus bringing about the overall strengthening of the assertion.

In Old Spanish and, in particular, in *Mío Cid* we can identify two main types of QP fronting. In the first type, which is still grammatical in Modern Spanish, the fronted quantifier modifies the whole sentence — see (20) — and fronting gives rise to a *verum focus* reading (see Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal 2009 for *verum focus* in Modern Spanish). Also, as illustrated in (20f), QP fronting triggers subject inversion.

- (20) a. (Cid: v. 1680)  
 mucho avién fecho  
 a.lot have.IPFV.IND.3PL do.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘They had done a lot’
- b. (Cid: v. 321)  
 mucho avemos de andar  
 a.lot have.PRS.IND.1PL of walk.INF  
 ‘We will have to walk a lot’
- c. (Cid: v. 2151)  
 Mio Cid Ruy Díaz, mucho me avedes ondrado  
 my Cid Ruy Díaz a.lot =dat.1SG have.PRS.IND.2PL honour.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘My Cid Ruy Díaz, you have honoured me a lot’
- d. (Cid: v. 2683)  
 poco precio las nuevas de los de Carrión  
 little appreciate.PRS.IND.1SG the news of the of Carrión  
 ‘Little do I appreciate the news of those from Carrión’
- e. (Cid: v. 245)  
 con tan grant gozo reciben al que en buen ora  
 with such great pleasure meet.PRS.IND.3PL to.the that in good time  
 nasco  
 be.born.PRF.3SG  
 ‘They met with such a great pleasure the one who was born in good time’
- f. (Cid: v. 2438)  
 Algo veyé mio Cid de lo que era  
 something see.IPFV.IND.3SG my Cid of the that be.IPFV.IND.3SG  
 pagado  
 please.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘Something My Cid saw that pleased him’

In the second type of QP fronting, the proposed quantifier modifies the predicate of a copulative sentence with *ser* ‘to be’ (21a,b) or the definite direct object of a light verb construction with *auer* ‘to have’—see (21c). The sentences in (21) are all ungrammatical in Modern Spanish (22). As shown in (22), (21a) and (21b) would be expressed by means of *muy* ‘very’ nowadays, whereas (22c) would need a subject experiencer verb because the arguments of Old Spanish *auer*<sup>25</sup> denoted alienable possession, but this value is no longer available with

<sup>25</sup> The meaning of *auer* ‘have’ was lexical; and, in fact, this verb was replaced by *tener* ‘to hold, to have, to experience’ in the history of Spanish.

*haber* in Modern Spanish. In the latter cases, the construction conveyed the superlative quantification of the alienable abstract noun (of emotion or affection); thus, apparently, no informational partition was created through QP fronting in these structures. Notice, though, that, in some way, the examples in (21) could be interpreted as Modern Spanish clefts, as for instance in (22e) to (22i). If so, we would then have to say that there is a focus-background partition with contrastive narrow focus on the constituent that precedes the verb *ser* ‘to be’.

- (21) a. (Cid: v. 881)  
 Dixo el rey: - Mucho es mañana ...  
 say.PRF.3SG the king a.lot be.PRS.IND.3SG early  
 The king said: ‘It is very early...’
- b. (Cid: v. 1731)  
 mucho era alegre de lo que an  
 a.lot be.IPFV.IND.3SG happy of the that have.PRS.IND.3PL  
 caçado  
 hunt.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘He was very happy about what they had hunted’
- c. (Cid: v. 2023)  
 tanto avié el gozo mayor  
 so.much have.IPFV.IND.3SG the pleasure greater  
 ‘He felt such a great pleasure’
- d. (Cid: v. 18)  
 tanto avién el dolor  
 so.much have.IPFV.IND.3PL the pain  
 ‘They felt such a pain’
- e. (Cid: v. 6)  
 Sospiró mio Cid, ca mucho avié grandes cuidados  
 sigh.PRF.3SG my Cid for a.lot have.IPFV.IND.3SG great hardships  
 ‘My Cid sighed because he had to endure such great hardships’
- f. (Cid: v. 859)  
 al exir de Salón mucho ovo buenas aves  
 to.the go.out.INF of Salón a.lot have.PRF.3SG good birds  
 ‘When they went out of Salón, they had many good premonitions’
- (22) a. *Modern Spanish*  
 Es muy temprano  
 be.PRS.IND.3SG very early  
 ‘It is very early’
- b. Estaba muy alegre por lo que cazaron  
 be.IPFV.IND.3SG very happy for the that hunt.PRF.3PL  
 ‘He was very happy about what they had hunted’
- c. Sentía muy gran gozo  
 feel.IPFV.IND.3SG very great pleasure  
 ‘He felt a very great pleasure’
- d. Sentía mucho dolor  
 feel.IPFV.IND.3SG a.lot pain  
 ‘He felt a lot of pain’
- e. Muy alegre estaba por lo que cazaron  
 very happy be.IPFV.IND.3SG for the that hunt.PRF.3PL  
 ‘Very happy he was for what they had hunted’

- f. Mucho gozo fue lo que sintieron  
 a.lot pleasure be.PRF.3SG the that fell.PRF.3PL  
 ‘A great pleasure was what they felt’
- g. Un muy gran dolor fue lo que sintieron  
 a very big pain be.PRF.3SG the that fell.PRF.3PL  
 ‘A great pain was what they felt’
- h. Muy grandes problemas fue lo que tuvieron  
 very big problems be.PRF.3SG the that have.PRF.3PL  
 ‘They had serious problems’
- i. Muy buenas predicciones fue lo que tuvieron  
 very good predictions be.PRF.3SG the that have.PRF.3PL  
 ‘They had very good premonitions’

Finally, there are other structures involving QP fronting in which the prepositional phrase (PP) that modifies the quantifier is extraposed — see (23) — but in these cases either the quantifier has to be associated with *que* ‘that’ and therefore functions as a correlative consecutive embedded clause conjunction — as in (23a,b) — or the juxtaposition of two clauses with QP fronting in the second clause yields the interpretation of the logical cause-consequence relation between the two, as in (23c).

- (23) a. (Cid: v. 2529)  
**tantos** avemos de averes **que** no son  
 so.many have.PRS.IND.1PL of possessions that not be.PRS.IND.3PL  
 contados  
 count.PTCP.M.PL  
 ‘We have so many possessions that they cannot be counted’
- b. (Cid, v. 785)  
**Tantos** moros yazen muertos **que** pocos bivos  
 so.many Moors lie.PRS.IND.3PL dead that few alive  
 á dexados  
 have.PRS.IND.3SG leave.PTCP.M.PL  
 ‘There were so many Moors lying dead that he has left just a few alive’
- c. (Cid: v. 1800)  
 Alegres son por Valencia las yentes cristianas, ¡**tantos**  
 happy be.PRS.IND.3PL in Valencia the people Christians so.many  
 avién de averes, de cavallos e de armas!  
 have.IPFV.IND.3PL of possessions of horses & of weapons  
 ‘The Christians were happy in Valencia. So many goods, and horses and  
 weapons they had!’

Interestingly, the only type of QP fronting attested in *Fazienda* (scarce though), is the first type (i.e., the one still available in Modern Spanish)—see (24a). The second type of quantification for which we would use *muy* ‘very’ nowadays is also attested, but in this case the quantifier appears before or after the predicate it modifies—see (24b) and (24c), respectively. Otherwise, sentence-final position of the quantifier yields quantification over the whole sentence, as in (24d). In (24c) it quantifies the clause *fue albergada* and in (24d), the purpose clause *fer bevir pueblo* ‘make people live’.

- (24) a. (Fazienda: 50)  
 aquel Sennor me ampara de Esau mio ermano ca  
 this Lord ACC.1SG protect.PRS.IND.3SG of Esau my brother for  
 yo muchol temo  
 I a.lot. = DAT.3SG fear.PRS.IND.1SG  
 ‘(This Lord protects me from Esau, my brother,) because I very much  
 fear him’
- b. (Fazienda: 69)  
 Moysen era mucho ondrado en toda tierra de  
 Moysen be.IPFV.IND.3SG very honour.PTCP.M.SG in all land of  
 Egipto  
 Egypt  
 ‘Moysen was very much revered everywhere in Egypt’
- c. (Fazienda: 60–61)  
 E subieron con el carros [...] e fue albergada  
 & go.up.PRF.3PL with he carriages & be.PRF.3SG host.PTCP.F.SG  
 grant mucho  
 big a.lot  
 ‘And (some) carriages went up with him and she was greatly hosted’
- d. (Fazienda: 61)  
 E vos cueydastes sobre mi mal e Dios tornolo  
 & you inflict.PRF.2PL on my evil & God turn.PRF.3SG. = ACC.M.3SG  
 en bien, como oy es por fer bevir pueblo  
 in good as today be.PRS.IND.3SG to make.INF live.INF people  
 mucho  
 much  
 ‘And you inflicted me evil and God turned it into good, as is today so as to  
 make people live more’

In *GE&EE*, the two types of QP fronting are also widely attested. On the one hand, we find the type of QP fronting that triggers a *verum focus* reading, as in (25), which is still available in Modern Spanish. On the other hand, Alfonso X’s *GE&EE* still exhibit some examples of the kind of QP fronting that modifies the predicate of a copulative sentence. As mentioned above, this could be related to the fact that in these works some epic poems (such as the *Mío Cid* and the *Poema de Fernán González*, for instance) were turned into prose. In contemporary Spanish (26a) to (26e) would be ungrammatical, but (26e) and (26f) could be analysed as examples of cleft sentences with the adverb *muy* instead of *mucho* —see Camus (2008) for a detailed account of this function of *mucho*.

- (25) a. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. II part)  
 Mucho se trauaiaron los de fuera  
 a.lot = REFL work.PRF.3PL the of outside  
 ‘The ones that were outside worked hard’
- b. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Mucho se marauillo estonces el Rey Nabuchodonosor  
 a.lot = REFL admire.PRF.3SG then the king Nebuchadnezar  
 ‘King Nebuchadnezar was then much amazed.’

- c. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Mucho plogo al Rey con aquellas razones  
 a.lot please.PRF.3SG to.the king with those reasons  
 ‘The king was much pleased with those explanations’
- d. (CORDE: c 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna)  
 Mucho mal fezist & fazes  
 a.lot evil do.PRF.2SG & do.PRS.IND.2SG  
 ‘You did and still do much evil’
- e. (CORDE: 1270 – 1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)  
 Mucho fue el algo que aquel dia alli ganaron  
 a.lot be.PRF.3SG the something that that day there win.PRF.3PL  
 ‘What they won there that day was really a lot’
- f. (CORDE: a 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. III part)  
 Poco dormirás e poco te adormeztrás,  
 little sleep.FUT.2SG & little =REFL fall.asleep.FUT.2SG  
 ‘Little will you sleep and little will you fall asleep’
- g. (CORDE: a 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part)  
 Poco valen los fijos que fazen ante de tres  
 little be.worth.PRS.IND.3PL the sons that do.PRS.IND.3PL before three  
 años  
 years  
 ‘The sons that are under three years old are worth little’
- (26) a. (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. II, Fol. 292v)  
 & dixo que mucho era triste [...] por que el &  
 & say.PRF.3SG that much be.IPFV.IND.3SG sad [...] for that he &  
 sus onbres non murieran alli con sos yernos  
 his men not die.IPFV.SBJV.3PL there with their sons-in-law  
 ‘And he said that he was very sad indeed because he and his men had not  
 died there with their sons-in-law’
- b. (1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II, paragraph 7; Elvira 2017: 164)  
 Mucho fueron grandes las onrras que el Rey mando  
 a.lot be.PRF.3PL big the honours that the king order.PRF.3SG  
 fazer al cuerpo del Çid  
 do.INF to.the corpse of.the Cid  
 ‘The funeral honours that the king ordered for the corpse of the Cid were  
 great indeed’
- c. (CORDE: c 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna)  
 Mucho era bien andant enneas en affrica con la  
 a.lot be.IPFV.IND.3SG well walk.PRS.PTCP Eneas in Africa with the  
 reyna  
 queen  
 ‘Eneas was fortunate indeed with the queen in Africa’
- d. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)  
 Mucho fue ferida esta fazienda en poca de ora.  
 a.lot be.PRF.3SG damage.PTCP.F.SG this property in little of hour  
 ‘This property was damaged indeed in a few hours.’
- e. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)  
 Mucho fue grant la persia  
 much be.PRF.3SG great the Persia  
 ‘Persia was great indeed’



- f. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)  
 Mucho alegre fue Nabuchodonosor Rey de babilonna.  
 much happy be.PRF.3SG Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon  
 ‘Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was really happy.’
- g. (CORDE: c 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part)  
 Mucho espantado fue Jacob d’aquel fecho que fizieron  
 a.lot scare.PTCP.M.SG be.PRF.3SG Jacob of.that deed that do.PRF.3PL  
 ‘Jacob was really scared about that action that they took’

As previously seen, this second type of QP fronting might have expressed an informational focus-background partition in Old Spanish comparable to the one exhibited by the examples in (27f) and (27g), which might be given the same value as Modern Spanish clefts and thus denote contrastive narrow focus on the fronted constituent.

## 5 Information/broad/weak focus fronting

Information/broad/weak focus fronting (see Batllori and Hernanz 2015)<sup>26</sup> involves objects (27), adjuncts (28), adjectives (29), participles (30), infinitives (31), gerunds (32), and adverbs (33), all of which give rise to an O/XVS pattern.<sup>27</sup>

Let us start with object fronting in *Mío Cid* (27):

- (27) Object fronting
- a. (Cid: v. 38)  
 una ferida:l’ dava  
 an injury. = DAT.3SG give.IPFV.IND.3SG  
 ‘He inflicted injury to him’
- b. (Cid: v. 705)  
 la seña tiene en mano  
 the sign have.PRS.IND.3SG in hand  
 ‘he has the sign in his hand’
- c. (Cid: v. 319)  
 la missa nos dirá, ésta será de Santa Trinidad  
 the mass = DAT.1PL say.FUT.3SG this be.FUT.3SG of Saint Trinity  
 ‘They will celebrate the mass and it will be of Saint Trinity’
- d. (Cid: v. 285)  
 Grand yantar le fazen al buen Campeador  
 great meal = DAT.3SG do.PRS.IND.3PL to.the good Campeador  
 ‘They prepare a great meal for the good Campeador’
- e. (Cid: v. 486)  
 el castiello dexó en so poder  
 the castle leave.PRF.3SG in their power  
 ‘He left the castle under their command’

<sup>26</sup> It should be taken into account that for Batllori and Hernanz (2015), despite calling this type of fronting ‘weak focus’, they do not say that it is indeed a focal element. The term “weak focus”, as explained by the authors, derives from the term “unmarked focus” that Benincà (2004) associates to a projection lower than FocusP that is neither a Contrastive Focus projection nor a Topic one. As such, it is perfectly compatible with the non-focal fronting terminology used by Leonetti (2017). Importantly, for Sitaridou (2011 et seq.) this type of fronting is identified as informational focus; crucially, it does not display any quantificational properties (essentially following Rizzi 1997; Kiss 1998, among many others) as is the case with contrastive focus; therefore, it is compatible both with Batllori and Hernanz’ (2015) ‘weak focus’ and could also be envisaged to create one single partition with the verb as claimed to be the case by Leonetti (2017). However, for Sitaridou (2011), this position is claimed (i) to be immediately above the TP and (ii) to be associated with syntactic properties such as adjacency with the verb; thus, these two points diversify her analysis from the above-mentioned authors.

<sup>27</sup> Note that OVS can also be interpreted as contrastive focus fronting in Old Spanish but we are not dealing with this type of focus here (but see Eide and Sitaridou 2014).

- f. (Cid: v. 1284)  
 ciento omnes le dio mio Cid a Álbar Fáñez  
 hundred men =DAT.3SG give.PRF.3SG my Cid to Álbar Fáñez  
 ‘Mio Cid gave a hundred men to Álbar Fáñez’
- g. (Cid: v. 1422)  
 Los quinientos marcos dio Minaya al abbat  
 the five.hundred marcs give.prf.3sg Minaya to.the abbot  
 ‘Minaya gave five hundred marcs to the abbot’
- h. (Cid: v. 453)  
 ¡d’aqueste acorro hablará toda España!  
 of.this aid speak.FUT.3SG all Spain  
 ‘The whole Spain will speak of this aid’
- i. (Cid: v. 1079)  
 miedo iva aviendo que mio Cid se  
 fear go.IPFV.IND.3SG have.PROG that my Cid =REFL  
 repintrá  
 regret.FUT.3SG  
 ‘Fear was being spread that my Cid would regret (it)’
- j. (Cid: v. 1648)  
 Riqueza es que nos acrece maravillosa  
 wealth be.PRS.IND.3SG that =ACC.2PL grow.PRS.IND.3SG wonderful  
 e grand  
 and big  
 ‘We are growing a wonderful and big wealth’
- k. (Cid: v. 1660)  
 Miedo á su mugier  
 fear have.PRS.IND.3SG his wife  
 ‘His wife is fearful’

As previously mentioned, according to Leonetti (2017: 907–908), non-focal fronting does not trigger any informational partition since there is no brake in the intonation of the utterance, and the consequent inversion of the subject does not yield any special interpretative (aka focused) effect on the inverted subject. In Leonetti’s words (2017: 922), “fronting usually gave rise to sentences interpreted as single informational chunks, either with wide focus readings or with emphatic values derived from *Verum focus*”. In a similar vein, Sitaridou (2011; 2012; 2015; 2019) and Batllori (2015) (among others) agree that the interpretation of the fronted constituent depends on the context — it may be focal, it may not, with more than one focal interpretations available ranging from contrastive to informational/broad/*verum focus* — hence differs from formal movement where the fronted constituent does not necessarily have a discourse flavour.

Crucially, object fronting has become much more restrictive in Modern Spanish (Sitaridou 2011; Leonetti 2017: 927). From the Old Spanish examples in (27), only (27i) would still be grammatical in Modern Spanish and this only with a *verum focus* interpretation. The current ungrammaticality of almost all examples in (27) supports, in our view, the independently argued assumption that Old Spanish could have had a preverbal information focus position (see Sitaridou 2011: 178; 2015: 133; 2019; Batllori 2015; and even Elvira 2017 who argues in favour of the informational focus value of the colon). If so, in this respect, our analysis differs from Leonetti (2017) who, although he does not explicitly commit about syntactic positions, he seems to favour a single position for the fronted

material. Leaving aside for a moment where Leonetti's single position might be (spec-CP or spec-TP?), in the previous sections we came to the conclusion that certain fronted expressions can be either in the left periphery or in spec-TP (as is still the case in Modern Spanish). Nevertheless, we are still left with cases of object fronting for which neither the spec-TP nor a quantificational focus position in the left periphery seems to be the right host. So, in Old Spanish either there is an additional focus position immediately above TP, or the spec-TP could have hosted fronted objects whereas, clearly, it can no longer do so in Modern Spanish. We find the latter less plausible.

Let us now consider adjunct fronting which could still be acceptable in narrative Modern Spanish without implying any IS partition value (28). In contrast to adjunct fronting which has been preserved, adverb fronting (29), which demonstrates undisputable cases of *verum focus*, has survived through the fossilization of these structures and subsequent reanalysis as emphatic polarity particles such as *bien* 'indeed', and *ya* 'indeed' in Modern Spanish (see Batllori and Hernanz 2009; 2011; 2013; Rodríguez-Molina 2014).

(28) Adjunct fronting

a. (Cid: v. 244)

Con lumbres e con candelas al corral dieron salto  
with lights & with candles to.the stockyard give.PRF.3SG jump  
'He jumped into the stockyard with lights and candles'

b. (Cid: v. 471)

en mano trae desnuda el espada  
in hand carry.PRS.IND.3SG naked the sword  
'he waves the naked sword in his hand'

c. (Cid: v. 555)

en un otero redondo, fuerte e grand; acerca corre Salón  
in a hillock round strong & big near flow.PRS.IND.3SG Salón  
'in a strong round big hillock; Salón flows nearby'

d. (Cid: v. 1592)

En cabo del cosso mio Cid descavalgava  
at end of.the enclosure my Cid dismount.IPFV.IND.3SG  
'My Cid dismounted at the end of the enclosure'

(29) Adverbial fronting

a. (Cid: v. 2204)

bien me lo creades que él vos  
well =DAT.1SG =ACC.N.3SG think.PRS.SBJV.2SG that he =ACC.2PL  
casa  
marry.PRS.IND.3SG  
'You should indeed believe me that he is going to marry you'

b. (Cid: v. 2667)

un moro latinado bien ge lo entendió  
a Moor latinised well =DAT.3SG =ACC.N.3SG hear.PRF.3SG  
'A Moor who spoke Romance indeed heard it'

c. (Cid: v. 82)

bien lo vedes que yo no trayo nada  
indeed =ACC.N.3SG see.PRS.IND.2PL that I not bring.PRF.3SG nothing  
'You can really see that I don't bring anything'

- d. (Cid: v. 2576)  
 bien lo                    sabedes                    vós que las                    gané  
 well = ACC.N.3SG know.PRS.IND.2PL you that = ACC.F.3PL win.PRF.1SG  
 a guisa de varón  
 to manner of man  
 ‘You know it indeed, that I won them like a man’
- e. (Cid: v. 3311)  
 bien lo                    sabedes,                    que yo non puedo  
 well = ACC.N.3SG know.PRS.IND.2PL that I not be.able.PRS.IND.1SG  
 más  
 more  
 ‘You know it indeed, that I cannot do anything else’
- f. (Cid: v. 2995)  
 Ya lo                    vieron                    qué es                    a fer                    los  
 well = ACC.N.3SG see.PRF.3PL what be.PRS.IND.3SG to do.INF the  
 infantes de Carrión  
 infants of Carrión  
 ‘The infants of Carrión knew indeed what they had to do’
- g. (Cid: v. 2941)  
 Ya vós sabedes                    la ondra que es  
 indeed you know.PRS.IND.2PL the honour that be.PRS.IND.3SG  
 cuntida                    a nós  
 happen.PTCP.F.SG to us  
 ‘You really know the honours that have been bestowed upon us’
- h. (Cid: v. 50)  
 Ya lo                    vee                    el Cid, que del rey non  
 indeed = ACC.N.3SG see.PRS.IND.3SG the Cid that the king not  
 avié                    gracia  
 have.IPFV.IND.3SG mercy  
 ‘The Cid can indeed see that the king did not have any mercy’

On the contrary, adjective fronting in Old Spanish (30) would only be tolerated as clefting in most of the Modern Spanish examples equivalent to (30) and as such it would express narrow contrastive focus on the adjective. It follows that the modern renditions of (32) would not preserve the original Old Spanish discourse value (30).

(30) Adjectival fronting

- a. (Cid: v. 1307)  
 Alegre fue                    Minaya e spidiós’                    &  
 happy be.PRF.3SG Minaya & see.off.PRF.3SG. = REFL &  
 vínos’  
 come.PRF.3SG. = REFL  
 ‘Minaya was happy and said farewell and left’
- b. (Cid: v. 1314)  
 Alegre fue                    de aquesto Minaya Álbar Fáñez  
 happy be.PRF.3SG of this                    Minaya Albar Fáñez  
 ‘Minaya Álbar Fáñez was very happy about this’
- c. Alegre es                    el conde  
 happy be.PRS.IND.3SG the count  
 ‘The count is happy’  
 (Cid: v. 1049)

- d. Grant fue el día en la cort del Campeador  
great be.PRF.3SG the day in the court of.the Campeador  
'The day was great in the court of the Campeador'  
(Cid: v. 2474)
- (31) a. *Modern Spanish*  
Alegre estuvo por todo esto Minaya/ el conde  
be.PRF.3SG for all this Minaya the count  
'It was happy that Minaya/ the count was'
- b. Grande fue el día en la corte  
great be.PRF.3SG the day in the court  
'It was great that the day in court was'

With regard to the fronting of non-finite verbal forms (32–34), most modern equivalents would be ungrammatical in Modern Spanish. These structures have been extensively discussed (see Lema and Rivero 1989; 1991; Rodríguez-Molina 2010; Sitaridou 2015; Batllori 1993; 2016; Elvira 2015; Octavio de Toledo 2015, among others) and all authors (with the exception of Lema and Rivero 1989; 1991) agree that the IS value of non-finite verbal fronting in Old Spanish correlates to either contrastive, broad or *verum focus* depending on the context without necessarily sharing the same position (see Sitaridou 2015: 132, cf. ex. (48) and (50)).

- (32) Participles
- a. (Cid: v. 115)  
dexado há heredades e casas e palacios  
leave.PTCP.M.SG have.PRS.IND.3SG estate & houses & palaces  
'He has left estates, houses and palaces'
- b. (Cid: v. 2421)  
un grant colpe dado ·l' ha  
a big hit give.PTCP.M.SG. = DAT.3SG have.PRS.IND.3SG  
'He has hit him hardly'
- c. (Cid: v. 62–63)  
Vedada l' an compra dentro  
prohibit.PTCP.F.SG = DAT.3SG. have.PRS.IND.3PL purchase inside  
en Burgos la casa de todas cosas cuantas son de  
in Burgos the house of all things how.many be.PRS.IND.3PL of  
vianda  
food  
'They have prohibited him any purchase of whatever kind of food inside Burgos'
- d. (Cid: v. 201)  
Exido es de Burgos  
go.PTCP.M.SG be.PRS.IND.3SG of Burgos  
'He has gone out of Burgos'
- e. (Cid: v. 672)  
De Castiella la gentil exidos somos acá  
of Castile the gentry go.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.IND.2PL here  
'We have gone out of Castile, the gentry, towards here'
- f. (Cid: v. 848)  
A cavalleros e a peones fechos los  
to knights & to foot-soldiers do.PTCP.M.PL = ACC.M.3PL

ha ricos  
 have.PRS.IND.3SG wealthy  
 ‘He has made his knights and foot soldiers wealthy’

- g. (Cid: v. 1394)  
 Decido es Minaya  
 come.down.PTCP.M.SG be.PRS.IND.3SG Minaya  
 ‘Minaya has come down’

(33) Infinitives

- a. (Cid: v. 528)  
 buscarnos ie el rey Alfonso con  
 search.INF. = ACC.2PL have.AUX.IPFV.IND.3SG the king Alfonso with  
 toda su mesnada  
 all his army  
 ‘The king Alfonso would look for us with all his army’
- b. (Cid: v. 21)  
 Conbidarle ien de-grado  
 invite.INF. = DAT.3SG have.AUX.IPFV.IND.3PL readily  
 ‘They would invite him readily’
- c. (Cid: v. 251)  
 servos han doblados  
 be.INF. = DAT.2PL have.AUX.PRS.IND.3PL double.PTCP.M.PL  
 ‘They will be doubled for you’
- d. (Cid: v. 2733)  
 retraérvoslo han en vistas  
 reproach.INF. = DAT.2PL. = ACC.N.3SG have.AUX.PRS.IND.3PL in hearings  
 o en cortes  
 or in assemblies  
 ‘They are going to reproach it to you in hearings or in assemblies’
- e. (Cid: v. 662)  
 Mesnadas de mio Cid exir querién a la batalla  
 armies of my Cid go.out.INF want.IPFV.IND.3PL to the battle  
 ‘The army of my Cid wanted to go and start the battle’
- f. (Cid: v. 1274)  
 d’estas mis ganancias que avemos fechas acá  
 of.these my profits that have.PRS.IND.1PL made.PTCP.F.PL here  
 darle quiero ciento caballos  
 give.INF. = DAT.3SG want.PRS.IND.1SG hundred horses  
 ‘I want to give him a hundred horses of the profits we have made here’
- g. (Cid: v. 1620)  
 Dezirvos quiero nuevas de allent partes del  
 say.INF. = DAT.2PL want.PRS.IND.1SG news of beyond parts of.the  
 mar  
 sea  
 ‘I want to tell you some news from beyond the sea’

(34) Gerunds

- a. (Cid: v. 2419)  
 el de mio Cid, alcançándolo va  
 the of my Cid catch.up.PROG. = ACC.M.3SG go.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘The one of my Cid is fetching it’

- b. (Cid: v. 287)  
 Por Castiella oyendo van los pregones  
 through Castile hear.PROG go.PRS.IND.3PL the proclamations  
 ‘All around Castile the proclamations can be heard’
- c. (Cid: v. 377)  
 la cabeça tornando va  
 the head turn.PROG go.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘He is turning his head’
- d. (Cid: v. 2419)  
 Bavioca, el de mio Cid, alcançándolo va  
 Bavioca the of my Cid reach.PROG. = ACC.M.3SG go.PRS.IND.3SG  
 ‘Bavioca, the horse of my Cid, is fetching it’
- e. (Cid: v. 607)  
 dexando van los delant  
 leave.PROG go.PRS.IND.3PL = ACC.M.3PL in.front  
 ‘The ones in front are leaving them behind’

The other texts under study show the same types of fronting, but at first sight they seem to differ in the frequency of use of this strategy. As for gerund fronting, it is clearly much less attested in prose. In fact, we do not find any examples in Alfonso X’s *GE&EE*. However, we find some examples in other works as late as 16th century.

- (35) a. Object fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, General Estoria, I part: fol. 62v)  
 E este logar mostro dios a Abraham  
 & this place show.PRF.3SG God to Abraham  
 ‘And God showed Abraham this place’
- b. Adjunct fronting (Fazienda: 43)  
 De Ebron Enbio Jacob so fijo Josep a Sychem  
 from Ebron send.PRF.3SG Jacob his son Joseph to Sychem  
 ‘Jacob sent Joseph, his son, from Ebron to Sychem’
- c. Adverb fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. II part: fol. 102v)  
 Et tu eres aquell uaron que me ouo  
 & you be.PRS.IND.2SG that man who = ACC.M.1SG have.PRF.3SG  
 primero. & bien lo sabes tu  
 first & indeed = ACC.N.3SG know.PRS.IND.2SG you  
 ‘And you are the man who had me first. And indeed you know this’
- d. Adjective fronting (Fazienda: 72)  
 Non podian beber de las aguas de Mara(z)  
 not be.able.IPFV.IND.3PL drink.INF of the waters of Maraz  
 que amargas eran  
 that bitter be.IPFV.IND.3PL  
 ‘They could not drink the water of Maraz because it was bitter’
- e. Participle fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part: fol. 302v)  
 Yo entiendo que Dios ama mucho a  
 I understand.PRS.IND.1SG that God love.PRS.IND.3SG a.lot to  
 aqueste pueblo por que me vos venides  
 these people for that = DAT.1SG you come.PRS.IND.2PL  
 rogar quel vaya yo a maldezir, e esto  
 beg.INF that. = DAT.3SG go.PRS.SBJV.3SG I to curse.INF & this

dicho lo é ya  
 say.PTCP.M.SG = ACC.N.3SG have.PRS.IND.1SG already  
 ‘I understand that God really loves these people to whom you come and beg me to curse, and this I have already said.’

- f. Infinitive fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part: fol. 302v)  
 e tener lo ía por buen seso que non  
 & have.INF = ACC.N.3SG have.IPFV.IND.3SG for good sense that not  
 desamássedes a aquella yente  
 have.lack.of.affection.IPFV.SBJV.2PL to that people  
 ‘And I would consider it sensible if you did not withdraw affection from that people’
- g. Gerund fronting (CORDE: a. 1504. Garci Rodríguez Montalvo, Las sergas del virtuoso caballero Esplandián: párrafo 13)  
 Estos luego corriendo fueron a los grandes palacios  
 these immediately run.PROG go.PRF.3PL to the big palaces  
 a se lo decir  
 to = DAT.3SG = ACC.N.3SG say.INF  
 ‘And these went hurriedly to the big palaces to tell him’

### 6 Diachronic implications and conclusion

In this paper, we have presented a cross-genre study on word order variation and discourse organisation in Old Spanish texts. A comparative analysis focused on fronting phenomena with the aim of evaluating their discourse role and assessing possible influence of textual genre so that we can ultimately establish what the changes have been diachronically — see Table 1 for a summary.

We have found out that: (a) stage topics and deictic fronting has been stable diachronically; however, it must be noted that in our texts — and above all, in epic poetry — the stage-topic configuration coexists with another one that involves a projection in the left periphery (see d, below); (b) quotative inversion has also remained stable in the history of Spanish largely due to the nature of the semantics of the *verba dicendi* and other verbs of communication with some variation again attributable to genre. As to be expected, in quotative inversion, OVS is not generally favoured in Old Spanish (or Modern Spanish for that matter) given that the object is usually clausal hence heavy and thus postverbal); instead this type of inversion mostly denotes narrow focus on the subject; (c) with regards to quantifier fronting, we have identified two types, one

**Table 1:** Overview of fronting patterns according to genre.

		<i>Cantar de Mío Cid</i>	<i>La Fazienda de Ultra Mar</i>	<i>Estoria de España and General Estoria</i>	<i>Modern Spanish</i>	
Genre		epic	prose (more oral)	prose		
Type of fronting	stage topic fronting	++	+	+	+	
	quotative inversion	+	+	+	+	
	quantifier fronting	superlative quantification of the alienable abstract noun	+	+	+	–
		Verum focus	+	+	+	+
information/broad/weak focus		+	+	+	–	



of which conveys *verum focus*; this type has been preserved until today; (d) the type of fronting which has changed most is without a doubt information/broad/weak focus fronting of both objects and non-finite verb forms thus supporting the idea that (e) Spanish has lost one focus position specifically designated for information/broad/weak focus in the left periphery. In the few cases it survives it has become more restrictive in Modern Spanish and it does not denote any broad focus anymore, but has instead grammaticalised further into *verum focus* (or into a synthetic tense in the case of the futures and conditionals).

On the basis of these findings, which shed light on the organisation of information structure, we can now start approaching the issue of diachronic change. In Sitaridou (2011; 2012: 593–597) it was claimed that, diachronically, “although word-order patterns do not become obsolete, they, nonetheless, specialise in terms of what discourse reading they may convey and, in this sense, it can be claimed that word order becomes more fixed although, *sensu stricto*, it is not the word order which becomes more fixed, but rather how the discourse readings map onto syntactic positions.” Our findings seem to confirm this. Moreover, Sitaridou (2012: 597) claimed that “in an OV grammar of the Latin type, both discourse roles of old and new information would be encoded, necessarily, to the left of the verb. However, in a grammar like that of Old Spanish, whilst optional movement makes OV (syntactically) opaque, the preverbal position is still related to both discourse readings of old and new information, as was the case in Latin. However, as VO was becoming fixed, the competition between the two distinct orders forced their discourse specialisation: the VO order conveyed informational focus, whereas the OV order became marked and had to be associated with the most marked reading, namely contrastive focus.” Our findings in this paper also seem to offer further support to this claim. Specifically: (a) If Classical Latin, by virtue of being an OV language, had a caret feature namely purely formal, arbitrary diacritic without any semantic content which moved the object to the left of the verb (see Biberauer et al. 2014); and (b) If “it is the formal features of the target language that are not instantiated in the L1 or have a different setting, (which) cause learnability problems” (Tsimplici & Mastropavlou 2007: 215), it is possible that OV continued to be used in Old Spanish, but as a result of focus-driven movement for information focus thus rendering the prior caret feature of Latin into an interpretable one. Then, it is possible that the preverbal focus position was yet again reanalysed as for hosting only the most marked of the focused constituents, namely the ones conveying contrastive focus whilst informational focus could now be rendered postverbally with the aid of nuclear stress. Clearly, the diachronic account is to be developed further.

### Competing Interests

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

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