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Chapter 3

Feature inheritance in Old Spanish: (re)visiting V2

Geoffrey Poole

Newcastle University

On the basis of an extensive overview of verb-second languages and data, Holmberg (2015: 376) arrives at the following general characterization of the V2 property: (a) a functional head in the left periphery attracts the finite verb and (b) this functional head requires that a constituent move to its specifier position. In this paper I argue that this view of the V2 property, together with Salvi's (2012) observations concerning the syntactic positions which precede the finite verb in medieval Romance, suggest that Old Spanish was indeed a verb-second language. More specifically, I argue that the existence and nature of the features which effect (a) and (b) in Old Spanish find a natural motivation/explanation within Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) feature-inheritance approach to typology, in which languages differ with respect to whether EPP- and Tense-features are retained by C, donated to T or shared between the two (cf. Ouali 2008). While I assume, following Biberauer & Roberts (2010), that EPP- and T-features are donated to T in Modern Romance (including Modern Spanish), I suggest that these features were retained by C in Old Spanish.

1 Introduction

As noted by Salvi (2012), there is a long-standing observation regarding medieval Romance to the effect that there are two syntactic positions which precede the finite verb: one which immediately precedes the finite verb, which Salvi calls P2, and one which precedes *that* position, which Salvi calls P1. With respect to information structure, the P1 position hosts "thematic material", while P2 can host either thematic or focal material. This traditional observation would seem to be expressible naturally within a standard version of an articulated left-periphery (in the sense of Rizzi 1997 and much subsequent work).

$$(1) \quad \underbrace{[\text{ForceP} \quad [\text{TopicP} \quad \underbrace{[\text{FocusP} \quad [\text{TopicP} \quad [\text{FinP} \quad [\text{TP} \quad]]]]]]}_{\text{P1}} \quad]]}_{\text{P2}} \quad]]]]]$$



The P1 position would seem to straightforwardly map on to the high Topic position, while the lower Focus and Topic projections are a natural locus for Salvi's P2 position.¹

In §2, I argue that Salvi's generalization does descriptively characterize Spanish during the pre-Golden Age period (i.e., prior to the 16th century), taking P2 to refer to the cluster of low left peripheral positions as in (1). These positions could contain only *one* XP, but it could be either topical or focal. Furthermore, the finite verb must be right-adjacent to the left-peripheral element. However, I then "extend" Salvi's generalization, primarily by considering wide-focus fronting in Old Spanish (Mackenzie 2010). This phenomenon is of particular interest in this context because it indicates that the lone XP occupying P2, in addition to being topical or focal, could be *neither*. In other words, this construction (and others) appear to show that Salvi's P2 position in the low left periphery can, in some cases, be occupied by an element which cannot be interpreted *either* as topical *or* as focal.

In §3, I suggest that Salvi's extended generalization is naturally captured under the assumption that elements are attracted to the low left periphery during this period by a purely formal EPP feature present in the low left periphery (rather than via syntactic features encoding specific discourse interpretations such as [+focus]). In addition, the requirement that the verb be immediately adjacent to the fronted element suggests that Tense features were also retained in this low area of the C-domain. Diachronically, it appears that *certain* left-peripheral displacements, including wide focus fronting and interpolation (see below), decline to extinction in parallel with verb-raising to a high position during the Golden Age period, suggesting a close connection between the EPP- and T-features.

§4 observes that Salvi's descriptive generalization would be naturally accounted for under the assumption that the EPP and Tense features are *retained* by a C-related projection in Old Spanish, but are *donated* to T in Modern Spanish (thus aligning Spanish with Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) feature-inheritance account of modern Romance). This in turn implies, given standard accounts of the left-peripheral displacement of topics and foci, that one of the major changes undergone by Spanish during the Golden Age was a "syntacticization of discourse" (in the sense of Haegeman & Hill 2013). In other words, displacement to the low-left periphery came to be driven, not by a purely formal EPP feature as previously, but rather by syntactic features with specific information-structure value (e.g., [+focus]).

¹Throughout the paper, I will use terms such as "C-related", "the low left periphery", "the C-domain", "V-to-C movement", etc. as ways of referring to Salvi's P2 position in the low left periphery. I take no position on what more specific projection within an articulated CP might be relevant as I believe the choice does not materially affect the proposed analysis. See, for example, Walkden (2015) for some possibilities in Germanic. Strictly speaking, as discussed in §4.2, it is possible that Spanish does not even possess FocusP as a syntactic projection during the medieval period because, as I will suggest, the relevant syntactic features have yet to develop.

2 P2 and the low left periphery of Old Spanish

As noted by various authors (e.g., Sitaridou 2011; Poole 2013), Old Spanish possessed various constructions in which an element displaced to the low left periphery was interpreted as topical or focal. The phenomenon of interpolation is of particular relevance, as it appears that the element displaced to the low left periphery could indeed be either topical or focal (*contra* Poole's (2013) analysis). As such then, Salvi's Generalization with respect to the P2 position does seem to correctly describe Old Spanish.

2.1 New information focus

In her study of information structure in the *General Estoria* of Alfonso the Wise (13th century), Sitaridou (2011) notes that complements dislocated to a pre-verbal position can bear a number of information structure roles, including new information focus. (2) for example instantiates an operation she dubs "Focus Fronting" (174) (see also Cruschina 2008; Cruschina & Sitaridou 2009):

- (2) (*General Estoria* 4, 13th c., Sitaridou 2011: (25))
 & los qui se gozaron con el to derribamiento **penados**
 and the who REFL.3PL enjoy.FUT.3PL with the your fall punished
 seran por ello.
 be.FUT.3PL for this
 'And those who rejoice with your fall they will be punished for that.'

Unlike Modern Spanish, left-peripheral focus is not obligatorily contrastive. According to Sitaridou, the fronted participle in (2) simply encodes new information focus.

2.2 Topics

A clear demonstration that the P2 position could be occupied by topics is necessarily made more difficult by the fact that topics may also occupy Salvi's P1 position. However, cases containing a fronted object such as (3), which, as Sitaridou (2011: 170) notes, do appear to have a topic interpretation, would seem to be plausible candidates.

- (3) (*General Estoria* 1, 13th c., Sitaridou 2011: (16))
 e fue / natural duna cibdat q<ue> dixieron fenis [...] Y esta cibdat
 and was.3SG / native of.one city which called.3PL Fenis and this city
 poblo fenis fijo dagenor...
 inhabited.3SG Fenis son of.Agenor
 'And he was from a city which was called Fenis... and this city was inhabited by Fenis, son of Agenor.'

Esta cibdat 'this city' in (3) resumes the previously mentioned city Fenis.

Cases described as “resumptive preposing” by Mackenzie (2010) are also plausibly instances of topics occupying Salvi’s P2 position. Consider (4), originally discussed by Fontana (1993):²

- (4) (*General Estoria* 1, 13th c., Mackenzie 2010: (14))
este logar mostro dios a abraam
[this place God showed to Abraham]

As Mackenzie points out, the presence of *este* ‘this’ suggests that the preposed object is resuming something in the discourse, and his examination of the context reveals that *este* in fact resumes the phrase *una cabeza mas alta que todo el otro monte* ‘a peak higher than the rest of the mountain’ which is found in the preceding sentence. In that sense, (4) appears similar to (3) above.

Mackenzie observes that resumptively preposed elements are “topical within the discourse” (2010: 284), though, at the same time, claims that they are not “a topic in any syntactically relevant sense” (385). However, given a more articulated distinction between types of topics, phrases such as *este logar* in (4) would seem to plausibly constitute, for example, G-Topics in the sense of Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010). G-Topics are used to retrieve information already present within the conversational common ground content and are associated with topic continuity. These are also the structurally lowest topics within Bianchi & Frascarelli’s hierarchy. As such they would seem to naturally align with Salvi’s P2 position. Additionally, as Mackenzie (2010: 392) notes, resumptively preposed elements are obligatorily adjacent to the verb, further suggesting that they do not occupy a high topic position along the lines of Salvi’s P1 position.

2.3 Interpolation

The phenomenon of interpolation (e.g., Chenery 1905; Batllori et al. 1995; Poole 2013) is of particular interest in the context of the information structure of left-peripheral fronting in Old Spanish because it appears as though the interpolated element can be interpreted as either a topic or as a focus (partially *contra* Poole 2013).

In this construction, object and indirect object pronouns can appear separated from the finite verb by a short intervening constituent, for example an adverb, a short prepositional phrase, or a subject, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) (*Castigos e documentos de Sancho IV*, 13th c., Poole 2013: (4))
... & vsa mal del buen entendimiento que le dios dio.
and uses badly of.the good understanding that him God gave.3SG
‘...and he makes poor use of the good understanding that God gave him.’

²Mackenzie’s original examples, which lack morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, are reproduced verbatim in the text. For (4) the glosses would be:

(4) este logar mostro dios a abraam.
this place showed.3s God to Abraham
‘God showed this place to Abraham.’

Poole (2013) argues that interpolation targets a low Topic position within the left periphery and that the interpolated element acts as a given or familiar topic. Consider the context in (6) preceding the instance of interpolation of *esto* ‘that’:³

- (6) (*Crónica de 1344 I*, 14th c., Poole 2013: (19))
 Et estonçe les dixo el Rey que se salliesen de su tierra Et aquella gente a qujen esto dixo fueron se a la villa & tanto que **les esto dixo** luego se armaron muy bien & venjeron se al Rey onde yazia en su alcaçar & lidiaron conel & lo mataron. ‘And then the king said to them that they should leave his land. And those people to whom he said that went to the town and as soon as **he said that to them** they armed themselves well and went to the king where he rested in his fortress and fought with him and killed him.’

In (6), the interpolated element *esto* ‘that’, resumes the recently mentioned event *que se salliesen de su tierra* ‘that they should leave his land’, with said event also having been resumed by *esto* in the sentence immediately preceding the one in which *esto* is interpolated. As such, interpolation in (6) seems clearly to be an instance of topic continuity.

However, Poole (2013: 90) notes cases of interpolation such as (7), which are not straightforwardly associated with topicality.

- (7) (*Calila e Dimna*, 13th c., Poole 2007: (13))
 manifesta cosa es que lo feziste a tuerto et sin pecado que **te él**
 manifest thing is that it did.2SG unjustly and without sin that you he
fiziese.
 did.3SG
 ‘It’s clear that you did it unjustly and without him having done you any wrong.’

From the context, the interpolated personal pronoun subject seems contrastive and even mildly emphatic. Other cases in which a personal pronoun are interpolated would seem to be even clearer.

- (8) (*El Libro de Caballero Zifar* 14th c., Poole 2007: (2b))
 e dixe que **lo yo auja** muerto.
 and said.1SG that him I had killed
 ‘and I said that I had killed him.’

In (8), the interpolated subject pronoun is identical with the matrix clause subject, and in Modern Spanish would be obligatorily emphatic. Insofar as Old Spanish appears to be identical to Modern Spanish with respect to *pro*-drop, one would expect that the pronoun was interpreted as focal in Old Spanish as well. Thus it appears to be the case that the interpolated element may be interpreted as either a topic or as a focus.

³I omit for reasons of space the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in (6) as the argument hinges on the larger discourse context, the relevant portions of which are explicated in the text.

Another interpolation-specific generalization which points to the correctness of Salvi's Medieval Romance characterization as it relates to Old Spanish concerns the elements which can precede the "interpolation cluster" – that is, the cluster of clitic pronoun, interpolated element and finite verb. In general, it is rare for anything to precede the interpolation cluster. It most commonly follows the Complementizer or other subordinating element. However, as Poole (2013) notes, in those cases in which an element does intervene between the complementizer and the interpolation cluster, the element is very plausibly topical. Consider (9), for example:

- (9) (*General Estoria I*, 13th c., Poole 2013: (35))
& que *desta manera se non contrallan* estas razones de Moysen &
and that of.that way REFL NEG contradict.3PL those laws of Moses and
de Josepho.
of Joseph
'And in that way the laws of Moses and Joseph were not violated.'

Recall that Salvi claims that the P1 position in Medieval Romance, the position which precedes the P2 position, is a position which hosts thematic material. Given the presence of the demonstrative pronoun *esto* 'that', and the fact that it refers back to an element of the previous discourse, it seems plausible to assume that it occupies Salvi's P1 position.

2.4 XP co-occurrence restrictions in the low left periphery

The previous sections have illustrated various left-peripheral XP displacements in Old Spanish, arguing that Salvi's traditional generalization is correct insofar as it states that the P2 position in Old Spanish could be occupied by elements which were interpreted as topical or as focal. In addition however, recall that Salvi's generalization claims further that only one XP could occupy this left peripheral position. This predicts that there should be complementary distribution among the constructions discussed above, and this prediction appears to be correct.

First, these constructions all require that the pre-verbal element be immediately left-adjacent to the verb, from which complementarity of distribution then follows derivatively.⁴ Sitaridou (2011: 174), for example, notes that the fronted element must be adjacent to the verb in order to be interpreted as new information focus.⁵ Mackenzie (2010: 392) observes that verb-adjacency is also required for resumptive preposing, while Poole (2013), among others, notes that the same is true for interpolation.

Some further co-occurrence restrictions specific to interpolation also suggest that Salvi's generalization indeed applies to Old Spanish. As Poole (2013: 94–95) notes, interpolation is in complementary distribution with *wh*-operators, but not with relative clause operators. It can be found in all types of relative clauses, whether restrictive, non-

⁴See §3.1 below for more discussion regarding the significance of the verb-adjacency requirement.

⁵Obviously verb-adjacency is not a requirement for interpretation as a topic, given the availability of the P1 position for topics in addition to the P2 position.

restrictive or free, as in (10–12), but there appear to be no examples like the constructed (13).

- (10) (*Siete Partidas*, 13th c.; Poole 2013: (51))
 otra muger con *quien lo no pudiesse fazer de derecho*.
 other woman with whom it not could.3SG do.INF of right
 ‘...another woman with whom he had no right to [marry].’
- (11) (*Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, 13th c., Poole 2013: (52))
 ala reyna halabra su madre de *quien os ya diximos* en otros lugares
 to.the queen H his mother of whom you already said.1PL in other places
 ‘...to Queen Halabra his mother, about whom we have already spoken elsewhere...’
- (12) (*El emperador Otas de Roma*, 14th c., Poole 2013: (53))
quien le entonçe viesse griegos matar / & espedaçar espedaçar bien
 who him then saw.3SG Greeks kill and butcher butcher well
 ternja quele deujan doler los braços
 would.have.3SG that.him should.3PL hurt.INF the arms
 ‘Whoever saw him killing Greeks and butchering them would have had to have had aching arms...’
- (13) (Poole 2013: (48))
 *ca non sabedes *quien lo asi fiziese*
 because not know.2PL who it thus did.3SG
 ‘because you don’t know who did it like that’

Under the assumption, following Poole (2013), that wh-operators occupy FocusP in Old Spanish in both main and embedded clauses, this suggests that Salvi’s generalization is correct that only one element can occupy the P2 position. Wh-operators, which occupy P2, are incompatible with interpolation, which also occupies P2. Relative clause operators, which occupy a higher position (the specifier of ForceP), are not.

2.5 Extending Salvi’s Generalization: elements which are neither topical nor focal

The previous sections motivated Salvi’s (2012) generalization concerning elements which can precede the finite verb. However, evidence from quantifier fronting in Old Spanish (Mackenzie 2010) shows that the generalization can be extended in an important way: the single element which immediately precedes the finite verb can be not only *either* topical or focal, but also be *neither* topical *nor* focal.

Mackenzie (2010) notes examples such as (14) and (15), in which a fronted object quantifier appears in an immediately pre-verbal position.⁶

- (14) (*General Estoria* IV, 13th c., Mackenzie 2010: (22))
 Si **ell omne algo deue**; faze gelo oluidar de guisa ques tiene que mas Rico es que otros omnes.
 [If a man owes something, it [wine] makes him forget it so that he holds himself to be richer than other men.]
- (15) (*Estoria de España* II, 13th c., Mackenzie 2010: (23))
 Mas pero non fizo y quel **nada ualiesse** de lo que el querie.
 [But he didn't do there [anything] that was of any value to him in terms of what he wanted.]

As Poole (2016) observes, these fronted quantifiers are in complementary distribution with the other elements discussed above. Mackenzie himself (2010: 392) notes that they are in complementary distribution with other focus-fronted elements as well as with *wh*-elements and Poole (2016) notes that this complementarity extends to include interpolation. It therefore seems plausible to suggest that these are elements which occupy Salvi's P2 position.

The importance of the distributional observation stems from the information-structure of sentences in which this quantifier fronting has taken place. As Mackenzie (2010: 390) observes, “[h]owever hard one looks at examples like these..., it is impossible to see anything other than neutral assertions”, ultimately concluding (*ibid.*) that constructions such as (14) and (15) instantiate wide or broad focus, and indeed labels the construction Wide Focus Fronting.

This intuition is confirmed by Poole (2016). As he notes, fronting such as that seen in (14) and (15) cannot instantiate any kind of information- or contrastive-focus. Neither can (14) and (15) instantiate verum/positive polarity focus, as the construction can be found in environments such as the complements of factive clauses, which, following Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal (2009), strongly disallow it:

⁶Again, for the relevant portions of Mackenzie's examples in (14) and (15), the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are as follows:

- (14) si ell omne algo deue...
 If the man something owes
 'If a man owes something...'
- (15) ... quel nada ualiesse de lo que el querie.
 that.him.DAT nothing values of it that he wanted
 '...[anything] that was of value to him in terms of what he wanted.'

- (16) (*Sermones*, early 16th c., Poole 2013: (4))
 y así atinaron a pedir el bien y desearlo con grandes ansias **viendo**
 and thus aimed.3PL to ask.INF the good and desire.it with grand will see.GER
que nada podían.
 that nothing could do.3PL
 ‘And thus they settled for praying for good and for desiring it with all their
 hearts, seeing that they could do nothing else.’

Neither can quantifiers of this sort serve as topics. Non-specific quantifiers such as *algo* ‘something’ in (14) simply cannot coherently be “what the sentence is about”. Therefore, it appears to be the case that the fronted quantifier itself is not (and indeed cannot be) either a topic or a focus. If this is the case, then Salvi’s P2 position can be occupied by not only topical or focal elements, but also elements which are *neither*.

3 Explaining Salvi’s Generalization: EPP and tense features in the low left periphery

The extension of Salvi’s Generalization to include elements which are neither foci nor topics is significant because it provides a clear direction to pursue with respect to the explanation: the displacement associated with Salvi’s P2 position is triggered by a feature, hosted in the low left periphery, which does not itself possess any information-structure value (i.e., a feature such as Chomsky’s (2000; 2001) EPP-feature, a “formal feature” in the sense of Frey (2006); Light (2012), or Biberauer et al.’s (2014) “movement triggering” feature). Such an approach would account for the fact that the position can be filled by one element only, and that the information-structure status of the element is irrelevant.

However, if Salvi’s generalization regarding the P2 position ultimately derives from an extension of Biberauer & Roberts’s (2010) feature-inheritance typology to Old Spanish (and therefore relates ultimately to Holmberg’s (2015) V2 property), we should see evidence that the low left periphery not only retained an EPP-feature, but also that it retained a Tense feature. In other words, in addition to the evidence that XPs raise into the low left periphery in Old Spanish, we should also find evidence that the verb in Old Spanish raises to a position in the C-domain.

3.1 Verb-adjacency revisited

As mentioned above in §2.5, it has been noted by various authors in various contexts that the verb in Old Spanish must be linearly adjacent to elements which, by hypothesis, occupy a specifier position in the low left periphery. Sitaridou (2011: 175), following Cruschina (2008), notes for example that strict adjacency is required between the verb and focus fronted elements, as exemplified by (17):

- (17) (*General Estoria* 1, 13th c. Sitaridou 2011: (23b))
Fuerça fizieron los sabios e los altos omnes en el nombre d' esta cibdad.
power made.3PL the savants and the high men in the name of this city
'The savants and the men of high standing imposed power in the name of the city.'

Under the assumption that the focus-fronted object occupies a position in the low left periphery (such as FocusP), the strict linear adjacency would be accounted for under the assumption that the verb moves to a head position in the same area of the clause. As also noted above, verb-adjacency is also a requirement for resumptive preposing and interpolation: if these elements are correctly analyzed as occupying the low left periphery (see Sitaridou 2011: Section 3 and the references cited there), then a natural explanation for the observed linear adjacency with respect to the finite verb is that it too has raised to a C-related position.

3.2 Sitaridou (2012) on tests for V-raising to the C-domain

In addition, contra Sitaridou 2012, there do appear to be phenomena which suggest that there is V-raising to the C-domain in Old Spanish. In her survey of a number of medieval Romance varieties, Sitaridou (2012) enumerates a number of traditional syntactic tests which are claimed to provide evidence that the verb moves to a position higher than T^o.⁷ She concludes on the basis of these tests that the verb did obligatorily raise to the C-domain in Old French, among other varieties, but that this was not the case in Old Spanish. However, there do appear to be examples in Old Spanish which parallel the examples offered for Old French, once one moves beyond the one text that Sitaridou examines (the *General Estoria* of Alfonso X).

One traditional argument/test concerns the position of the verb relative to various adverbs which are very high on Cinque's (1999) adverb hierarchy. She notes, for example, that in Old French the verb can appear higher than adverbs such as *vraiment* 'really'.

- (18) (Sitaridou 2012: (52b))
Et je croy vraiment.
and I think.1SG really
'And I really believe.'

Although high, speaker-oriented adverbs are generally not found in Old Spanish, one can find examples in which the finite verb precedes polarity focus *bien* 'well' (cf. Hernanz 2006; Batllori & Hernanz 2013).⁸

⁷Her proposal more specifically is that the verb moves to Fin^o.

⁸All unattributed examples from Old Spanish are taken from the *Corpus del Español* (Davies 2002).

- (19) (*Cuento de Tristán de Leonís*, 14th c.)
yo creo bien que el era tristan ca non es enel mundo cauller
 I believe.1SG well that he was T because NEG is in.the world man
 que tanto pudiese fazer.
 that so.much could do.INF
 ‘I really believe that he was Tristan because there is no [other] man in the world who could do so much.’

- (20) (*Estoria de España*, 13th c.)
 Et todo omne que viesse la posada que el çid tenie **dirie**
 And every man that saw.3SG the ship that The Cid had.3SG would say.3SG
bien que era vna grant hueste.
 indeed that was.3SG a great host
 ‘And everyone who saw the ship that The Cid had would indeed say that it was a great military force.’

The use and interpretation of *bien* in examples such as (19) and (20) (particularly (19)) appears entirely parallel to the case of Old French *vraiment* above. More specifically, whether polarity focus items occupy a Σ P/PolP phrase between TP and the C-domain or some higher projection within the C-domain itself, examples such as (19) and (20) would seem to show that the verb in Old Spanish did indeed undergo “V-to-C movement”, on analogy with the French cases.

Another class of examples which Sitaridou argues provides evidence that the verb raises to a high position in Old French are cases such as (21):

- (21) (Sitaridou 2012: (53a))
 pour la grant amour ai je pourchacie ...
 for the great love have.1SG I pursued
 ‘For the great love I have pursued’

Following Benincà 1994, Sitaridou argues (2012: 589–90) that this inversion pattern, in which the subject pronoun appears between the auxiliary and the past participle, is evidence of obligatory V-to-C raising. Once again, moving beyond her very specific corpus, it is not difficult to find examples parallel to the Old French example in (21).

- (22) (*General Estoria* IV, 13th c.)
 & de Caripdis. de quien **auemos nos contado** enla tercera parte desta
 And of C of who have.1PL we related in.the third part of.that
 estoria
 history
 ‘...and about Caripdis, about whom we have spoken in the third part of that history...’

- (23) (*Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, 13th c.)
Todo aquesto **he** **yo hablado** conel duque Gudufre.
All these have.1SG I spoken with.the duke G
'I have spoken about all of this with Duke Gudufre.'

Therefore, it appears as though there is some parallel evidence based on the traditional tests which Sitaridou (2012) discusses in Old French for thinking that the verb in Old Spanish does indeed raise to some C-related position, and therefore that the C-domain hosted a Tense feature.

3.3 The diachrony of P2 fronting and its relation to V-to-C raising

A further reason for thinking that both EPP and Tense features are located in the low left periphery in Old Spanish comes from the diachronic development of some of the constructions discussed above. An examination of the *Corpus del Español* reveals that those instances of low left-peripheral fronting unequivocally triggered by a discourse-neutral EPP feature decline in parallel with verb-initial declaratives with a post-verbal object. If the EPP-feature and the tense feature are somehow linked, as suggested by Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) typological analysis, this parallel decline would be expected.

Consider first the diachrony of two particular instances of movement to Salvi's P2 position: interpolation and wide focus fronting. Recall from §2.3 above that the element which intervenes between the clitic pronoun and the finite verb in interpolation structures can be interpreted in some cases as topics and in other cases as foci. This suggests that the trigger for the fronting of that element is a feature which is independent of any particular information-structure interpretation. A logical conclusion therefore is that the trigger is a "pure" EPP or movement-triggering feature. A similar conclusion can be reached in the case of Mackenzie's (2010) Wide Focus Fronting (§2.5). Elements such as non-specific *algo* are attracted to the low left periphery, but insofar as these elements cannot be interpreted either as topics or foci, it must be a pure movement-triggering feature which attracts them.

An examination of the *Corpus del Español* shows that interpolation of negation, while robustly attested during the 13th and 14th centuries, declines significantly in the 15th century and is essentially extinct by the 16th. Clausal negation, as in (24), is one of the most commonly interpolated elements and Poole (2013) claims that it too instantiates XP movement to the low left periphery.

- (24) (*El Conde Lucanor*, 14th c.)
Et desde que vio que **lo non fazia**...
and since saw.3SG that it NEG would.do.3SG
'And since he saw that he wouldn't do it...'

As Table 1 shows, relative instances of the subordinating Complementizer *que* 'that' or *si* 'if', followed by an object pronoun, followed by clausal negation, followed by a finite verb (indicative, conditional or subjunctive) remain unchanged during the 13th and 14th

centuries. However, they decline to less than a quarter of that value in the 15th century, and only a handful of cases are to be found by the beginning of the Golden Age period.⁹

Table 1: Corpus del Español : *que/si ObjPn no/non [vi*]/[vc*]/[vs*]*

Period	13 th c.	14 th c.	15 th c.	16 th c.
Instances	1745	718	479	4
Per Million Words	259.84	268.96	58.69	0.23

A similar diachronic trajectory is seen with respect to Mackenzie's (2010) Wide Focus Fronting. One relatively common example is the fronting of *esto* 'this' in examples such as (25).

- (25) (*Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, 13th c.)
 Quando **el emperador esto oyo** ouo muy gran miedo.
 When the emperor this heard had very great fear
 'When the emperor heard this, he became very afraid.'

Like interpolation, Wide Focus Fronting declines significantly in the 15th century relative to the 13th and 14th, and is nearly extinct by the 16th.

Table 2: *Corpus del Español*: Det N *esto* V

Period	13 th c.	14 th c.	15 th c.	16 th c.
Instances	108	56	102	36
Per Million Words	16.08	20.98	12.50	2.11

Interestingly, in parallel with the decline of these XP-fronting constructions, there is some evidence to suggest that verb-raising to a high position also declines. As Fontana (1993: Section 3.4.2) notes, one traditional diagnostic for V-to-C raising in the literature on various Germanic varieties (e.g., Modern Yiddish and Icelandic) is the grammaticality of verb-initial declarative sentences, and sentences such as (26) are very common in Old Spanish, particularly in main clauses introduced by *and* (or variant).

⁹During the 13th and 14th centuries, non-interpolated clausal negation (i.e., the order no/non ObjPn V) is found approximately equally frequently. However, in the 15th century, non-interpolation appears approximately 5.5 times more frequently, and is over 3100 times more frequent in the 16th century. See Poole (2013: Section 1) for further discussion.

- (26) (*Estoria de España*, 13th c.; Fontana 1993: (74a))
 & **fizo** el papa penitencia & **dixo** Sant Antidio la missa en su lugar &
 & did the pope penance & said sant Antidio the mass in his place &
 consagro la crisma.
 consecrated the host
 ‘And the pope did penance & S. A. said the mass in his place and consecrated the Host.’

Fontana notes (1993: 249) that the percentage of verb-initial declaratives followed by a clitic pronoun (thereby even more clearly suggesting that the verb has raised to a relatively high position) declines from the 12th to the 16th centuries, and it appears to decline in a way reminiscent of the XP-fronting data seen above.

Table 3: V-Cl vs Cl-V order

Period	12 th c.	13 th c.	14 th c.	15 th c.	16 th c.
V – Cl order observed vs. Cl – V order	84%	85%	87%	68%	14%

Data from a representative search of the *Corpus del Español* paints a similar picture. Though the *Corpus del Español* does not contain any texts from the 12th century, a search for a coordinating conjunction followed by an indicative verb form with an enclitic plural indirect-object pronoun shows a significant decline from the 14th to the 15th centuries to near extinction in the 16th century.

Table 4: *Corpus del Español*: [cc*] *les.[vi*] minus all 2sg verb forms

Period	13 th c.	14 th c.	15 th c.	16 th c.
Frequency	46	84	82	47
Per Million Words	6.85	31.47	10.04	2.76

To summarize then, the data in the tables above suggests that XP-fronting triggered by a “pure” EPP or movement-triggering feature undergoes a diachronic decline which bears some resemblance to the decline seen in V-to-C raising.

4 Convergence: EPP/tense feature inheritance and some implications

4.1 Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) feature-inheritance approach to syntactic typology

As mentioned at various points above, a central claim of this paper is that the synchronic and diachronic descriptive facts discussed in Sections 2 and 3 can be naturally accounted for using Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) feature inheritance typological approach: EPP- and T-features are *retained* in the C-domain in Old Spanish, but *donated* to T in Modern Spanish.

Following Ouali's (2008) classification, uninterpretable features present on the phase head C may either be "kept", "shared" or "donated". They are retained by the phase-head in the first case, but either copied or given over entirely to a phase-internal non-phase head in the latter two cases respectively. Biberauer & Roberts suggest that Ouali's feature-inheritance classification system can be usefully extended into language typology. By way of illustration, Biberauer & Roberts argue that phi- and T-features are donated to T in Romance and English (leading to V-to-T movement in Romance because of the presence of rich tense) but are kept in Continental Germanic, leading to V-to-C raising, one part of the well-known verb-second effect. These options also apply in the case of XP movement-triggering features such as the EPP-feature. In Mainland Scandinavian, for example, the EPP-feature present in C is shared with T. As a result, both a traditional verb-second and English-style EPP effect is seen. (See Biberauer & Roberts 2010: Section 3 for further discussion and examples.)

For Old Spanish then, the claim would be that both the EPP and Tense features were retained in the C-domain. This accounts first for the distribution of elements seen in the low left periphery as part of Salvi's (Extended) Generalization regarding the P2 position. There can be only one element, and because it is attracted by a pure EPP/movement-triggering feature, it can be either topical, focal, or neither. The fact that the T-feature is also kept results in the verb being attracted to this position within the low left periphery, which places it adjacent to the element in Salvi's P2 position.

The diachronic data seen in §3.3 finds a natural account under the assumption that at some point during the Spanish Golden Age period, the EPP and Tense features ceased being retained in the C domain, and were instead donated to T. This explains why certain cases of low-left-peripheral fronting appear to decline to extinction in parallel with cases of verb-initial declaratives with an enclitic object pronoun.

Such an approach to the diachronic data aligns with Biberauer & Roberts's (2010) typological account of Modern Romance. As mentioned above, on Biberauer & Roberts's analysis of Modern Romance, the EPP feature is donated to T, but the requirement is met by a deleted pronoun in the case of null subject languages such as Italian and Spanish. The T-feature is also donated from C to T, which, because of rich tense, results in V-to-T movement. We therefore have a straightforward characterization of (part of) the diachronic change that took place between Old Spanish and Modern Spanish.

4.2 Some synchronic and diachronic implications of the proposed approach: (re)visiting V2 and a “syntacticization of discourse”

Synchronically, the proposed account takes a clear position in the debate concerning whether or not Old Spanish was a verb-second language.¹⁰ On Holmberg’s (2015) characterization, there are two components to the V2 property, which may be independently realized.

- (27) a. A functional head in the left periphery attracts the finite verb.
 b. This functional head requires that a constituent move to its specifier position.

The characteristics in (27) appear to describe exactly the situation in Old Spanish, as discussed in the above sections. Indeed, as Holmberg notes (2015: 276) the property in (27b) “may be formalized as a “generalised EPP-feature”, along the lines of Roberts (2004)”.

Salvi’s Generalization regarding the P1 position, the position which immediately precedes P2, then becomes the logical explanation for the well-attested instances of V3 (and other) orders in Old Spanish. The P1 position hosts topics, and I have suggested that it finds a natural correspondent in the high topic position within an articulated CP. Given that topics in this position can be iterated (Salvi 2012: 103), the existence of these orders does not undermine the claim that Old Spanish was a verb-second language.^{11,12}

Diachronically, the proposed change in the behaviour of the features associated with C suggests that Spanish underwent a “syntacticization of discourse”.¹³ Consider first the relation between syntax and information structure in Old Spanish implied by the analysis outlined above. Movement to the low left periphery is triggered by a pure movement-triggering feature. Elements which are attracted by this feature can, however, ultimately receive an information-structure interpretation. Recall example (2) above:

- (2) (*General Estoria* 4, 13th c., Sitaridou 2011: (25))
 & los qui se gozaron con el to derribamiento **penados**
 and the who REFL.3PL enjoy.FUT.3PL with the your fall punished
 seran por ello.
 be.FUT.3PL for this
 ‘And those who rejoice with your fall they will be punished for that.’

¹⁰The former position is represented by work such as Fontana (1993), while e.g. Sitaridou (2012) argues for the latter position.

¹¹Ott (2014: Fn 34) suggests that his ellipsis approach to Contrastive Left-Dislocation could be extended to account for Romance Clitic Left Dislocation phenomena. Should such an extension prove to be successful, Old Spanish might more closely resemble a “traditional” verb-second language such as Modern German.

¹²V1 declarative orders do exist in Old Spanish, but as Poole (2016) argues, they exhibit a specific information structure interpretation: wide or broad focus. With respect to the satisfaction of the EPP-feature, there are a number of logical possibilities, including a base-generated “default” operator associated with sentence-level focus or declarative force, or perhaps even attraction of the entire TP, which would plausibly entail a wide focus interpretation. However, I leave this question for future research.

¹³The term is originally due to Haegeman & Hill (2013). See Sitaridou (2011: 160) for some initial speculation regarding Old Spanish and Poole (2016) for much further discussion.

Following Sitaridou (2011), I assume that the fronted participle is interpreted as focalized, but this is not because the movement is triggered or driven by a syntactic information-structure-specific feature such as [+focus]. In other words, elements are not attracted to Salvi's P2 position in the low left periphery for discourse or information-structure reasons per se. It follows therefore that, in Old Spanish, information structure interpretation is in some way post-syntactic.¹⁴

The analysis of interpolation in particular becomes potentially important in this context. As discussed above, it appears as though interpolated elements may be interpreted as either topical (6) or focal (8).

- (6) (*Crónica de 1344 I*, 14th c., Poole 2013: (19))

Et estonçe les dixo el Rey que se salliesen de su tierra Et aquella gente a qujen esto dixo fueron se a la villa & tanto que **les esto dixo** luego se armaron muy bien & venjeron se al Rey onde yazia en su alcaçar & lidiaron conel & lo mataron.

'And then the king said to them that they should leave his land. And those people to whom he said that went to the town and as soon as **he said that to them** they armed themselves well and went to the king where he rested in his fortress and fought with him and killed him.'

- (8) (*El Libro de Caballero Zifar* 14th c., Poole 2007: (2b))

e dixe que **lo yo auja** muerto.
and said.1SG that him I had killed
'and I said that I had killed him.'

Under the assumption that cases such as these are instances of "the same" syntactic phenomenon – that is to say, truly two representations of the same syntactic process – then information-structure interpretation in Old Spanish must have been post-syntactic.

However, if access to the low left periphery in Old Spanish is mediated by an information-structurally neutral EPP feature which is retained in the C-domain, and, as discussed above, the diachronic change in Spanish involves the donation of this feature to T, then some method must have been developed by which access to the low left periphery was regained, given that Modern Spanish unquestionably has such access.

Poole (2016) suggests that one of the major syntactic changes to take place during the Spanish Golden Age period is that information-structure-specific syntactic features, such as [+focus], are developed.¹⁵ This predicts, for example, the loss of left-peripheral wide focus fronting, as seen in §3 above. Interestingly, as Poole (2016) notes, two word orders which signal wide/broad focus in Old Spanish, Mackenzie's (2010) fronted quantifiers and the verb-initial declarative constructions referred to in the previous section,

¹⁴See, e.g., Cinque (1993), Reinhart (2006) and Sheehan (2010) for the suggestion that focus might be accounted for in prosodic terms.

¹⁵Note that if in fact the innovated feature which is responsible for focus is [+contrast] rather than [+focus], following Lopez 2009, that would account for the fact that left-peripheral focus is obligatorily contrastive in Modern Spanish but not in Old Spanish.

come in later varieties to signal verum/positive polarity focus. Poole suggests that this is an indication that displacement is driven in these later varieties by an information-structurally specified syntactic feature. In essence, low left-peripheral wide/focus is precluded because access to low left periphery now requires prior identification as a topicalized or focalized element, and therefore an element in the low left periphery which cannot be a topic must be focalizing *something*. Poole's suggestion is that these elements have in fact first been attracted to the specifier of ΣP /PolP, the projection which encodes sentence polarity, and represent focalization of that category, accounting for the verum focus interpretation.¹⁶

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¹⁶See Poole 2016 for much further discussion and Poole 2011 for another potentially relevant diachronic development relating to n-words.

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