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

**1 Introduction**

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

Fronting corresponds to different syntactic configurations (equally involving A’-dependencies and base-generation) and various discourse readings (sub-types of both topic and focus), namely: stylistic fronting (see Elvira 2018), fronted stage topics (either locative or temporal), deictic fronting (see Costa and Martins 2010, 2011), fronting in quotative inversion (see Leonetti 2017: 896), quantifier fronting, scrambling, clitic left dislocation (hereafter CLLD, see Bouzouita 2014; 2017) and focus fronting be it contrastive or informational (see Sitaridou 2011, Batllori and Hernanz 2015, a.o.). Although some authors use the term “fronting” as synonymous to focus fronting operations (see Cruschina 2008 et seq.; in fact, Cruschina uses the term exclusively for information focus, not for contrastive focus), others use it to suggest a type of non-focal fronting (see Leonetti 2017). We follow Biber et al (1999: 900) in that “fronting refers to the initial placement of core elements which are normally found in post-verbal position”. It follows that, for us, fronting is a theory-neuter term to capture different types of preposing and it is precisely this “informal vagueness” of the term (see Cormack and Neil 2000: 387), which partly motivates the present paper. To delimit the discussion on fronting types, we focus here on
stage topics, deictic fronting, fronting in quotative inversion, information/broad/weak\(^1\) focus (to be defined), and quantifier fronting, most of which involve verb-subject inversion and strict adjacency between the fronted element and the verb.

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

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

1.1 Texts, genres and methodology

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

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

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

(i) a. Modern Spanish
   Mi abuela dice que mucha chorrada hace el Gobierno.
   ‘My grandma says that the government keeps buggering about a lot.’
   (Gallego 2007: 221; Torrego 1980)

(ii) b. Modern Portuguese
   Muitos livros os meus pais me deram.
   ‘Many books did my parents give me’
   (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 691, footnote 19)

As is well-known, Uriagereka (1995) states that the examples under study in his work do not pattern with a V2 analysis and considers this type of constituents to be in a sentence internal ‘F category which encodes point of view’ (Uriagereka 1995: 163, 169). Ambar (1999) considers them as evaluative expressions.
epic poetry such as *Cantar de Mío Cid* (thereafter *Mío Cid)* to be closer to the oral organisation of discourse than Alfonso X’s *Estoria de España* and *General Estoria* (thereafter *GE&EE*)

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

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

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2 A 12th Century epic poem.
3 A 13th Century prose.
4 For instance, consider the copious use of *que* ‘that’ for both coordination and juxtaposition as well as for different types of embedded clauses (such as causal, purpose, concessive and conditional ones, among others) in combination with different verbal moods (indicative vs. subjunctive) and word order.
5 An early 13th Century itinerary with some parts translated from the Bible.
6 The suspected Gallo-Romance origin of the translator has been adduced to explain the abundance of Aragonese, Catalan or Occitan lexical and syntactic features (apart from the Hebrew syntactic loans attributable to the original text). However, in recent years the Gallo-Romance origin of the translator has been brought into question and has now generally been accepted that he could have indeed been from the Iberian Peninsula: *presents fautes caracterres aragoneses, por lo que tal vez habria que situar su redaccion en la zona fronteriza entre Castilla, Navarra y Aragon, a falta de datos precisos* (it presents a strong Aragonese character, which is why we could possibly situate its redaction in the border area between Castille, Navarre and Aragon) [translation our own] (Rodríguez Molina 2010: 747). This resonates with Sanchis Calvo (1991: 550), according to whom, *raços semejantes a los mencionados se encuentran en textos castellanos de fines del XII y de la primera mitad del XIII, época de fuerte influencia ultrapirenaica en España* (features similar to the ones mentioned are found in Castilian texts at the end of 12th Century and the first half of 13th Century which is an era marked by strong influence from across the Pyrenees in Spain) [translation our own]. In fact, Sanchis Calvo’s dissertation was supervised by Lapesa, who had labeled the influence of oriental features (Aragonese, Catalan or Occitan lexical and syntactic features (apart from the Hebrew syntactic loans attributable to the original text)). However, in recent years the Gallo-Romance origin of the translator has been brought into question and has now generally been accepted that he could have indeed been from the Iberian Peninsula: ‘presents fautes caracterres aragoneses, por lo que tal vez habria que situar su redaccion en la zona fronteriza entre Castilla, Navarra y Aragon, a falta de datos precisos’ (it presents a strong Aragonese character, which is why we could possibly situate its redaction in the border area between Castille, Navarre and Aragon) [translation our own] (Rodríguez Molina 2010: 747). This resonates with Sanchis Calvo (1991: 550), according to whom, ‘raços semejantes a los mencionados se encuentran en textos castellanos de fines del XII y de la primera mitad del XIII, época de fuerte influencia ultrapirenaica en España’ (features similar to the ones mentioned are found in Castilian texts at the end of 12th Century and the first half of 13th Century which is an era marked by strong influence from across the Pyrenees in Spain) [translation our own]. In fact, Sanchis Calvo’s dissertation was supervised by Lapesa, who had labeled the influence of oriental features (Aragonese, Catalan, Occitan, etc.) in the charters he had studied, as part of the Spanish koiné of that period.
7 One reviewer correctly points out that *Fazienda* contains parts of the Bible, which in itself is a collection of different text types (Rosemeyer and Enrique-Arias 2018; see also Vincis 2008; 2009, etc.). Therefore, the reviewer rightly suggests we should verify from which book of the Bible each fronting example comes from in order to determine its genre (e.g., lyrical, sapiential, narrative, prophetic, etc.). This is, in fact, the reason why the discourses contained in *Fazienda* and *GE* partly overlap. Crucially, this issue has not been taken into account in this paper — we leave this task to future work.
8 Notice that CORDE contains Moshé Lazar’s [Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca), 1965] edition of this work. We know that this edition has been recently described as riddled with interpretational errors (see Rodríguez Molina/Octavio Toledo y Huerta 2017: 10), but it is the edition chosen by RAE and we therefore, use it for methodological coherence; however, we scrutinized each case for any potential philological problems. For instance, in the case of *Mío Cid*, CORDE contains the edition by Montaner [Crítica (Barcelona), 1993]. We contrasted the data of Montaner’s edition with Menéndez Pidal’s paleographic edition [Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), 1961] and eventually adopted the verse numbering of the latter because CORDE does not include any numbering. As for *Fazienda*, we contrasted the data extracted from CORDE, whose edition is Lazar’s [Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca), 1965], with the actual book and we took the page numbering from the latter. With regards to General Estoria and Estoria de España que fizo el muy noble rey don Alfonso (or Estoria de España, which corresponds to different parts of Alfonso X’s work), the data from the former are extracted from CORDE as well as the data of the Estoria de España, which correspond to the...
The data sourced from the above-mentioned texts have not been treated statistically. In this sense, we agree with Leonetti (2017: 889) in that textual frequency “is not always a reliable criterion, since frequency may vary from one type of text to another” and, furthermore, we add, it is an even less reliable a criterion given that frequency can vary from one part (i.e., the prologue) to other parts of the same text.

1.2 The fronting puzzle

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

(1) Modern Spanish (Leonetti 2017: 910)

Más alumnos teníamos el año pasado.10
more students have.ipfv.ind.1pl the year pass.ptcp.m.sg
‘We had more students last year.’

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

(2) a. Modern Spanish (Leonetti and Escandell-Vidal 2009)

#Bastante trabajo tengo ya.
enough work have.prs.ind.1sg already
‘(Let me alone) I have ENOUGH WORK already.’

b. Ya tengo bastante trabajo.
already have.prs.ind.1sg enough work
‘I have enough work already.’

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

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

11 To illustrate a context in which (2a) can be produced, consider the following scenario: speaker A is disturbing speaker B, who has got a lot of work to do. In this context, speaker B would then say: “Déjame en paz. Bastante trabajo tengo hoy, como para estar aguantándote todo el día.” [Leave me in peace. I have got enough work today to be putting up with you as well.] Thus, (2a) is a discourse-linked utterance, whereby ‘ENOUGH WORK’ is not focused, yet it highlights the fact that speaker B has enough work. In terms of prosody, this type of construction has a different prosody from unmarked asserted sentences (a particular intonation, in fact). However, it is completely different from that of contrastive focused constituents.
Although Leonetti does not offer any technical implementation, his proposal is truly minimalist in spirit since it seems to rule out features like [focus] and/or [topic] from being present in the derivation. Nevertheless, at this point there are a few crucial questions with Leonetti’s analysis: (a) To what extent is this proposal tenable from a theoretical perspective given the well-known quantificational properties of focus versus topics; in other words, can topics and foci occupy the same position? (b) Even if we do not assume a cartography framework, but a minimalist one instead with fewer or even a single CP projection, which could presumably be occupied by both topics and foci, how would that work in terms of phases given that the verb is in T₀ (a weak one) and the fronted material is in spec-CP (a strong one) assuming, as we shall show, adjacency? (c) How are we going to explain the fact that although topics and foci occupy the same spec-CP position they trigger different configurations, namely enclisis and proclisis for pronominal object pronouns, respectively?

1.3 Hypotheses to test and main claims

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

a) If structural V2 is operative, we should not find any register variation affecting fronting possibilities; in other words, fronting should operate under identical structural conditions irrespective of register differences;

b) Fronting possibilities in Old Spanish should be fundamentally different from Modern Spanish ones, if the former was V2 and the latter is no longer so;

c) Non-focal fronting is an operation to “avoid focus” (as claimed for scrambling/interpolation by Martins (2002) for Old Portuguese) or it can actually convey information/broad/weak focus while still distinct from quantificational contrastive focus;

d) Contrastive focal fronting should have a different grammar from non-focal fronting given that the former is quantificational while the latter is not.

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

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

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

13 Our approach is strictly synchronic: we compare 13th C. Spanish to Modern Spanish. We cannot therefore rule out, at this stage of our research, that the Modern Spanish grammar may have accidentally developed a similar IS to the 13th C. one, without necessarily having stably remained so in the intervening centuries.
it got grammaticalised. Overall, our findings offer further support to the idea that Old Spanish declaratives exhibit an unmarked SVO order (Sitaridou 2011; 2012; 2019; Dufter and Octavio de Toledo 2014; Castillo Lluch and López Izquierdo 2015, and the works therein) and fronting, including OVS, should be considered an expression of different IS values (Sitaridou 2011; Eide and Sitaridou 2014; and Leonetti 2017) rather than V2.

2 Stage topics and deictic fronting in Old Spanish

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

(3) Modern Spanish (Ojea 2017: 80)
Hoy llegaron los turistas franceses.
‘The French tourists arrived today.’

(4) Modern Spanish (Ojea 2017: 80)
Aquí falta el catálogo de la exposición.
‘The exhibition catalogue is missing here.’

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

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

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

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


16 Recall that manuscripts show no commas — the latter are inserted by the editors.
(7f), and (7g) the subject is a left-peripheral topic (as indicated by the fact that the subject also precedes the adverb) and the reading of these sentences is not thetic but categorical (see also Granberg 1988; Bouzouita 2008a;b).

(6) Fronting of temporal expressions

a. (Cid: v. 951)
   Estonces se mudó el Cid al puerto de Alucant
   then =REFL move.PRF.3SG the Cid to the port of Alucant
   ‘Then Cid moved to the port of Alucant’

b. (Cid: v. 3199)
   luego se levantó mio Cid el Campeador
   immediatly =REFL stand.up.PRF.3SG my Cid the Campeador
   ‘Immediately after that my Cid, the Campeador, stood up’

c. (Cid: v. 2048)
   vós agora llegastes
   you now arrive.PRF.2SG
   ‘You have now arrived’

d. (Cid: v. 3470)
   nós antes abremos a ir a tierras de Carrión
   we before have.FUT.1PL to go.INF to lands of Carrion
   ‘Before we will have to go to the lands of Carrión’

e. (Cid: v. 3450)
   agora besaredes sus manos
   now kiss.PRF.2PL his hands
   ‘Now you will kiss his hands’

f. (Cid: v. 1504)
   agora llegarán
   now come.FUT.3PL
   ‘Now they will come’

g. (Cid: v. 373)
   agora nos partimos, Dios sabe el ayuntar
   now =REFL leave.PRS.IND.1PL God know.PRS.IND.3SG the congregation
   ‘Now we leave, God knows the congregation’

h. (Cid: v. 2808)
   e luego dent las partió17
   and after from.there =ACC.F.3PL made.leave.PRF.3SG
   ‘And afterwards he made them leave from there’

i. (Cid: v. 754)
   Oy en este día de vós abré grand bando
   today in this day from you have.FUT.1SG big help
   ‘Today I will have a big help from you’

(7) Fronting of locative expressions

a. (Cid: v. 3492)
   allí se tolrió el capiello el Cid Campeador
   there =REFL take.off.PRF.3SG the hat the Cid Campeador
   ‘There the Cid Campeador took off his hat’

17 One reviewer points out that preverbal clitic placement might be due to the fronting of the prepositional element dent ‘from there’ rather than the fronting of luego ‘after’ (see Bouzouita 2008a: 37–39; 2008b).
b. (Cid: v. 1126)
allí pareçrá el que merece la soldada
there appear.FUT.3SG the that deserve.PRS.IND.3SG the salary
‘There will appear the one that deserves the salary’

c. (Cid: v. 3730)
en este logar se acaba esta razón
in this place =REFL end.PRS.IND.3SG this reason
‘At this point this explanation is over’

d. (Cid: v. 573)
allí yogó mio Cid complidas quinze semanas
there lie.down.PRF.3SG my Cid pass.PTCP.F.PL fifteen weeks
‘there lay down my Cid for fifteen weeks’

e. (Cid: v. 1730)
Desd’allí se tornó el que en buen ora
from.there =REFL come.PRF.3SG the that in good hour
nasco
be.born.PRF.3SG
‘The one that was born at a fortunate hour came back from that place’

f. (Cid: v. 0565)
que el Campeador mio Cid allí avió
that the Campeador my Cid there have.IPFV.IND.3SG
poblado
settle.PTCP.M.SG
‘(It was known) that my Cid the Campeador had settled there’

g. (Cid: v. 506)
Estas ganancias allí eran juntadas
these profits there be.IPFV.IND.3PL gather.PTCP.F.PL
‘These revenues were gathered there’

h. (Cid: v. 2720)
Allí les tuellen los mantos e los pelliçones
there =DAT.3PL take.off.PRS.IND.3PL the cloaks & the fur-lined.coats
‘(The princes of Carrión) take their cloaks and fur-lined coats off there’

i. (Cid: v. 3653)
allá levó el almófar
there take.off.PRF.3SG the hood
‘There he took his hood off’

j. (Cid: v. 2578)
allá me levades las telas del corazón
there =DAT.1SG take.off.PRS.IND.2PL the clothes.of.the heart
‘there you take off the fabrics of my heart’

k. (Cid: v. 3119)
acá posaré con todos aquestos míos
here stay.FUT.1SG with all these mine
‘I will rest here with all these (knights) of mine’

l. (Cid: v. 900)
Aquel poyo, en él priso posada
that stone.bench in it take.PRF.3SG rest
‘On that stone bench, he rested on’

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

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

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Deictic fronting}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 2488)}
\begin{quote}
Assí lo fazen todos
so = ACC.M.3SG do.PRS.IND.3PL all
‘They all do it in this way’
\end{quote}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 983)}
\begin{quote}
Io coñosce mio Cid el de Bivar
at.this.time = ACC.M.3SG know.PRS.IND.3SG my Cid the of Vivar
‘In that moment Mio Cid, the one from Vivar, recognises him’
\end{quote}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 2633)}
\begin{quote}
assy fazían los cavalleros del Campeador
so do.IPFV.IND.3PL the knights of the Campeador
‘So did the knights of the Campeador’
\end{quote}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 1397)}
\begin{quote}
assy faga a vuestras fijas
so do.PRS.SBJV.3SG to your daughters
‘Like this he should do with your daughters’
\end{quote}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 259)}
\begin{quote}
yo assí vos lo mando
I thus = DAT.2PL = ACC.M.3SG order.PRS.IND.1SG
‘I order you (to do) it in this way’
\end{quote}
\item \textit{(Cid: v. 2258)}
\begin{quote}
Los vassallos de mio Cid assí son acordados
the vassals of my Cid in this.way be.PRS.IND.3PL agree.PTCP.M.3PL
‘the vassals of my Cid have agreed in this way’
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{18} An interesting issue, which can be subject to crosslinguistic variation, is the degree of deixis, which is morphologically encoded by the demonstrative pronouns — we leave this issue to future research.
g. (Cid: v. 92) 
\textit{el Poyo de mio Cid así} dirán por carta  
the stone.bench of my Cid so = ACC.M.3SG say.FUT.3PL by charter  
‘They will call it the Stone Bench of my Cid by charter’

h. (Cid: v. 2306) 
Quando los fallaron & ellos vinieron,  
when = ACC.M.3PL find.PRF.3PL & they come.PRF.3PL  
assi vinieron sin color\textsuperscript{19}  
so come.PRF.3PL without colour  
‘When they found them and they came, they came like this, completely pale’

i. (Cid: v. 2025) 
\textit{De aquesta guisa a los pies le cayó}  
of that manner to the feet = DAT.3SG fall.PRF.3SG  
‘In this way, he fell at his feet’

j. (Cid: v. 953) 
\textit{en aquessa corrida diez días} ovinieron a morar  
in this run ten days have.PRF.3PL to dwell.INF  
‘In this outing they had to stay 10 days’

k. (Cid: v. 3170) 
Con aquesta fabla tornaron a la cort  
with this speech come.back.PRF.3PL to.the court  
‘They went back to the court talking this way’

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{20} (7f) is the kind of assertive sentence in which main clause phenomena are allowed (left-peripheral subject topics, among them).
reading with a topic-comment partition in unaccusative configurations (following Leonetti 2017: 895). Incidentally, most often, when the subject is inverted or absent, the verb occupies the second position. However, this cannot be taken as evidence for a prototypical V2 configuration because many of the examples showing inversion exhibit, in fact, V3—as in (6c), (6d), (7f), (7g), (8e), (8f), (8g), (8i), (8k) (see Sitaridou 2019 for a detailed discussion on V3 constructions).

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

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

(9)

a. (Fazienda: 81)

E todo omne que avia cueta, alli yva
& all man that have.ipfv.ind.3sg problems there go.ipfv.ind.3sg
al(l) Nuestro Sennor pedir merced to.the Our Lord ask.INF mercy
‘And everybody who had problems, there they went to Our Lord to ask him for help’

b. (Fazienda: 112)

En la ribera de mare Galilee, a parte de syerço,
in the shore of sea Galilee at part of north.wind
alli fue a las bodas Jhesu Christo e Sancta Maria
there go.prf.3sg to the wedding Jesus Christ and Saint Mary
su madre
his mother
‘At the shore of the Sea of Galilee, at the north wind side, Jesus Christ and his mother Saint Mary went there to the wedding’

21 Elvira (2017: 158–159) defines the colon as a discursive unit with a prosodic stance, a piece of speech that can be characterised by the link between its particular intonation and the unit of information of spoken speech that it outlines. He adds that this unit does not necessarily have to coincide with the notions of focus and topic used in formal grammar.
c. (Fazienda: 137)
alli veno David e pidio las armas
here come.PR.3SG David & ask.PR.3SG the weapons
‘David went there and asked for the weapons’
d. (Fazienda: 115)
En cabo daquella fuent, alli fue soterrado Job
in direction of.that fountain there be.PR.3SG bury.PTCP.M.SG Job
‘Job was buried there, towards that fountain’
e. (Fazienda: 103)
Alli en Jerico estaba el ciego prueb de la carrera
there in Jerico be.IPFV.IND.3SG the blind near of the pathway
‘The blind (man) sat there, in Jerico, near the pathway’
f. (Fazienda: 145)
Agora afirmo el Sennor sue palabra que fablo
now confirm.PR.3SG the Lord his word that speak.PR.3SG
‘now our Lord confirmed the words that he had spoken’
g. (Fazienda: 101)
E agora dyovos el Criador tierra
& now give.PR.3SG. = DAT.2PL the Creator land
‘and now the Creator gave you land’
h. (Fazienda: 124)
Alli aduxieron los Phylisteos el arca del testament
there bring.PRF.3PL the Philistines the Arc of the Testament
‘The Philistines brought the Arc of Testament there’

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

(10) a. (Fazienda: 73)
Esto vos acomendo que cojades dello
this = DAT.2PL recommend.PRS.IND.1SG that take.PRS.SBJV.2PL of.it
cada uno .i. almud
each one one almud
‘This I recommend you, that you take one almud each’
b. (Fazienda: 152)
e dixo: [...] tornatvos cada uno a su
& say.PR.3SG. = DAT.3SG go.back.IMP.2PL. = REFL each one to his
casa”. e assi lo fizeron [e] tornaronse
house & so = ACC.N.3SG do.PRF.3PL & go.back.PRF.3PL. = REFL
‘And told him: go back home. And so they did.’
c. (Fazienda: 89)
E assi lo fico
& so = ACC.N.3SG do.PRF.3SG
‘And so he did’
d. (Fazienda: 153)
Assi fue la ara crebantada
so be.PRF.3SG the altar break.PTCP.F.SG
‘The altar was broken in this way’
e. (Fazienda: 136)
alli aduxieron fíjos de Israel los huessos
there bring.PRF.3PL sons of Israel the bones
‘The sons of Israel brought the bones there’

f. (Fazienda: 115)
En aquella plaça, aquella fontana de Medan, allis
in that square that spring of Medan there.
=REFL aplega grant cavalleria e grant yent ...
gather.PRS.IND.3SG big cavalry & big people
‘In that square, in that spring of Medan, there gather a great cavalry and many people’

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

(11)  a. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 335r)
a la muerte deste puerco se ayuntaron [...] to the death of this pig =REFL gather.PRF.3PL
Alli uinieron otrossi Castor & Pollux fíjos de la reyna there come.PRF.3PL also Castor & Pollux sons of the queen Leda
Leda
‘when this pig was dead, they gathered ...There came Castor & Pollux, sons of Queen Leda’

b. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 335r)
Alli llego estonces el poder de los de dentro there arrive.PRF.3SG then the power of the of inside
‘then there came the power of those who where inside’

c. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Estoria de España, II, fol. 301v)
Et alli estauan unas compannas de moros & there be.IPFV.IND.3PL ones companies of Moors
‘And there were several groups of Moors’

d. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X. General Estoria, fol. 140v)
Alli se tornaron ellos otra uez there =REFL come.back.PRF.3PL they another time
‘they came back there again’

e. (CORDE: c.1270. Alfonso X. Estoria de Espanna)
Agora uos diremos de los consules now =DAT.2PL say.FUT.1PL of the consuls
‘now we will talk about the consuls’

f. (CORDE: c.1270. Alfonso X. Estoria de Espanna)
Agora uos digo que esta es toda su fuerça now =DAT.2PL say.PRS.IND.1SG that this be.PRS.IND.3SG all his force
‘Now I tell you that this is all his force’

We include the information regarding site of extraction of data because we want to be explicit as to which data were extracted from corpora and contrasted with the corresponding edition in books (see Cantar de Mío Cid and Fazienda) and which ones from databases. Only the former bear page numbers and the number of verses in the references.
g. (CORDE: c.1270–1284. Alfonso X. Estoria de España, II)
Agora empos esto aun diremos de otros fechos del Rey don Fernando
‘Now, after this, we will tell (you) of the deeds of Sir Fernando, the King’

h. (CORDE: c. 1275. Alfonso X, General Estoria, fol. 257v)
Assi acaescio que quando yo era mancebilla
‘It happened in this way, that when I was young, I took as husband a king who was called Layo.’

i. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II, fol. 198v)
Asi las leuaron muy bien & muy onrrada mientre pora
‘So they brought them very well and very honestly to the Cid’

j. (CORDE: c. 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna, fol. 116r)
En aquella sazon se començo en Nero la primera de las doze persecutiones
‘In that way it started in Nero one of the twelve persecutions’

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

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

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

(i) Esto feches agora, ál feredes adelant
   (Cid: v. 896)

(ii) por la su voluntad non serién allí llegados
   (Cid: v. 2349)
3 Quotative inversion in Old Spanish

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

(12) a. (Cid: v. 3143)
   Agora demande *mio Cid el Campeador*...
   ‘Now my Cid the Campeador should ask’

b. (Cid: v. 1505)
   Essora dixo *Minaya*: -¡*Vaimos cavalgar!*-
   ‘Then Minaya said: – “Let’s go and ride!”’

c. (Cid: v. 1947)
   Essora dixo *el Cid*: -¡*Plazme de corazón!*-
   ‘Then the Cid said: – “it really pleases me!”’

d. (Cid: v. 3237)
   Luego respondió *el conde don Remond*: - El oro...
   ‘Immediately after the count sir Remond answered: – “The gold …”’

e. (Cid: v. 3467)
   Luego fablaron *infantes de Carrión*: - Dandos ...
   ‘Immediately after the infantes of Carrión spoke: – “Give us…”’

f. (Cid: v. 1262)
   Allí dixo *Minaya*: - Consejo es aguisado.
   ‘There Minaya said: -“the council is prepared.”’

g. (Cid: v. 3212)
   assí dezimos *nós*: a lo que demanda *el Cid*...
   ‘(If it pleases our king) so we say: “Whatever the Cid asks (you help him with)”’

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

(13) a. (Cid: vv. 1193–1195)
   Quien quiere *ir comigo cercar a Valencia*
   who want.PRS.IND.3sg go.INF with.me siege.INF to Valencia
   (todos vengan de grado, ninguno no ha)
   all come.PRS.SBJV.3PL of pleasure nobody not have.PRS.IND.3sg
   premia), tres días le speraré en Canal de Celfa
   ‘(If it pleases our king) so we say: “Whatever the Cid asks (you help him with)”’
hurry three days = \text{DAT.3SG wait.FUT.1SG} in Canal of Celfa 

Esta dijo \textit{mio Cid}, el que en buen ora nasco 

this \text{say.PR.F.3SG my Cid the that in good time be.born.PR.3SG}

“Who wants to come with me to render Valencia under siege? All should be pleased to come, nobody must be in a hurry. I will wait for everyone in Canal de Celfa.” My Cid, the one who was born the right time, said this.’

b. (Cid: vv. 2197–2198)

A vós digo, mis hijas, don Elvira e doña Sol, 
to you \text{say.PRS.IND.1SG my daughters lady Elvira and lady Sol}
d’este vuestro casamiento creçremos en onor 
of.this your wedding \text{grow.FUT.1PL in honour}

‘I tell you, my daughters, Lady Elvira and Lady Sol, we will gain honour by (having) this wedding’

c. (Cid: vv. 2954)

Verdad te digo yo que me 

truth = \text{DAT.2SG say.PRS.IND.1SG I that = DAT.1SG}
pesa de corazón 

regret.PRS.IND.3SG of heart

‘I tell you the truth that I deeply regret’

d. (Cid: vv. 2724–2725)

Cuando esto vieron las dueñas, fablava doña Sol: 

when this \text{see.PR.F.3PL the ladies speak.IP.FV.IND.3SG lady Sol}

- ¡Don Diego e don Ferrando, rogámosvos por Dios! 

- sir Diego & sir Ferrando beg.PRS.IND.1PL = DAT.2PL by God

‘When the ladies saw this, Lady Sol said: — “Sir Diego and Sir Ferrando, we beg you for God’s sake’”

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


Entonces dijo ella: “Pues vamos disfrazadas” … 

then \text{say.PR.F.3SG she so go.PRS.IND.1PL dressed-up.PTCP.F.PL}

‘Then she said: “So we go and dress up’”


- La muerte todo lo iguala. 

- the death all = ACC.N.3SG equal.PRS.IND.3SG this \text{say.PR.F.3SG}

la afable María Gloria … 

the afable Mary Glory

‘The affable Mary Glory said this: “Death is the great equaliser’”
As for *Fazienda*, XVS also denotes narrow focus on the subject, as illustrated in (15):

(15)  

a. (Fazienda: 194)  
El Sennor de los fonsados:  
Assi diz el Sennor de los fonsados: Tornat …  
so say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord of the armies go.back.IMP.2PL  
‘So says the Lord of the armies: go back …’

b. (Fazienda: 197)  
Cirus, rey de Persia:  
Assi diz Cirus, rey de Persia: Todos …  
so say.PRS.IND.3SG Cirus king of Persia all  
‘So says Cirus, king of Persia: “all…”’

c. (Fazienda: 129)  
El Criador:  
Assi dize el Criador: con estos descornaras a los  
so say.PRS.IND.3SG the Creator with these dehorn.FUT.2SG to the  
de …  
of  
‘So says the Creator: “With these you will dehorn the ones of (Syria)”’

d. (Fazienda: 145)  
Salomon:  
Esto[n]z dicho Salomon: “El Sennor …”  
then say.PRF.3SG Salomon the Lord  
Then Salomon said: “Our Lord …”

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

(16)  

a. (Fazienda: 64)  
El Sennor Dios de Israel:  
Esto diz el Sennor Dios de Israel: dexa mio  
this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord God of Israel leave.IMP.2SG my  
people  
‘Our Lord, God of Israel says this: “Leave my people …”’

b. (Fazienda: 168)  
El Sennor de los fonnssados de Jherusalem:  
Esto diz el Sennor de los fonnssados de Jherusalem:  
this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord of the armies of Jerusalem  
Folgad …  
be.at.leisure.IMP.2PL  
‘The Lord of the armies of Jerusalem says this: “Be at leisure …”’

c. (Fazienda: 179)  
La letra:  
Esto diz la letra: mene mene tequel ufarcin …  
this say.PRS.IND.3SG the letter mene mene tequel ufarcin  
‘The letter says this: “mene mene tequel ufarcin…”’

(17)  

a. (Fazienda: 179)  
Respuesto Daniel e dixo:  
Respusto Daniel e dixo: “Rey,…   
answer.PRF.3SG Daniel & say.PRF.3SG king  
‘Daniel answered and said: “King, …”’

b. (Fazienda: 45)  
E dixo el:  
E dixo el: “Non, ca reyst”  
& say.PRF.3SG he no because laugh.PRF.2SG  
‘And he said: “no, because you laughed”’
c. (Fazienda: 46)
E dixo la maior a la menor: “Nuestro padre es vyeio…
‘And the oldest said to the youngest: “Our father is old…”’

d. (Fazienda: 47)
E dixo Jacob: “Yo so”
‘And Jacob said: “I am”’

e. (Fazienda: 57)
edixoles Josep: “Que fiziestes?…
‘And Joseph said: “What did you do?”’

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

(18) a. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
Essoral dixo el portero muy omillosamientre.
‘At that time, the porter told him very humbly: “Sir, there is a man at the door…”’

b. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
Esto dize el sennor. & tendre la mi mano sobre this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord & have.FUT.1SG the my hand on Judas.
‘The Lord says this: “And I will have my hand on Judas”

c. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
ensuziada eres en tu maldat ante mi. Esto dirty.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.IND.2SG in your wickedness before me this
dize el sennor dios say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord God
‘God, our Lord, says this: “You are dirty to my eyes because of your wickedness”’

d. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
Enuia a toda la trasmigracion. & dezirles send.PRS.IND.3SG to all the migration & say. INF = DAT.3PL as.
Esto dize el sennor a Semeyas have.AUX.PRS.IND.2SG this say.PRS.IND.3SG the Lord to Semeyas

24 By ‘epic flavour’ essentially we mean that this is an oral narration of a story in which the narrator uses several strategies to keep the attention of the audience, quotative inversion being one such strategy.
de Neelamit.
of Neelamit
‘Send them to the migration and you shall tell them: “This says our Lord to Semeyas of Neelamit’

e. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
& dixo el Rey daniel por que non aoras tu & say.PRF.3SG the king Daniel for that not worship.PRS.IND.2SG you a bel. Respondio el & dixo. Sennor rey. Estos to Bel answer.PRF.3SG he & say.PRF.3SG sir king these ydolos fechos son con mano de omne idols do.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.IND.3PL with hand of man ‘And king Daniel said: “Why don’t you worship Bel?”. He answered and said: “Sir, my king, these idols are made by men”

f. (CORDE: c. 1270. Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna, 1st paragraph)
Aqui dixo ponpeyo a sus compannas. amigos aquí here say.PRF.3SG Pompeyo to his companions friends here aprendet que la luna clara ... learn.IMP.2PL that the moon bright ‘Here Pompeyo said to his troops: “Dear friends, learn here that the bright moon...’

g. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Estoria de España, 2nd paragraph)
Aqui dixo aquella buena mandadera a la Jnfante donna here say.PRF.3SG that good maiden to the infant lady Sancha. Sennora. Ruego uos [...] que uayades Sancha Lady pray.PRS.IND.1SG = DAT.2PL that go.PRS.SBJV.2PL a el. to him ‘Here, that good maiden said to the Infante Lady Sancha: “Milady, I beg you to go to him’

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

Eso dixo Francisco de Quevedo. No he this say.PRF.3SG Francisco de Quevedo not have.PRS.IND.1SG de callar por más que coaccione ese señor en el of shut.up.INF for more that coerce.PRS.SBJV.3SG this man in the poder asido power handle.PTCP.M.SG ‘Francisco de Quevedo said this: “I shall not shut up even if that nobleman with great power coerces me’

Entonces respondió Tobías a su padre, diciendo: then answer.PRF.3SG Tobías to his father say.PROG Haré [...] todo lo que me has mandado. do.FUT.1SG all the that = DAT.1SG have.PRS.IND.3G order.PTCP.M.SG ‘Then Tobías answered his father and said: “I will carry out all that you ordered me’
4 Quantifier fronting

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

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

(20)

a. (Cid: v. 1680)
mucho avién hecho
a.lot have.IPFV.IND.3PL do.PTCP.M.SG
‘They had done a lot’

b. (Cid: v. 321)
muchu avemos de andar
a.lot have.PRS.IND.1PL of walk.INF
‘We will have to walk a lot’

c. (Cid: v. 2151)
Mio Cid Ruy Díaz, mucho me avedes ondrado
my Cid Ruy Días a.lot =dat.1SG have.PRS.IND.2PL honour.PTCP.M.SG
‘My Cid Ruy Días, you have honoured me a lot’

d. (Cid: v. 2683)
poco precio las nuevas de los de Carrión
little appreciate.PRS.IND.1SG the news of the of Carrión
‘Little do I appreciate the news of those from Carrión’

e. (Cid: v. 245)
con tan grant gozo reciben al que en buen ora
with such great pleasure meet.PRS.IND.3PL to.the that in good time
nasco
be.born.PRF.3SG
‘They met with such a great pleasure the one who was born in good time’

f. (Cid: v. 2438)
Algo veyé mio Cid de lo que era
something see.IPFV.IND.3SG my Cid of the that be.IPFV.IND.3SG
pagado
please.PTCP.M.SG
‘Something My Cid saw that pleased him’

In the second type of QP fronting, the preposed quantifier modifies the predicate of a copulative sentence with ser ‘to be’ (21a,b) or the definite direct object of a light verb construction with aue ‘to have’—see (21c). The sentences in (21) are all ungrammatical in Modern Spanish (22). As shown in (22), (21a) and (21b) would be expressed by means of muy ‘very’ nowadays, whereas (22c) would need a subject experiencer verb because the arguments of Old Spanish aue25 denoted alienable possession, but this value is no longer available with

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

(21) a. (Cid: v. 881)
Diex el rey: - Mucho es mañana ...
say.PRF.3SG the king a.lot be.PRS.IND.3SG early
The king said: “It is very early…”

b. (Cid: v. 1731)
muchu era alegre de lo que an
a.lot be.IPV.F.IND.3SG happy of the that have.PRS.IND.3PL
cacado
hunt.PTCP.M.SG
‘He was very happy about what they had hunted’

c. (Cid: v. 2023)
tanto avié el gozo mayor
so.much have.IPV.F.IND.3SG the pleasure greater
‘He felt such a great pleasure’

d. (Cid: v. 18)
tanto avién el dolor
so.much have.IPV.F.IND.3PL the pain
‘They felt such a pain’

e. (Cid: v. 6)
Sospiró mio Cid, ca mucho avié grandes cuidados
sigh.PRF.3SG my Cid for a.lot have.IPV.F.IND.3SG great hardships
‘My Cid sighed because he had to endure such great hardships’

f. (Cid: v. 859)
al exir de Salón mucho ovo buenas aves
to.the go.out.INF of Salón a.lot have.PRF.3SG good birds
‘When they went out of Salón, they had many good premonitions’

(22) a. Modern Spanish
Es muy temprano
be.PRS.IND.3SG very early
‘It is very early’

b. Estaba muy alegre por lo que cazaron
be.IPV.F.IND.3SG very happy for the that hunt.PRF.3PL
‘He was very happy about what they had hunted’

c. Sentía muy gran gozo
feel.IPV.F.IND.3SG very great pleasure
‘He felt a very great pleasure’

d. Sentía mucho dolor
feel.IPV.F.IND.3SG a.lot pain
‘He felt a lot of pain’

e. Muy alegre estaba por lo que cazaron
very happy be.IPV.F.IND.3SG for the that hunt.PRF.3PL
‘Very happy he was for what they had hunted’
f. Mucho gozo fue lo que sintieron.
   ‘A great pleasure was what they felt’

g. Un muy gran dolor fue lo que sintieron.
   ‘A great pain was what they felt’

h. Muy grandes problemas fue lo que tuvieron.
   ‘They had serious problems’

i. Muy buenas predicciones fue lo que tuvieron.
   ‘They had very good premonitions’

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

(23) a. (Cid: v. 2529)
   tantos avemos de averes que no son contados
   ‘We have so many possessions that they cannot be counted’

b. (Cid, v. 785)
   Tantos moros yazen muertos que pocos bivos á dexados
   ‘There were so many Moors lying dead that he has left just a few alive’

c. (Cid: v. 1800)
   Alegres son por Valencia las yentes cristianas, ¡tantos
   have.IPfv.IND.3PL of possessions of horses & of weapons
   ‘The Christians were happy in Valencia. So many goods, and horses and weapons they had!’

Interestingly, the only type of QP fronting attested in Fazienda (scarce though), is the first type (i.e., the one still available in Modern Spanish)—see (24a). The second type of quantification for which we would use muy ‘very’ nowadays is also attested, but in this case the quantifier appears before or after the predicate it modifies—see (24b) and (24c), respectively. Otherwise, sentence-final position of the quantifier yields quantification over the whole sentence, as in (24d). In (24c) it quantifies the clause fue albergada and in (24d), the purpose clause fer bevir pueblo ‘make people live’.
(24) a. (Fazienda: 50)

*aquel Sennor me ampara de Esau mio ermano ca\‘*

This Lord protect.PRS.IND.3SG of Esau my brother for

yo mucho temo

I fear.PRS.IND.1SG

‘(This Lord protects me from Esau, my brother,) because I very much fear him’

b. (Fazienda: 69)

*Moysen era mucho onrado en toda tierra de Egipto\‘*

Moysen be.IPfv.IND.3SG very honour.PTCP.M.SG in all land of Egypt

‘Moysen was very much revered everywhere in Egypt’

c. (Fazienda: 60–61)

*E subieron con el carros [...] e fue albergada & grant mucho\‘*

And (some) carriages went up with him and she was greatly hosted

mucho

‘And you inflicted me evil and God turned it into good, as is today so as to make people live more’

d. (Fazienda: 61)

*E vos cueydastes sobre mi mal e Dios tornolo en bien, como oy es por fer bevir pueblo mucho much\‘*

‘And you inflicted me evil and God turned it into good, as is today so as to make people live more’

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

(25) a. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. II part)

*Mucho se trauaieron los de fuera\‘*

The ones that were outside worked hard

b. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)

*Mucho se marauillo estonces el Rey Nabuchodonosor\‘*

King Nebuchadnezzar was then much amazed.’
c. (CORDE: c 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. IV part)
Mucho plogo al Rey con aquellas razones
a.lot please.PRF.3SG to.the king with those reasons
‘The king was much pleased with those explanations’

d. (CORDE: c 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna)
Mucho mal fezist & fazes
a.lot evil do.PRF.2SG & do.PRS.IND.2SG
‘You did and still do much evil’

e. (CORDE: 1270 – 1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)
Mucho fue el algo que aquel dia alli ganaron
a.lot be.PRF.3SG the something that that day there win.PRF.3PL
‘What they won there that day was really a lot’

f. (CORDE: a 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. III part)
Poco dormirás e poco te adormeztrás,
little sleep.FUT.2SG & little = refl fall.asleep.FUT.2SG
‘Little will you sleep and little will you fall asleep’

g. (CORDE: a 1280, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part)
Poco valen los fijos que fazen ante de tres
little be.worth.PRS.IND.3PL the sons that do.PRS.IND.3PL before three
años
years
‘The sons that are under three years old are worth little’

& dixo que mucho era triste […] por que el &
& say.PRF.3SG that much be.IPV.IND.3SG sad for that he &
sus onbres non murieran alli con sos yernos
his men not die.IPV.SBJV.3PL there with their sons-in-law
‘And he said that he was very sad indeed because he and his men had not
died there with their sons-in-law’

b. (1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II, paragraph 7; Elvira 2017: 164)
Mucho fueron grandes las onrras que el Rey mando
a.lot be.PRF.3PL big the honours that the king order.PRF.3SG
fazer al cuerpo del Cid
do.INF to.the corpse of the Cid
‘The funeral honours that the king ordered for the corpse of the Cid were
great indeed’

c. (CORDE: c 1270, Alfonso X, Estoria de Espanna)
Mucho era bien andant enaas en affrica con la
a.lot be.IPV.IND.3SG well walk.PRS.PTCP Eneas in Africa with the
reyna
queen
‘Eneas was fortunate indeed with the queen in Africa’

d. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)
Mucho fue ferida esta fazienza en poca de ora.
a.lot be.PRF.3SG damage.PTCP.F.SG this property in little of hour
‘This property was damaged indeed in a few hours.’

e. (CORDE: 1270–1284, Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II)
Mucho fue grant la persia
much be.PRF.3SG great the Persia
‘Persia was great indeed’
As previously seen, this second type of QP fronting might have expressed an informational focus-background partition in Old Spanish comparable to the one exhibited by the examples in (27f) and (27g), which might be given the same value as Modern Spanish clefts and thus denote contrastive narrow focus on the fronted constituent.

5 Information/broad/weak focus fronting

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

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

(27) Object fronting

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. (Cid: v. 38) } & \quad \text{una ferida·l’ dava} \\
& \quad \text{an injury. = DAT.3SG give.IPV.IND.3SG} \\
& \quad \text{‘He inflicted injury to him’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. (Cid: v. 705) } & \quad \text{la seña tiene en mano} \\
& \quad \text{the sign have.PRS.IND.3SG in hand} \\
& \quad \text{‘he has the sign in his hand’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{c. (Cid: v. 319) } & \quad \text{la missa nos dirá, ésta será de Santa Trinidad} \\
& \quad \text{the mass = DAT.1PL say.FUT.3SG this be.FUT.3SG of Saint Trinity} \\
& \quad \text{‘They will celebrate the mass and it will be of Saint Trinity’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{d. (Cid: v. 285) } & \quad \text{Grand yantar le fazen al buen Campeador} \\
& \quad \text{great meal = DAT.3SG do.PRS.IND.3PL to.the good Campeador} \\
& \quad \text{‘They prepare a great meal for the good Campeador’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{e. (Cid: v. 486) } & \quad \text{el castiello dexó en so poder} \\
& \quad \text{the castle leave.PRF.3SG in their power} \\
& \quad \text{‘He left the castle under their command’}
\end{align*}\]

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

\(^{27}\) Note that OVS can also be interpreted as contrastive focus fronting in Old Spanish but we are not dealing with this type of focus here (but see Eide and Sitaridou 2014).
f. (Cid: v. 1284)
ciento omnes le dio mio Cid a Álbar Fáñez
hundred men give.prf.3sg my Cid to Álbar Fáñez
‘Mio Cid gave a hundred men to Álbar Fáñez’

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

Crucially, object fronting has become much more restrictive in Modern Spanish (Sitaridou 2011; Leonetti 2017: 927). From the Old Spanish examples in (27), only (27i) would still be grammatical in Modern Spanish and this only with a *verum focus* interpretation. The current ungrammaticality of almost all examples in (27) supports, in our view, the independently argued assumption that Old Spanish could have had a preverbal informational focus position (see Sitaridou 2011: 178; 2015: 133; 2019; Batllori 2015; and even Elvira 2017 who argues in favour of the informational focus value of the colon). If so, in this respect, our analysis differs from Leonetti (2017) who, although he does not explicitly commit about syntactic positions, he seems to favour a single position for the fronted
material. Leaving aside for a moment where Leonetti’s single position might be (spec-CP or spec-TP?), in the previous sections we came to the conclusion that certain fronted expressions can be either in the left periphery or in spec-TP (as is still the case in Modern Spanish). Nevertheless, we are still left with cases of object fronting for which neither the spec-TP nor a quantificational focus position in the left periphery seems to be the right host. So, in Old Spanish either there is an additional focus position immediately above TP, or the spec-TP could have hosted fronted objects whereas, clearly, it can no longer do so in Modern Spanish. We find the latter less plausible.

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

(28)  Adjunct fronting
a.  (Cid: v. 244)
Con lunbres e con candelas al corral dieron salto
with lights & with candles to.the stockyard give.PRF.3SG jump
‘He jumped into the stockyard with lights and candles’

b.  (Cid: v. 471)
en mano trae desnuda el espada
in hand carry.PRS.IND.3SG naked the sword
‘he waves the naked sword in his hand’

c.  (Cid: v. 555)
en un otero redondo, fuerte e grand; acerca corre Salón
in a hillock round strong & big near flow.PRS.IND.3SG Salón
‘in a strong round big hillock; Salón flows nearby’

d.  (Cid: v. 1592)
En cabo del cosso mio Cid descavalgava
at end of.the enclosure my Cid dismount. IPFV.IND.3SG
‘My Cid dismounted at the end of the enclosure’

(29)  Adverbial fronting
a.  (Cid: v. 2204)
bien me lo creades que él vos
casa marry.PRS.IND.3SG
‘You should indeed believe me that he is going to marry you’

b.  (Cid: v. 2667)
un moro latinado bien ge lo entendió
a Moor latinised well = DAT.3SG = ACC.N.3SG hear.PRF.3SG
‘A Moor who spoke Romance indeed heard it’

c.  (Cid: v. 82)
bien lo vedes que yo no trayo nada
indeed = ACC.N.3SG see.PRS.IND.2PL that I not bring.PRF.3SG nothing
‘You can really see that I don’t bring anything’
d. (Cid: v. 2576)
   bien lo sabedes vós que las gané
   well = ACC.N.3SG know.PRS.IND.2PL you that = ACC.F.3PL win.PRF.1SG
   a guisa de varón
to manner of man
   ‘You know it indeed, that I won them like a man’

e. (Cid: v. 3311)
   bien lo sabedes, que yo non puedo
   well = ACC.N.3SG know.PRS.IND.2PL that I not be.able.PRS.IND.1SG
   más more
   ‘You know it indeed, that I cannot do anything else’

f. (Cid: v. 2995)
   Ya lo vieron qué es a fer los
   well = ACC.N.3SG see.PRF.3PL what be.PRS.IND.3SG to do.INF the
   ifantes de Carrión
   infantes of Carrión
   ‘The infants of Carrión knew indeed what they had to do’

g. (Cid: v. 2941)
   Ya vós sabedes la ondra que es
   indeed you know.PRS.IND.2PL the honour that be.PRS.IND.3SG
   cuntida a nós
   happen.PTCP.F.SG to us
   ‘You really know the honours that have been bestowed upon us’

h. (Cid: v. 50)
   Ya lo vee el Cid, que del rey non
   indeed = ACC.N.3SG see.PRS.IND.3SG the Cid that the king not
   avié gracia
   have.IPVF.IND.3SG mercy
   ‘The Cid can indeed see that the king did not have any mercy’

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

(30) Adjectival fronting
   a. (Cid: v. 1307)
      Alegre fue Minaya e spidiós’ &
      happy be.PRF.3SG Minaya & see.off.PRF.3SG. = REFL &
      vínos’
      come.PRF.3SG. = REFL
      ‘Minaya was happy and said farewell and left’

   b. (Cid: v. 1314)
      Alegre fue de acesto Minaya Álbar Fáñez
      happy be.PRF.3SG of this Minaya Albar Fáñez
      ‘Minaya Álbar Fáñez was very happy about this’

   c. Alegre es el conde
      happy be.PRS.IND.3SG the count
      ‘The count is happy’
      (Cid: v. 1049)
d. Grant fue el día en la cort del Campeador
great be.PRF.3SG the day in the court of the Campeador
‘The day was great in the court of the Campeador’
(Cid: v. 2474)

(31) a. Modern Spanish
Alegre estuvo por todo esto Minaya/ el conde
be.PRF.3SG for all this Minaya the count
‘It was happy that Minaya/ the count was’
b. Grande fue el día en la corte
great be.PRF.3SG the day in the court
‘It was great that the day in court was’

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

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

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

(33) Infinitives
a. (Cid: v. 528)
buscarnos ie el rey Alfonso con
search.INF. = ACC.2PL have.AUX.IPFV.IND.3SG the king Alfonso with
toda su mesnada
two his army
‘The king Alfonso would look for us with all his army’

b. (Cid: v. 21)
Conbidarle ien de-grado
invite.INF. = DAT.3SG have.AUX.IPFV.IND.3PL readily
‘They would invite him readily’

c. (Cid: v. 251)
servos han doblados
be.INF. = DAT.2PL have.AUX.PRS.IND.3PL double.PTCP.M.PL
‘They will be doubled for you’

d. (Cid: v. 2733)
retraérvoslo han en vistas
reproach.INF. = DAT.2PL = ACC.N.3SG have.AUX.PRS.IND.3PL in hearings
o en cortes
or in assemblies
‘They are going to reproach it to you in hearings or in assemblies’

e. (Cid: v. 662)
Mesnadas de mio Cid exir querién a la batalla
armies of my Cid go.out.INF want.IPFV.IND.3PL to the battle
‘The army of my Cid wanted to go and start the battle’

f. (Cid: v. 1274)
d’estas mis ganancias que avemos fechas acá
of.these my profits that have.PRS.IND.1PL made.PTCP.F.PL here
darle quiero ciento caballos
give.INF. = DAT.3SG want.PRS.IND.1SG hundred horses
‘I want to give him a hundred horses of the profits we have made here’

g. (Cid: v. 1620)
Dezirvos quiero nuevas de allent partes del
say.INF. = DAT.2PL want.PRS.IND.1SG news of beyond parts of the
mar sea
‘I want to tell you some news from beyond the sea’

(34) Gerunds
a. (Cid: v. 2419)
el de mio Cid, alcançándolo va
the of my Cid catch.up.PROG. = ACC.M.3SG go.PRS.IND.3SG
‘The one of my Cid is fetching it’
b. (Cid: v. 287)
Por Castiella oyendo van los pregones
through Castile hear.PROG go.PRS.IND.3PL the proclamations
‘All around Castile the proclamations can be heard’

c. (Cid: v. 377)
l’a cabeza tornando va
the head turn.PROG go.PRS.IND.3SG
‘He is turning his head’

d. (Cid: v. 2419)
Bavieca, el de mio Cid, alcançándolo va
Bavieca the of my Cid reach.PROG. = ACC.M.3SG go.PRS.IND.3SG
‘Bavieca, the horse of my Cid, is fetching it’

e. (Cid: v. 607)
dexando van los delant
leave.PROG go.PRS.IND.3PL = ACC.M.3PL in.front
‘The ones in front are leaving them behind’

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

(35) a. Object fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, General Estoria, I part: fol. 62v)
E este logar mostro dios a Abraham
& this place show.PROF.3SG God to Abraham
‘And God showed Abraham this place’

b. Adjunct fronting (Fazienda: 43)
De Ebron Enbio Jacob so fijo Josep a Sychem
from Ebron send.PROF.3SG Jacob his son Joseph to Sychem
‘Jacob sent Joseph, his son, from Ebron to Sychem’

c. Adverb fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. II part: fol. 102v)
Et tu eres aquell uaron que me ouo
& you be.PROF.IND.2SG that man who = ACC.M.1SG have.PROF.3SG
primero. & bien lo sabes tu
first & indeed = ACC.N.3SG know.PROF.IND.2SG you
‘And you are the man who had me first. And indeed you know this’

d. Adjective fronting (Fazienda: 72)
Non podian bever de las aguas de Mara(z)
not be.able.IPV.IND.3PL drink.INF of the waters of Maraz
que amargas eran
that bitter be.IPV.IND.3PL
‘They could not drink the water of Maraz because it was bitter’

e. Participle fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part: fol. 302v)
Yo entiendo que Dios ama mucho a
I understand.PROF.IND.1SG that God love.PROF.IND.3SG a.lot to
aqueste pueblo por que me vos venides
these people for that = DAT.1SG you come.PROF.IND.2PL
rogar quel vaya yo a maldezir, e esto
beg.INF that. = DAT.3SG go.PROF.SBJV.3SG I to curse.INF & this
dicho lo é ya
say.PTCP.M.SG = ACC.N.3SG have.PRS.IND.1SG already
‘I understand that God really loves these people to whom you come and beg me to curse, and this I have already said.’

f. Infinitive fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part: fol. 302v)

Infinitive fronting (CORDE: c. 1275, Alfonso X, General Estoria. I part: fol. 302v)
e tener lo fa por buen seso que non & have.INF = ACC.N.3SG have.IPFV.IND.3SG for good sense that not desamásedes a aquella yente have.lack.of.affection.IPFV.SBJV.2PL to that people
‘And I would consider it sensible if you did not withdraw affection from that people’


Estos luego corriendo fueron a los grandes palacios these immediately run.PROG go.PRF.3PL to the big palaces a se lo decir to = DAT.3SG = ACC.N.3SG say.INF
‘And these went hurriedly to the big palaces to tell him’

6 Diachronic implications and conclusion

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of fronting</th>
<th>Cantar de Mío Cid</th>
<th>La Fazienda de Ultra Mar</th>
<th>Estoria de España and General Estoria</th>
<th>Modern Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>epic</td>
<td>prose (more oral)</td>
<td>prose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stage topic fronting</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quotative inversion</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantifier fronting</td>
<td>superlative quantification of the alienable abstract noun</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information/broad/weak focus</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
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</table>
of which conveys *verum focus*; this type has been preserved until today; (d) the type of fronting which has changed most is without a doubt information/broad/weak focus fronting of both objects and non-finite verb forms thus supporting the idea that (e) Spanish has lost one focus position specifically designated for information/broad/weak focus in the left periphery. In the few cases it survives it has become more restrictive in Modern Spanish and it does not denote any broad focus anymore, but has instead grammaticalised further into *verum focus* (or into a synthetic tense in the case of the futures and conditionals).

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

**Competing Interests**

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

**Text sources**


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