

Subject position in
old spanish prose:
El Conde Lucanor

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In recent years analysis of word order has become one of the central concerns of linguistics, and the basic principles which make some language-types (SVO, SOV) more common than others (OVS) have been clearly demonstrated.¹ However, it is still the case that relatively little is known about word order in many individual languages, particularly as far as historical development are concerned, and this is especially true of Spanish. It is often assumed, for example, that modern Spanish is becoming increasingly rigid in its word-order patterns,² and that this is part of a process which has been going on for many centuries; the data which would confirm or disprove this hypothesis has not been analysed. As far as literary Spanish is concerned, little is known of the expressive possibilities available to writers of any period, to the extent that we cannot talk with confidence of the differences between prose and verse.³ I have recently published three studies which aim to describe some of the basic features of word order in Old Spanish,⁴ and the present article is intended to continue this process.

The position of the elements already studied, namely the direct object, the indirect object, and the subject complement, varied little in Old Spanish, as all three elements normally followed the verb, and preceded the verb only under conditions which can be quite clearly identified. The position of the subject, however, is much more complex, as it could readily precede or follow the verb, with a variety of pressures favouring subject anteposition or subject postposition, and writers varied the order of elements even in similar contexts with considerable freedom, as the following formulaic introductions to the stories of *El Conde Lucanor* illustrate:⁵

'Un día fablava EL CONDE LUCANOR con Patronio...' (74.22)
 'El CONDE LUCANOR fablava un día con Patronio...' (112.17)
 'Otra vez fablava EL CONDE LUCANOR con Patronio...' (77.20)
 'EL CONDE LUCANOR fablava una vez con Patronio...' (143.14)

- (1) See most recently Russell S. Tomlin, *Basic Word Order. Functional Principles* (London-Sydney-Wolfeboro, 1986). There are valuable comments on word order in Latin and various Romance languages in Martin Harris and Nigel Vincent (eds.), *The Romance Languages* (London-Sydney, 1988), especially pp.59-66, 103-4, 114-16, and 156-9.
- (2) This is assumed, for example, by Andrew Terker, 'On Linear Order in Spanish', in *Papers from the XIIIth Linguistic Symposium of Romance Languages*, ed. Philip Baldi (Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 275-86. A more detailed presentation of the case is made by Georg Bossong, in 'Diachronie und Pragmatik der spanischen Wortstellung', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, C (1984), 92-111, although his sample of Old Spanish material is small. Carmen Silva-Corvalán, in 'Subject Expression and Placement in Mexican-American Spanish', published in *Spanish in the United States. Sociolinguistic Aspects*, ed. Jon Amestae and Lucia Elias Olivares (Cambridge, 1982) shows that Mexican-American Spanish is becoming more rigidly SVO.
- (3) For this reason, the section on word order in Brian Powell, *Epic and Chronicle. The 'Poema de mio Cid' and the 'Crónica de veinte reyes'* (London, 1983), pp. 74-6, is tentative; whilst Carmen Silva-Corvalán, 'Semantic and Pragmatic Factors in Syntactic Change', in *Historical Syntax*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin-New York-Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 555-73, suggests on p. 563 that the language of the *Poema de mio Cid* is closer to the spoken language than is that of *El Conde Lucanor*, *La Celestina*, and *Lazarillo de Tormes*.
- (4) See 'The Position of the Direct Object in Old Spanish', *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, V (1980), 1-23; 'Word Order in Old Spanish Prose: The Indirect Object', *Neophilologus*, LXVII (1983), 385-94; 'Word Order in Old Spanish Prose: The Subject Complement', *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, LXXXV (1984), 385-400.
- (5) All quotations are from Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. José Manuel Blecua, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1971).

The following analysis is based on the whole of part 1 of *El Conde Lucanor*, excluding the verse couplets at the end of each story, using only declarative sentences; the small number of interrogatives, imperatives, and optatives have been excluded from consideration. I have also excluded from this analysis all subject pronouns, as there is a marked difference between the position of subject pronouns and that of subjects which have a noun as their head-word.⁶ In order to set usage in *El Conde Lucanor* in the context of medieval prose-writing, I give below the overall statistics for subject position in seven texts from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries,⁷ but for reasons of space the detailed analysis of the other six texts will be made in a separate study. *El Conde Lucanor* is the most suitable text with which to begin as it is the least influenced by external sources in Arabic or Latin, and the work of a careful stylist such as Juan Manuel should offer a good guide to fourteenth-century literary usage.

As can be seen from these figures, Juan Manuel showed a preference for the

TABLE 1: Subject Position in independent clauses

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	594 (32%)	1259 (68%)
<i>Engaños</i>	181 (41%)	262 (59%)
<i>Castigos</i>	948 (60%)	634 (40%)
<i>Lucanor</i>	652 (60%)	432 (40%)
<i>Gatos</i>	298 (52%)	278 (48%)
<i>A B C</i>	733 (66%)	369 (34%)
<i>Espéculo</i>	1085 (52%)	989 (48%)

TABLE 2: Subject Position in dependent clauses

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	680 (57%)	520 (43%)
<i>Engaños</i>	83 (48%)	90 (52%)
<i>Castigos</i>	770 (58%)	562 (42%)
<i>Lucanor</i>	988 (67%)	495 (33%)
<i>Gatos</i>	148 (62%)	89 (38%)
<i>A B C</i>	448 (68%)	209 (32%)
<i>Espéculo</i>	579 (45%)	705 (55%)

(6) The relatively small samples of text analysed and the failure to distinguish between different types of subject limit the validity of the conclusions of D.M. Crabb, *A Comparative Study of Word Order in Old Spanish and Old French Prose* (Washington D.C., 1955), and Virginia Pardo Huber, 'El orden de los elementos oracionales en la prosa castellana de los siglos XII y XIII' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tulane, 1973). Similarly, Marfa del Carmen Hoyos Hoyos, *Contribución al estudio de la lengua de "El Conde Lucanor"* (Valladolid, 1982), pp. 61-3, presents statistics on subject position, but without distinguishing between different types of subject, clause, etc.

(7) For full details of each text, see 'The Position of the Direct Object', pp.2-3; see above, note 4.

TABLE 3: Combined Totals (Independent and dependent clauses)

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	1274 (42%)	1779 (58%)
<i>Engaños</i>	264 (43%)	352 (57%)
<i>Castigos</i>	1718 (59%)	1196 (41%)
<i>Lucanor</i>	1640 (64%)	927 (36%)
<i>Gatos</i>	446 (55%)	367 (45%)
<i>A B C</i>	1181 (67%)	578 (33%)
<i>Espéculo</i>	1664 (50%)	1694 (50%)

order S - V in both dependent and independent clauses, and in an attempt to discover which factors are relevant to the choice of V - S, I analysed the following nine factors:⁸

(i) The influence of adverbs

The relevance of the presence of an adverb to the position of the subject in Old French prose and verse has long been appreciated, but this aspect of word order has been virtually ignored for Old Spanish, even by Crabb and Pardo Huber (see above, note 6), and more recently Contreras has affirmed that in modern Spanish subject position is not affected by the presence of an adverbial expression.⁹ In *El Conde Lucanor*, an adverb appears to have considerable influence on the position of the subject.

I have divided adverbial expressions into the following three types:

- 1 Verbless adverbial phrases
- 2 Adverbial clauses
- 3 Participial phrases

In determining the number of elements in a clause, I have included object pronouns and the negative *non* within the verb phrase, as both cluster around the verb and do not usually carry separate stress.

1 Verbless adverbs

In independent clauses containing only the three elements subject, verb, and adverb, the following orders are found:

- S - V - Adv : 26
- Adv - V - S : 21
- Adv - S - V : 2
- V - Adv - S : 2
- V - S - Adv : 3

(8) Some lines of enquiry proved fruitless; for example, Henry and Renée Kahane, 'The Position of the Actor Expression in Colloquial Mexican Spanish', *Language*, XXVI (1950), 236-63, find that in modern Spanish the order V - S is much more likely than S - V in two-element expressions followed by a coordinating conjunction, a factor which does not operate in any of the Old Spanish texts which I have analysed. Similarly, I could find no evidence to suggest that a long subject is more likely to follow the verb.

(9) Heles Contreras, *A Theory of Word Order with Special Reference to Spanish* (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford, 1976), p.22.

Exemples:

S - V - Adv: '*Et DON ALVAR HAÑEZ fuesse adelante...*' (163.27)

Adv - V - S: '*... dende adelante, acorriol DIOS...*' (115.27)

Adv - S - V: '*Et çiertamente, señor conde, LOS TALES COMMO VOS, ET AUN LOS OTROS QUE NON SON DE TAN GRAND ESTADO COMMO VOS la devedes catar...*' (102.21)

V - Adv - S: '*...et yvan ý MUCHAS TROMPAS ET TABALES ET OTROS STRUMENTOS*' (140.30)

V - S - Adv: '*... et yvan AMOS de pie...*' (64.4)

Thus in expressions which contain the three elements subject, verb, and adverb, when the adverb precedes the verb, the subject follows the verb in 21 of the 23 examples (91%); when the adverb follows the verb, the subject precedes the verb in 26 of the 31 examples (84%).

In dependent clauses containing only the three elements subject, verb, and adverb, the following orders are found:

S - V - Adv : 38

S - Adv - V : 10

Adv - V - S : 21

Adv - S - V : 3

V - Adv - S : 18

V - S - Adv : 12

An adverb preceding the verb again increases the likelihood of subject postposition, as in such expressions the subject follows the verb in 21 of the 34 examples (62%), as against the overall figure of 33% for subject postposition in dependent clauses. However, an adverb which follows the verb does not increase the likelihood of subject anteposition, as the subject precedes the verb in only 38 of the 68 examples (56%), which is somewhat below the overall figure of 67% for subject anteposition in dependent clauses.

An analysis of these examples also reveals that not all adverbs exert equal pressure; whilst preceding adverbial expressions of time, manner, and extent frequently occur in clauses with the order V - S, sentence-modifiers such as *por aventura*, *çiertamente*, *sin dubda*, and *otrosí*, which do not closely modify the verb, freely occur with either anteposed or postposed subjects.

The choice between the orders V - S - Adv and V - Adv - S appears to depend largely on the nature of the adverb; of the 12 examples of the order V - S - Adv in dependent clauses, all are prepositional phrases (*de pie*, *para siempre*, *por cima dellos*, *en el salto*, *en este cántico mismo*, *en pos dél*, *en su eslección*, *contra arriba*, *a otra villa*, *por la tierra*, *en la villa*, *en Castiella*); of the 18 examples of the order V - Adv - S, the majority are single-word adverbs, and there are no prepositional phrases (*çiertamente*, *ý* (twice), *mucho* (4 times), *abreviadamente* (3 times), *allí adelante*, *ende*, *allá*, *aquí*, *cras*, *muy fieramente*, *más*, *aquel día*). Many of the single-word adverbs are closely linked to the verbs (e.g. *mucho*, *más*), and this may partly explain their position next to the verb, but the following contrasting pairs with locative and direction adverbs suggest that the relative length of subject and adverb is also an important factor:

'...sintió que estaba OTRO OMNE en pos dél...' (91.31)

'Dízenme que anda aquí UM OMNE LOCO...' (259.17)

'...dixole que fuessen AMOS a otra villa çerca daquela...' (186.20)

'...mandó que saliessen allá TODOS LOS OMNES DE ARMAS...' (142.9)

2 Adverbial clauses

Contrary to the findings of Crabb (*A comparative Study*, p.21), who analysed only 21 such examples, a preceding adverbial clause exerts considerable pressure for subject postposition in *Lucanor*; using as an illustration of this all independent clauses preceded by a qualifying adverbial clause, the orders found are:

Adv - V - S : 92 (65%)

Adv - S - V : 38

S - V - Adv : 12

The overall figure for subject postposition in independent clauses is 40%. The following pairs of expressions from *Exemplo XLIII* clearly illustrate the influence of a preceding adverbial clause:

'Et EL MAL dixo que era bien que...' (213.24)

'Et desde que parieron, dixo EL MAL que...' (213.25)

'...et EL BIEN dixo al Mal que...' (213.18)

'Et juego que las oveias fueron paridas, dixo EL MAL al Bien que...' (213.14)

It is in fact adverbial clauses of time which most influence subject position:

TABLE 4: Preceding adverbial clauses and the position of the subject

Type of Clause	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Cause</i>	11	13
<i>Concession</i>	7	7
<i>Condition</i>	4	2
<i>Manner</i>	1	3
<i>Time</i>	27	67

3 Gerunds and absolute constructions

When an independent clause is preceded by a gerund or an absolute construction, the following orders are found:

Adv - V - S : 30 (71%)

Adv - S - V : 6

S - Adv - V : 6

This is again much higher than the overall figure of 40% for subject postposition in independent clauses. The following examples are characteristic:

'Et seyendo al pie de la forca, llegó DON MARTIN...' (225.10)
'Et esto acabado, fuesse EL ANGEL para nuestro señor Dios...'
(261.32)

(ii) The direct object

Excluding object pronouns, which are dealt with by Ramsden,¹⁰ and noun clause objects, which always follow the verb, and analysis of direct object position in *Lucanor* can best be made by dividing direct objects into two groups: demonstrative pronouns, and all other direct objects.¹¹

A direct object which consists of a demonstrative pronoun usually precedes the verb in *Lucanor* and does not bring about postposition of the subject. The orders found are:

O - V - S : 8
S - O - V : 50 (86%)
O - S - V : 0

The vast majority of the examples occur in temporal clauses with a verb of perception in the preterite, in a way which is almost formulaic, as is illustrated by the following examples:

'Quando SALADIN esto oyó...' (149.22)
'Quando EL ESCUDERO esto oyó...' (249.2)
'Quando EL REY esto oyó...' (257.1)

As will be seen in the forthcoming analysis of the other medieval texts, this quasi-formulaic construction does not form a part of the narrative prose style of any of the other *exemplum*-collections.

With other types of direct object preceding the verb, the examples are fewer:

O - V - S : 11 (50%)
S - O - V : 11
O - S - V : 0

The number of examples is not sufficient to allow any firm conclusions, but the percentage of examples with the order V - S (50%) is higher than the average for subject postposition (36%), and the tendency towards subject postposition is much greater if one includes the fixed order O - V - S with verbs of speech interpolated within direct speech.

'Señor conde Lucanor -dixo PATRONIO...' (54,17, *et passim*)

When the direct object follows the verb, the orders found are:

S - V - O : 212 (77%)
V - S - O : 51
V - O - S : 13

(10) H. Ramsden, *Weak-pronoun Position in the Early Romance Languages* (Manchester, 1963).

(11) Full details are given in 'The Position of the Direct Object'; see above, note 4.

A following direct object thus appears to exert some pressure towards subject anteposition. When both subject and object follow the verb, the subject stands next to the verb unless the verb and direct object form a closely linked semantic unit such as *fazer mengua, fazer mal, fazer vida, haver nonbre, poner recabdo*. The only example of the order V - O - S in which this is not so is the following:

'Et acaesçió que ovo una vez aquel señorío UN OMNE QUE FUE DE MEIOR ENTENDIMIENTO ET MAS APERÇIBIDO QUE LOS QUE LO FUERON ANTE.' (241.36)

In this case, the relative length of object and subject is one determining factor; the other is that the verb and object are given material (thematic), and the subject is the new material (see below, section vii).

(iii) The subject complement

When the subject complement precedes the verb, the orders found are:

Cs - V - S : 17 (74%)

S - Cs - V : 6

Cs - S - V : 0

When the subject complement follows the verb, the orders found are:

S - V - Cs : 264 (83%)

V - S - Cs : 32

V - Cs - S : 21

As with the direct object and the adverb, there is a preference for a distribution of elements on either side of the verb.

The choice between V - S - Cs and V - Cs - S depends largely on the relative lengths of the subject and subject complement; of the 21 examples of the order V - Cs - S, the subject is the longer element in all cases, including 12 which have a qualifying clause. In none of the 32 examples of the order V - S - Cs is the subject qualified by a clause, and in only 11 cases is the subject longer than the subject complement.

(iv) Intransitive verbs

In addition to the structural factors analysed above, there are several semantic factors which play a major part in determining the choice between subject anteposition and subject postposition. The most apparent is the difference in word-order patterns between the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs, and one aspect of this difference in modern Spanish was the object of an excellent study by Anna Granville Hatcher.¹² In particular, the first chapter of this monograph ('The Existential Sentence and the Inversion of the Subject in Spanish') shows the potential value of a classification of expressions according to semantic criteria, isolating in this case the 'existential'

(12) *Theme and Underlying Question: Two Studies of Spanish Word Order*, (Supplement to *Word*, XII (1956), Monograph N^o 3); see also Margarita Suñer, *Syntax and Semantics of Spanish Presentational Sentence-types* (Washington, 1982).

sentence; in such sentences, the order V - S is overwhelmingly dominant, and the predominance of this order is related to the function of the sentence, which is to assert or deny the existence or presence of something, as in the examples below. Among the categories enumerated by Hatcher, the following are found in *Lucanor*:

Existence - presence

'... *et fizo estos viessos en que está avreviadamente TODA LA SENTENÇIA DESTE EXIEMPLO.*' (67.13)

Absence

'...*et por esso nos mengua LA SOGA...*' (225.29)

Beginning

'... *et comiença EL INVIERNO..*' (136.17)

Continuing / Remaining

'*Por estas maneras durará EL AMOR entre vós...*' (135.9)

'... *por que fincasse del FAMA para sienpre...*' (202.5)

Ocurrence

'*Mas a don Alvar Hãñez contesçió EL CONTRARIO DESTO...*' (160.9)

Appearing

'... *et salió PESO DE DOS DOBLAS DE ORO*' (124.35)

Coming

'... *un dia llegaron al arçobispo MANDADEROS DEL PAPA...*' (96.25)

Sound

'... *suená EL AGUA quando beven...*' (232.36)

In most of these examples, the subjects of the verb carry greater semantic weight than the verbs, many of which are semantically weak (e.g. *estar*, *fincar*); this would suggest that, at least in existential sentences, there is a tendency to place elements which are semantically weak before those which are semantically strong.¹³ It should be understood, however, that this is no more than one factor in the choice of word order, and the following contrasting pairs of examples indicate that even in existential expressions, freedom of word order is still possible:

'*Et tanto duró esta porçia, fasta que llegó DOÑA VASCUÑANA.*'
(165.19)

(13) Dwight L. Bolinger has in three articles on modern Spanish suggested that semantically strong elements tend to be placed at the end of the sentence; see 'Linear Modification', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, LXVII (1952), 1117-44; 'English Prosodic Stress and Spanish Sentence Order', *Hispania* (Baltimore), XXXVII (1954), 152-6; and 'Meaningful Word Order in Spanish', *Boletín de Filología* (Chile), VIII (1954-55), 45-56.

'Et porfiaron tanto sobresto, fasta que DOÑA VASCUÑANA llegó.'
(166.1)

'... cada quel acaesçié ALGÚN ENBARGO...' (117.16)

'... pocas son las cosas en que ALGUN CONTRALLO non puede acaesçer...' (63.2)

Despite this freedom, verbs of motion, happening, appearing, remaining, lasting and living are all used with postposed subjects more frequently than with anteposed subjects.

There are in addition two types of transitive verb which should be considered in this context. Firstly, there are a number of idiomatic expressions consisting of *fazer* + noun, synonymous with intransitive verbs such as *vivir* and *sonar*, which are used to predicate the existence of the subject:

'... viniendo el diablo de aquel logar do fazían vida AQUEL OMNE ET AQUELLA MUGER...' (208.7 and 208.11)

'... dixole que bien le paresçia sinon quel fazían muy grand roydo AQUELLOS ESTRUMENTES.' (141.3)

Secondly, a small number of verbs such as *tomar*, used with personal direct objects and a subject denoting either a physical or an emotional state, are used regularly with subject postposition, and this is probably because they are acting almost as presentative verbs (i.e. serving to announce the subject):

'Et a poco rato començol a tomar LA RABIA DE LA MUERTE...'
(160.4)

'...cada quel tomasse TALANTE DE SE DESENBARGAR DE AQUELLAS COSAS SOBEIANAS...' (228.5)

'Desdeque vio que non le respondió ninguno, tomol TAN GRAND SAÑA...' (255.37)

(v) Transitive and copulative verbs

Because of the dominance of the orders S - V - O and S - V - CS, discussed in sections (ii) and (iii), the vast majority of transitive and copulative verbs tend to have the subject preceding them: of all such verbs used more than 10 times, only *dezir* shows a high proportion of postposed subjects.¹⁴ Even with *dezir*, if we exclude the examples when it is interpolated within direct speech with a fixed V - S order (see section (ii), above), the order S - V occurs 142 times, the order V - S 91 times (39%). This is, in fact, quite different from usage in other prose-texts, in which subject position with *dezir*, again excluding interpolations within direct speech, is as follows:

(14) The findings of Crabb and Pardo Huber that certain verbs are prone to subject postposition are largely as a result of their small samples. Crabb (*A comparative Study, passim*) finds that *fazer*, *dezir*, and *tener* are three such verbs; Pardo Huber ('El order de los elementos', p. 29) finds that verbs of perception tend to favour subject postposition.

TABLE 5: 'Dezir' and the position of the subject

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	37	685
<i>Engaños</i>	53	108
<i>Castigos</i>	60	166
<i>Gatos</i>	17	135
<i>ABC</i>	91	122
<i>Espetáculo</i>	338	489

The main reason for this difference is the flexibility of sentence-structure in *Lucanor*; *dezir* is used in a range of different environments (in independent and a wide variety of dependent clauses, with preceding and following adverbial phrases and clauses, with and without the direct object expressed, with both direct and indirect speech), whereas in four of the other texts, it is most frequently used in the construction *dixo* + subject + direct speech. In expressions containing these three elements only, the orders found are:

TABLE 6: 'Dezir' + subject + direct speech

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	4	515
<i>Engaños</i>	32	80
<i>Castigos</i>	11	8
<i>Lucanor</i>	7	0
<i>Gatos</i>	2	79
<i>A B C</i>	19	63
<i>Espéculo</i>	38	76

Many passages from *Calila*, *Engaños*, *Gatos*, and *A B C* have a highly repetitive word order:

'E dixo OTRO: "Non creades que el feziесе tal cosa." Dixo OTRO "Pesquisese la verdat que saber conoçer los omnes fuert cosa es". Dixo OTRO: "Las poridades non se saben tan de rraez..." (Calila, 5197-5200)

'E dixo EL ALCALLE: - Pues derecho te pide.

E dixo EL OMNE que lo non queria sacar...

E dixo EL YNFANTE: - Señor, non te di este enxemplo sinon porque sepas las artes del mundo.

E dixo EL REY: - ¿Commo fue eso?

E dixo EL YNFANTE: - Oy dezir de una muger...' (Engaños, 1459-68)

'E dixo EL GATO: - ¿Por que gritas tanto?

Respondio EL MUR: - Porque non puedo salir.
E dixo EL GATO: - Si te yo saco, quiero que des esto: que vengas a mi
quantas vegadas te llamare.
E dixo EL MAR: Esto vos prometo que fare.
E dixo EL GATO: Quiero que me jures'. (Gatos, 1777-84)

'E dixo EL JUDIO: - Pues, ¿por que non guardas tu fe...?
Dixo EL SABIO: - ¿Commo se devia de fazer esto?
E dixo EL JUDIO: - Yo soy fijo de tu linaje...
Dixo EL SABIO: - Verdat es.' (A B C, 4952-8)

Juan Manuel does not use this rapid dialogue as part of his narrative technique, and on the few occasions on which he does use this type of expression, it is always with the order S - V:

'Et PATRONIO dixo: - Señor, assí contesçió que...' (62.23)

(vi) The tense of the verb

The only tense which is used with an unusually high proportion of postposed subjects is the split form of the future and conditional tenses. As the number of examples in *Lucanor* is small, I give below the figures for all seven prose-texts:

TABLE 7: The split future and conditional tense forms

Text	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>Calila</i>	3	18
<i>Engaños</i>	2	0
<i>Castigos</i>	6	16
<i>Lucanor</i>	1	5
<i>Gatos</i>	1	2
<i>A B C</i>	0	0
<i>Espéculo</i>	1	11
Total	12	52 (81%)

The synthetic forms of the future and conditional tenses show no such preference for subject postposition; in *Lucanor*, the subject precedes the synthetic forms 45 times, and follows 40 times.

The nom is thus that of the following example:

'...et qualquier de nós que allá vaya (primero), cobraría la villa, et perdería ha EL OTRO...' (116.17)

The one exception in *Lucanor* is:

'...et vós ayudadvos quanto pudierdes, et DIOS ayudarvos ha.' (226.23)

The number of examples is not high (64 in the seven texts), and it is possible that an analysis of seven other texts would produce the opposite result, but it is remarkable that none of the texts has a preference for subject anteposition with this tense. The reasons for this are not clear: the verbs involved are transitive, intransitive, and copulative, and the examples do not have a high proportion of preceding adverbs, direct objects, or subject complements. There are also examples of subject postposition when an object pronoun could have been interpolated between the infinitive and the auxiliary *haber*, but was not:

'Et por aventura... non se movrá EL OTRO contra vós...' (111.36)

(vii) The nature of the subject

1 Thematic / thematic subjects

Theme and rheme are defined as follows by Helcs Contreras:

'...the theme contains those elements which are assumed by the speaker to be in the addressee's consciousness; the rheme, those elements which the speaker tries to bring to the addressee's consciousness.' (*A Theory of Word Order*, p. 16)

In languages in which grammatical order does not determine the sequence of elements, the tendency is for the theme to precede the rheme, to proceed from a known element to a new element, or from the expected to the unexpected, and thus to proceed towards constituents with greater communicative force.¹⁵ The extent to which this was operative in Old Spanish can best be observed in the usage of subjects which contain a demonstrative adjective. For example, when the subject has as its head-word a noun qualified by a part of *este*, it precedes the verb 66 times, and follows 5 times (7%). Thus in the vast majority of examples, the 'given' element, to which reference has already been made, precedes that part of the expression which is new, as the following examples illustrate:

'... et fizoles tanta onra et tanta merçet porque ellos, et todos los que dellos vinieron, fueron muy bien andantes entre todos sus vezinos.

ET TODO ESTE BIEN acaesçio por la vondat daquela buena dueña...'
(252.11)

'-Patronio, sabet que estó en muy grand quexa et en grand roydo con unos omnes que me non aman mucho; et ESTOS OMNES son tan reboltosos...'
(151.27)

The five 'exceptions' are as follows:

'¡Vet, amigas, lo que faze ESTE OMNE!' (104.1)

(15) See, for example, Josef Dubský, 'L'inversion en espagnol', *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Bruenské University*, IX (1960), 111-21.

'...*Qualuier desta cosas que mengüie non se pod(r)ia fazer ESTE ORO.*'
(124.29)

'... *si las unas señales muestran lo uno, muestran las otras el contrario; pero a lo más, segund son ESTA SEÑALES, así recuden las obras.*' (139.1)

'*Et así passó ESTE PLEITO, fasta que vino una grand fiest.*' (181.10)

'*Et tanto duró ESTA PORFIA, fasta que llegó doña Vascañana.*'
(165.19)

Three of the examples (124.29, 181.10, 165.19) have preceding adverbial expressions, but they may be better explained by Contreras' theory of emphatic order,¹⁶ which depends on the reversal of the normal theme-rheme order. As it is not possible to ascertain the placement of sentential stress in an Old Spanish text, the explanation can be no more than tentative; but the contexts of the first, second, fourth, and fifth examples above support such an explanation.

When head-word of the subject is a noun modified by the other frequently used demonstrative, *aquel*, the subject precedes the verb 74 times and follows 30 times (29%), slightly below the overall average of 36% for subject postposition. The differences between *aquel* and *este* are best explained by the fact that subjects modified by *aquel* are less closely related to what has gone before than are subjects modified by *este*, and are therefore not as clearly thematic subjects. As an illustration of this, observe the distance between *ellos* and *aquellos maestros* in the following example:

'...*quando el rey vio que ELLOS non texian et dezian de qué manera era el paño, et él, que non lo veyá et que lo avian visto los otros, tóvose por muerto, ca tovo que porque non era fijo del rey que él tenía por su padre, que por esso non podía ver el paño, et rezeló que si dixiesse que lo non veyá, que perdería el regno. Et por ende (comenzó) a loar mucho el (paño) et aprendió muy bien la manera como dizian AQUELLOS MAESTROS que el paño era fecho.*'
(180.11-19)

Aquellos maestros, whilst not a new subject in the story, have disappeared from view, and are being re-introduced, whereas subjects modified by *este* tend to refer to items already mentioned. Indeed, *aquel* may modify a totally new subject:

'*Et un día...el diablo... topó con una vequina. Et desde se conosçieron, preguntol que por qué vinía triste. Et él díxole que vinía de aquella villa do fazian vida aquel omne et aquella muger et que avía muy grand tiempo que andava por poner mal entrellos et nunca pudiera; et desde lo sopiera AQUEL SU MAYORA...*' (208.7-14)

In this story, the *mayoral* has not previously been mentioned.

With subjects which do not contain a demonstrative adjective, there is still a clear tendency for a thematic subject to precede the verb:

(16) *A theory of Word Order, chapter X.*

...plazerme ya mucho que sopiessedes lo que contesçió a un senescal de Carcaxona.

El conde le preguntó cómo fuera aquello.

-Señor conde -dixo Patronio-, UN SENESCAL DE CARCASSONA adolesçió'. (200.33-201.5)

The order of the last clauses quoted is theme ('un senescal de Carcassona', already announced by Patronio as the subject of the whole story), followed by rheme ('adolesçió', what happened to the 'senescal').

Exemplo XXII opens in a similar way:

'...plazerme ya mucho que sopiessedes lo que conteçió al león et al toro.

El conde le rogó quel dixiesse cómo fuera aquello.

-Señor conde Lucanor -dixo Patronio- EL LEON ET EL TORO eran mucho amigos, et porque ELLOS son animalias muy fuertes et muy reças, apoderávanse et enseñorgavan todas las otras animalias; ca EL LEON, con el ayuda del toro, apremiava todas las animalias que comen carne; et EL TORO, con el ayuda del león, apremiava todas las animalias que paçen la yerva'. (132.5-14)

In four successive clauses, the theme ('el león et el toro', 'ellos', 'el león', 'el toro') precedes the rheme.

Many of Juan Manuel's tales succeed artistically because of their symmetrical framework,¹⁷ and this symmetry often results from a repetition of the theme-rheme structure, where greater brevity could have been achieved by the omission of a thematic subject. This can best be seen in *Exemplo XXXV*, in which the bridegroom demands water from three domestic animals, and finally his bride; these demands, all made in direct speech, are each followed by the same structure of thematic subject followed by rhematic predicate:

'EL PERRO non lo fizo' (189.27)

'EL GATO non lo fizo...' (190.9)

'EL CAVALLO estudo quedo.' (190.31)

'LA MUGER... levantóse...' (191.15)

If the subject of the verb is the new element in the expression, then it will tend to follow the verb:

'Desde vio que en ninguna manera non lo pudiera librar de muerte, dixo a los alcaldes que non quería levar pecado de aquel mançebo, que sopiessen que aquel mançebo non matara el omne, mas que lo matara UN SU FJO SOLO QUE EL AVIA'. (238.29.239.1)

(17) See John England "'¿Et non el día del lodo?': The Structure of the Short Story in *El Conde Lucanor*", in *Juan Manuel Studies*, ed. Ian Macpherson (London, 1977), pp. 69-86.

The subject of *matara* on the first occasion ('aquel mançebo') is thematic, having been mentioned in the previous clause; the subject on the second occasion ('un su fijo solo que él avía') is a completely new element within the story, a *Deus ex machina* on both the narrative and allegorical levels. Although the two clauses have different structures in one respect (S-V, V-S), each has the structure theme-rheme.

The postposition of rhematic subjects can again be observed best in one of the symmetrically constructed tales, namely *Exemplo XI*; each time that Don Yllán goes to the Dean of Santiago to request a position in the church hierarchy for his son, the Dean replies thus:

'Et el electo dixol quel rogava quel quisiesse consentir que aquel deanadgo que lo oviesse UN SU HERMANO...' (96.17-19)

'... et el arçobispo le rogó que consentiesse que lo oviesse UN SU TIO, HERMANO DE SU PADRE.' (93.31-2)

'Et el cardenal rogol quel consentiesse que oviesse aquel obispado UNSU TIO, HERMANO DE SU MADRE...' (97.15-18)

In each case, the verb and direct object are thematic, and the various relatives of the Dean are the new elements.

However, as with all the other influences on subject position analysed so far, the theme-rheme order is not fixed; it is most frequently broken when a preceding adverbial phrase or clause appears to bring about postposition of a thematic subject:

'Et quando fueron por sancto Domingo, entendió SANCTO DOMINGO que...' (106.1)

'Otro día mañana, armáronse TODOS TRES...' (109.10)

'Et por todo esto, nunca se movió EL RAPOSO...' (172.28)

(Cf. *'Et RAPOSO non se movió'*, 172.33 and 173.3)

'Et desde todo fue fecho, dixo EL REY que...' (141.33)

(Cf. *'Et EL REY dixoles que...'*, 139.32)

'...dixo al fijo mayor que otro día grand mañana quería cavalgar et que fuesse con él. Otro día, vino EL INFANTE MAYOR al rey...' (140.1-3)

This contrasts with the similarly thematic subject 'el infante' in the following in which there is no preceding adverb:

'Et a cabo de otros días, mandó al infante menor, su fijo, que fuesse con él de grand mañana. Et EL INFANTE madurgó...' (141.10-12)

Much more infrequent is the order rheme-theme with a rhematic subject and a thematic verb; the clearest example occurs in *Exemplo III*:

'...et seyendo ya desto seguro, pidió a Dios por merçed quel mostrasse quien avía de seer su compañero en Parayso... et envióle dezir por su ángel que EL REY RICHALTE DE INGLATERRA ET EL serían compañeros en Parayso.' (70.10-16)

In the last clause, the subject is the new element, the verb and complement the

given material. Contreras (*A Theory of Word Order*, chapter X) describes the order rheme-theme in modern Spanish as emphatic order, but that does not seem to apply to many of the examples just quoted, and the same is true of the following:

'Et tanto duró esta porfía, fasta que llegó DOÑA VASCUÑANA.'
(165.19)

'Pero porfiaron tanto sobresto, fasta que DOÑA VASCUÑANA llegó.'
(166.1)

'Et quando Ramayquía la vio, començó a llorar. Et preguntó EL REY por qué llorava.' (174.28-30)

'...et quando Ramayquía lo vio, començó a llorar; et EL REY preguntó por qué llorava.' (175.8-10)

'Otro día, por otra cosa que se (le) antojó, començó a llorar. Et EL REY preguntó por qué lo fazia.' (175.23-4)

The similarities and differences in the last three expressions from *Exemplo XXX* are typical of Juan Manuel's narrative style; the first two are almost identical verbally, but the word order is different ('Et preguntó EL REY por qué llorava' - 'et EL REY preguntó por qué llorava'), whereas in the third examples the word order is the same, but the wording is altered ('llorava', 'lo fazia'). Although repetition is fundamental to Juan Manuel's narrative technique, exact repetitions are usually avoided either by means of synonymous expressions (e.g. *Exemplo II*), or by varying the word order.¹⁸

2 Unqualified nouns

If the subject of the verb is an unqualified common noun, it usually follows the verb; in *Lucanor*, there are 12 examples of the order V - S, and one of the order S - V. The same tendency is true of the other texts analysed, although it should be noted that in *Lucanor* they are used mainly in presentative expressions, which usually have the order V - S:

'...pero siempre fiat en l' tanto de que vos non pueda venir DAÑO.'
(122.10)

'...los malos e aquellos que se (les) non sigue PRO de aquella cosa...'
(66.12)

The only example of an unqualified noun subject which precedes the verb occurs in *Exemplo XII*:

'Nunca LOGAR se puede tomar sinon subiendo por el muro con escaleras o cavando el muro...' (102.14-15)

In the examples of subject postposition, the subject is rhematic; in the example of anteposition, *logar* is a thematic subject.

(18) See England, '¿Et non el día del lodo?.'

3 El uno al otro

When the subject of the verb is *El uno / los unos* used in one of the idiomatic expressions such as *el uno al otro*, *los unos con los otros*, there is a tendency for the expressions to stand together as a unit after the verb:¹⁹

'Et de que hablaron en uno et se partieron LOS UNOS de los otros...'
(64.6-7)

'...ca tantas cosas son que nasçen LAS UNAS de las otras...' (83.26)

'...el león et el toro los apremiavan por el ayuda que fazían EL UNO al otro...' (132.15-17)

'...fueron bien seguros EL UNO del otro...' (89.25)

'...et poco a poco fuéronse legando EL UNO al otro.' (89.6)

The only examples of this type of subject preceding the verb are:

'...et si EL UNO DE NÓS se desvaría del otro...' (87.15)

'...por el amor et el ayuda que EL UNO tomava del otro...' (134.2)

The use of singular verb-forms when *el uno* precedes the verb shows that it is closely related to the verb, whereas when the whole phrase *el uno al otro* follows the verb, the verb is plural, with logical rather than grammatical concord, which suggests that the link between subject and verb is much less close; indeed, they can in some case be read as afterthoughts, with a pause between verb and subject.

4 Amos, entramos

When the subject of the verb is *amos* or *entramos*, the subject follows the verb in 9 of the 11 examples; the number of examples is small, but the same tendency can be observed in the other works to be analysed. The examples of the order S - V are formally similar to the examples of subject postposition:

'...bien sabes que quando salimos de nuestra casa, que AMOS vaníamos de pie...' (67.17-28)

(Cf. *'...dixo a su fijo que fuesen AMOS allá...'*, 64.1)

'...et AMOS eran mucho amigos...' (188.32)

(Cf. *'...eran ENTRAMOS muy amigos...'*, 88.23)

As with *el uno al otro*, one factor involved may be that *amos* and *entramos* are not always closely linked to the verb; 'que fuesen amos allá' quoted above would be perfectly intelligible without *amos*, which is used here almost adverbially, with a meaning of 'together'.

(viii) The type of clause

As indicated in Tables 1 and 2 above, there is a greater tendency towards subject anteposition in dependent clauses (67%) than in independent clause (60%); the difference is particularly striking in the case of adverbial clauses of time:

(19) This is true of many other languages; see Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1963), p. 224.

TABLE 8: Subject position in adverbial clauses of time

Conjunction	Order S - V	Order V - S
<i>ante que</i>	8	2
<i>cada que</i>	3	2
<i>de que</i>	20	1
<i>después que</i>	7	0
<i>desque</i>	74	11
<i>fasta que</i>	14	7
<i>luego que</i>	9	0
<i>quando</i>	118	9
<i>en quanto</i>	2	1
Totals	255	33 (12%)

Several of the pressures which tend to bring about subject postposition in other contexts are not operative in temporal clauses: with a preceding direct object, the subject also precedes in 46 of the 51 examples; preceding adverbs such as *así* occur in the order S - Adv - V; and the intransitive verbs which tend to have subject postposition in independent clauses are used more frequently with a preceding subject in temporal clauses:

'...ponet ý recabdo, ante que EL DAÑO vos pueda acaesçer...' (83.3)
'Et el infante madurgó ante que EL REY despertasse...' (141.11)

The tendency toward subject anteposition in temporal clauses is one aspect of word order in which there is continuity between Latin and Romance texts.²⁰ Explanations of this phenomenon have not been convincing: Marouzeau, for example, sees the causes of this in the secondary, inessential nature of dependent clauses, which are thus not given the same variety and flexibility as independent clauses, and Nissen (p. 73) adds that dependent clauses, which complicate the sentence structure, need to have a more fixed word order in order to preserve the clarity of the expression.

The following pair of contrasting examples, presenting the arrival of night-time, suggest a rather different explanation:

'Quisiéralos matar luego, pero acordándose del seso que costara una dobla, non se ar(r)ebató.

Et desdeque llegó LA TARDE, assentáronse a comer. De que el mercadero los vio así estar, fue aún más movido por los matar, pero por el seso que conprara non se ar(r)ebató.

Mas, quando vino LA NOCHE et los vio echar en la cama, fizosele muy grave de soffrir...' (194.30-195.6)

'Quando la hermana esto sopo, dixo a su hermana que ella queria yr con él aquella noche para traer aquellos con que aquel omne avían enterrado.

(20) See J. Marouzeau, *L'Ordre des mots dans la phrase latine* (4 vols., Paris, 1922-53), vol. I, p. 49; and Harald Nissen, *L'Ordre des mots dans La Chronique de Jean d'Outremerse* (Uppsala, 1943), pp. 66-73.

Desde LA NOCHE vino, fueron el mançebo et su hermana a la fuessa del muerto...' (233.14-18)

In the first extract, *la tarde* and *la noche* are not prepared for, but are wholly new stages in the narrative: they are rhematic subjects. In the second extract, *la noche* has already been the focus of attention, and is being awaited; *la noche* is there a thematic subject, and the new information is presented in the verb, *vino*. In looking at the examples of temporal clauses with the subject expressed, one is struck by the predominance of thematic subjects in such clauses, as is clearly illustrated by the following:

'...el cuervo falló una vegada un grant pedaço de queso et subió en un árbol porque pudiese comer el queso más a su guisa et sin reçelo et sin embargo de ninguno. Et en quanto EL CUERVO así estava...' (78.20-24)

'...avrió el pico para cantar. Et desde EL PICO fue avierto para cantar...' (80.24-5)

'...fizo llamar a sus parientes et a sus amigos; et desde TODOS fueron con él, envió por su muger et sus fijos...' (75.17-19)

Once more, however, it must be stressed that a thematic subject does occasionally follow the verb:

'...en una tierra avían por costumbre que cada año fazían un señor. Et en quanto durava AQUEL AÑO, fazían todas las cosas que él mandava...' (241.31-2)

Causal clauses also show a predominance of the order S - V (133 examples) over the order V - S (42 examples), as do concessive clauses (32 examples of S - V, 2 of V - S), and conditional clauses (54 examples of S - V, 9 of V - S). These types of clause all contain a low number of preceding adverbial expressions, and a high number of thematic subjects.

Subject postposition predominates in three types of dependent clause: indirect questions (99%), adverbial clauses of manner (73%), and clauses introduced by *do(nde)* (79%), both adjectival and adverbial. In indirect questions, the proportion of subject postposition is extremely high (79 out of 80 examples), and must be associated with the fact that in direct questions introduced by *cómo*, *por qué*, *qué*, etc., the subject normally follows the verb. The only example with a preceding subject is:

'...más él nin ninguno de sus hermanos, nin omne del mundo, non sabié nada de la razón porqué EL REY fazia esto.' (142.2-4)

The majority of clauses introduced by *do(nde)* consist of two elements, the subject and a verb such as *ser*, *estar*, or *vivir*, in a presentative function:

'...et luego dio de las espuelas al cavallo et saltó en la mar contra la ribera do estavan LOS MOROS.' (71.22-4)

In adverbial clauses of manner, subject postposition is often found with semantically weak verbs, to give the subject greater prominence:

'...esto es (por) que sus mugeres fazen tal vida con ellos commo fazia LA ENPERADRIZ ET DOÑA VASCUÑANA.' (167.29-31)

Finally, one important difference between medieval and modern Spanish should be noted. Henry and Renée Kahane observe that in modern Spanish, the subject of a relative clause introduced by *que*, in which only the verb and subject are expressed, is normally in postposition;²¹ in *Lucanor*, the orders are as follows:

que - V - S : 16

que - S - V : 39

Thus in *Lucanor* the most frequent order is that of the following example:

'...pediéronle por merçed que echase aquellos caballos a un león que EL REY DE TUÑEZ tenía.' (88.33-5)

It would appear that the order in modern Spanish is more rigid, but with a V - S order.

(ix) The position of the subject with verb and dependent infinitive

The most frequent order is S - V - Inf, which occurs 124 times, e.g.:

'...et si fuere la cosa mala, LOS BUENOS QUE SE PAGAN DEL BIEN non podrían decir que es bien el mal que tú feziste.' (66.13-15)

When the subject follows the verb, the order V - Inf - S occurs 45 times, and the order V - S - Inf, 19 times. It is clear that these orders are in certain instances interchangeable, but the order V - Inf - S is found in certain types of expression which do not have the order V - S - Inf:

1. The subject occurs at the end of the clause in order to give it greater prominence than the verb and infinitive. A large number of the examples of V - Inf - S occur with the infinitives of presentative verbs, which do not occur with the order V - S - Inf:

'...nin fiedes en cosa de que vos pueda venir GRAND DAÑO...' (101.15-16)

'...va comenzando algunas cosas de que cada uno de nós reçela quel puede venir GRAND DAÑO...' (87.11-12)

2. Only short subjects are interpolated between verb and infinitive, and even these follow more often than they precede; the subjects which stand between the verb and infinitive consist of a pronoun, an unmodified noun, or a noun modified by a definite article only. All subjects consisting of more than two words are placed after the infinitive.

The differences can be illustrated by the following pair of examples:

(21) 'The Position of the Actor Expression', p. 243.

'...et preguntó como podía ESTO ser.' (70.30)
'Et bien sé yo que... podría ser verdad ESTO QUE ME VOS
DEZIDES...' (294.35-6)

Apart from these restrictions, the choice to be free:

'Et ante que matassen la candela, comenzó LA MADRE a dezir al fijo...'
(195.9-10)

'Et dando del agua a las vestias en el río, comenzó a dezir DON ALVAR
HAÑEZ que...' (165.33-4)

CONCLUSIONS

Fourteenth-century Castilian, as represented by *El Conde Lucanor*, had retained great flexibility in subject position, a flexibility which it had been possible to retain thanks largely to the rich variety of verb-endings which Castilian took over from Latin and on the whole maintained intact, particularly as far as number and person are concerned. No matter how sensitive the rules which one devises to account for the position of the subject in Old Spanish, one must ultimately recognise the freedom of choice which was available in many contexts, a freedom of choice which a writer such as Juan Manuel frequently made use of:

'Et tanto duró esta porfia, fasta que llegó DOÑA VASCUÑANA.'
(165.19)

'Et porfiaron tanto sobresto, fasta que DOÑA VASCUÑANA llegó.'
(166.1)

'EL CONDE LUCANOR fablava una vez con Patronio, su consegero...'
(143.10-11)

'Un día fablava EL CONDE LUCANOR con Patronio, su consejero...'
(151.23-4)

From the preceding analysis, it is clear that syntactic, semantic, and rhythmic factors all contributed towards determining the position of the subject, but examples such as those just quoted show that none of the pressures was absolute: theme tended to precede rheme, a preceding adverb or direct object tended to bring about subject postposition, etc., but these are only factors involved in the choice of word order, not grammatical rules which operated rigidly.