

8 On the integration of second position phenomena

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1 Introduction*

For quite some time, philologists and linguists have observed that there are a number of languages in the world that impose some restrictions on the types of linguistic expressions that can appear as the second constituent in a root clause. For the most part, these languages do not seem to impose the same kinds of restrictions on the type of categories that can appear in sentence initial position. The two most well-known types of this second position phenomenon are *Second Position Clitics* (2P clitics) and the *Verb Second Constraint* (V2). The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate some of the recent attempts to provide unified accounts of a variety of 'second position' facts. The three proposals that will be compared in this work are those in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), Rivero (this volume), and Fontana (1993, in press).¹

Since the term 'second position' is a non-technical term, not universally agreed upon and often used only in a loose sense, and, furthermore, since the three proposals to be compared here do not entirely coincide in their intended empirical coverage, I will begin by outlining some of the basic descriptive observations which have served as the impetus for these proposals. The core set of data that will be used as a testing ground for the comparison between them will be further delimited later on.

2 Second position phenomena

2.1 Second position clitics

The data below exemplify the distributional characteristics of a number of systems of clitic categories across the languages of the world that have been called second position clitics. Descriptively, 2P clitic phenomena are characterized by the following core traits. In matrix clauses, clitic elements do not appear in sentence initial position, but instead tend to appear after a non-clitic element occupying the first position. In subordinate environments, however, they tend to appear clause initially, immediately following

the complementizer, and they can precede the same range of categories that usually appear in first position in matrix clauses. This is illustrated by the examples in (1) and (2) below, from Serbo-Croatian (from Halpern & Fontana 1994) and Homeric Greek (from Taylor 1990). The (a) and (b) examples illustrate the typical contrasts in clitic distribution between root and subordinate environments. Clitics are in bold-italic throughout this chapter.

- (1) a. Sada *ga* Nada gleda (SCr)
 now him Nada watch
 'Nada is watching him now'
- b. da *ga* sada kupi Nada (SCr)
 that it now buys Nada
 'that Nada is buying now'
- (2) a. Tudeidēi *min* egoge daiphroni panta eiskō, (HG)
 son-of-T. him I valiant in-all-ways liken
 'I liken him in all ways to the valiant son of Tudeus'
- b. hote *hoi* Zeus kudōs edōken; (HG)
 when him Zeus glory gave
 'when Zeus gave him glory'

The orthographic conventions used in many of these languages often obscure the fact that 2P clitics are almost invariably enclitic, i.e. they attach phonologically to whatever lexical item precedes them independently of its category, forming a single phonological word with it. We must be careful to distinguish this original meaning of terms such as 'enclitic' or 'proclitic' from different usages also found in the literature. In some of the traditional work in Romance philology, for instance, we find that these terms are used sometimes to refer exclusively to the linear position clitics occupy relative to the verb. If they precede the verb, they are labelled *proclitic*, and if they follow it, *enclitic*. No crucial distinction is made, however, between those preverbal clitics that attach phonologically to the verb (*proclitic*, in our terms) and those that instead form a phonological word with a preceding lexical item (which would be *enclitic*, according to the definition adopted here). Much current work in syntax, e.g. Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Rivero (this volume), has inherited this particular usage of the terms.

It is also necessary to emphasize at this point that the distribution illustrated by the above examples can be stated only as a tendency. As noted by a number of authors who have studied this phenomenon (e.g. Klavans 1982; Taylor 1990; Halpern 1992), most, if not all, languages said to have 2P clitics display some patterns which are exceptions to what is otherwise a fairly robust generalization. Specially relevant in this respect is Taylor's (1990) detailed discussion of the exceptions to the second position rule found in the Homeric Greek texts, since this is one of the prototypical languages on which the nineteenth-century Swiss scholar Jacob Wackernagel based his well-known observation that clitic elements generally appeared in second position in early Indo-European languages. Thus, the degree to

which the generalizations stated above are accurate descriptions of the general state of affairs obtaining in particular languages can differ considerably from language to language.

More significantly, deviations from the general patterns illustrated in (1)–(2) have been observed to have become more frequent across time in some languages (e.g. Taylor 1990; Fontana 1993). For instance, in the Homeric Greek corpora used by Taylor (1990), the configuration in (2b) is found in 93 per cent of the relevant environments, against 7 per cent of the pattern in (3); however, the relative frequencies in which patterns such as (3) are found in the texts increases notably in later periods (Taylor, p.c). The significance of this kind of steady increase in the relative frequencies of counterexamples to a particular rule, generalization or hypothesis along a chronological axis will be discussed in sections 4.2.3 and 4.3.3.

- (3) oud' ei mala min kholos hikoi·
 not-even if very-much her anger come
 'not even if anger should come upon her very strongly'

Finally, languages with 2P clitics differ according to whether clitics can appear following the first word (even in cases where they would appear to split a sentence initial constituent), the first phrase, or either, in a root environment. As noted by Halpern (1992), 2P is really a cover term for (at least) two different distributions: 2W (Second Word), and 2D (Second Daughter). Halpern observes that in some languages, e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Walpiri, Luiseño and Ngiyambaa, clitics can follow either the first word or the first syntactic daughter; in others, e.g. Czech, clitics can only appear after a complete first constituent; in still others, e.g. Alsea, Shuswap, they always follow the first word (complete references in Halpern 1992).²

To conclude, it should be clear that the term 'second position clitic' is simply a loose descriptive term and cannot be taken to describe any fundamental characteristic of these clitic categories. In this respect, we should be equally careful in handling and interpreting labels such as the Wackernagel's Law (WL) or the Tobler–Mussafia Law (TML). Rather than viewing these as linguistic laws that need to be formalized, with the result that exceptions will have to be explained, I will view these simply as rough descriptive generalizations which should follow (as should their putative exceptions) from a proper analysis of the syntax of clitics and of word order more generally. This analysis, I claim, need not and should not make explicit reference to notions such as 'second position', or to the above-mentioned 'laws'. As I will presently argue, the same caveats should apply to the use of the term 'verb second'.

2.2 Verb second phenomena

Since the basic set of facts related to the V2 constraint are much better known than those associated with 2P clitics, this section will be brief. A few observations, however, are in order.

First, as more knowledge of a wider range of data becomes available to researchers, it is becoming more clear that a homogeneous formal treatment for all the languages usually associated with the V2 label is not well supported. The suggestion recently made by a number of researchers that V2 languages fall into at least two major groups is becoming widely accepted among syntacticians. Specifically, a subset of the Germanic languages, including Yiddish and Icelandic, appear to manifest V2 in both main and subordinate clauses. They have been argued to obtain V2 effects by movement of the tensed verb to I^0 , and topicalization of a constituent to Spec,IP (Diesing 1990; Santorini 1989; Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990). I will refer to such languages as *I-V2 languages*. These contrast with languages such as German and Dutch, which manifest V2 generally only in root clauses. On the analysis widely adopted for these languages, following den Besten (1978), V2 effects are achieved via movement of the tensed verb to C^0 and topicalization to Spec,CP. Such languages may be called *C-V2 languages*.

Second, as noted above in reference to 2P clitics, the label 'V2' understood as a strict requirement that the tensed verb appear always in absolute second position in a root environment is highly problematic. Exceptions such as the declarative V1 constructions found in, e.g., Old Norse, Old English, Yiddish and Icelandic, or the licensing of a restricted group of adverbials that can appear between the topicalized constituent and the tensed verb in some Scandinavian languages, are well known and have been the object of numerous discussions in the field of Germanic syntax. What is not as well known, however, or at least has received much less attention in the literature, is the fact that the rigid verb-second configurations which are often cited in support of certain accounts of the V2 constraint are only a very recent innovation in the Germanic family. Moreover, if we go beyond the narrow range of facts and dialectal varieties usually covered by most theory-building articles, we become aware that this innovation is restricted to a very small subset of the modern Germanic varieties, and that even in the most well-behaved standard dialects this restriction cannot be taken as an absolute (see Fontana 1993, sections 3.4.3 and 4.2.1.1, and references therein for examples and discussion).

Thus, independently of how one may choose to reconcile the exceptions to the strict V2 pattern with standard analyses of this phenomenon, it should be apparent that a unified treatment of the phrase structures of all the languages up to now associated with this label is only possible if 'V2' is considered simply as a descriptive, pre-theoretical term. To do otherwise would be to fail to relate languages which are historically and areally connected, and which display remarkable structural similarities, despite manifesting some superficial differences in their relative degree of adherence to a strict V2 word order. All languages referred to as V2 in this chapter — whether I-V2 or C-V2 — share the following basic traits: (a) the tensed verb must obligatorily undergo movement from its canonical

position and land in a position to the left of the VP (within the GB framework, this position is arguably the head of a functional projection); (b) there is a position preceding the position where the tensed verb is found at S-structure which can host all kinds of phrasal constituents besides the subject (again, within the view of phrase structure of GB, this position would be the specifier position of a functional projection, arguably the same maximal projection hosting the tensed verb); and (c) whenever a constituent other than the subject appears in first position, and a phonologically expressed subject is available in the clause, there is a very strong tendency for the subject to appear in a position immediately following the tensed verb.

Beyond this, the various 'V2' languages can differ from each other in a number of respects. For instance, they can differ in whether the maximal projection hosting topicalized constituents and tensed verb is CP or a projection below CP; in whether adjunction of certain constituents above the relevant maximal projection (i.e. the domain where V2 effects are computed) is allowed or not, and with respect to the specific constituents allowed to appear (presumably adjoined) above this projection in each given language. They can also differ in terms of the availability of specific constructions where the tensed verb can appear superficially as the first element in the sentence (i.e. *yes/no* questions and imperatives vs declarative V1).

Of interest here is the fact that there appear to be languages where both V2 and 2P clitic properties are displayed. The present investigation is an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the interaction between a V2 phrase structure and a 2P clitic system. Obviously, this will necessarily limit the scope of our examination of the behaviour of 2P clitics crosslinguistically, since some relevant aspects of the syntax of these elements will have to be left unexplored. A comprehensive account of the behaviour of this class of clitics universally would require us to examine also how they interact with many other types of constructions available in non-V2 languages. In other words, determining how the available mechanisms of verb-movement or other general syntactic operations interact with systems of 2P clitics in the different languages is crucial if we are to account for some differences in superficial arrangements observed among them.

For instance, a similar type of V1 declarative structure to the one discussed above is found in some Slavic languages (languages exhibiting so-called 'Long Head Movement' phenomena, adopting the terminology used in Rivero, this volume, and in some of her previous work) under certain restricted conditions. Thus, one would also want to investigate exactly how the basic distribution of clitics is altered in the context of different constructions involving some modality of verb fronting in these languages and contrast it with the effects similar kinds of syntactic operations have on 2P clitics in V2 languages.

However, since the syntax of general word order in V2 languages is an

area that has been much more extensively studied, it is arguably more profitable to use this as the starting point to try to understand how verb-movement and other general syntactic operations interact to affect the basic distributions of these categories crosslinguistically. I turn now to discuss the core set of facts that will be the main focus of the following discussion.

2.3 Second position clitics in verb-second languages

The limitations of the descriptive labels 2P and V2 become even more conspicuous when we study languages exhibiting both phenomena. Obviously, there is an essential incompatibility between a 2P clitic system and a V2 language, if we take strict linear order to be the essential component of the definition of these phenomena. Only one element can be second in the clause: either the tensed verb or the clitic.

As it turns out, however, some significant generalizations emerge if we restrict the term 'second position' to refer not to a specific linear position, but rather to a general and vaguely defined area towards which both clitics and tensed verbs tend to gravitate. The task of the linguist is then to determine whether a principled account can be secured that explains the patterns of alternation observed in the relative orders of clitics and tensed verbs in this general syntactic region, both in particular languages as well as crosslinguistically. Let us now review the basic facts for which a unified treatment is being sought.

Old English (OE) and Old French (OFr) are two languages that have been argued to be characterized by a V2 phrase structure (e.g. van Kemenade 1987 and Pintzuk 1991 for OE, and Adams 1987 and Vance 1989 for OFr). Thus, in spite of the fact that these languages differ from each other in a number of respects, both have in common the syntactic patterns discussed above in our informal characterization of the V2 constraint, namely, the initial position in root environments can be occupied by virtually any constituent besides the subject, and there is a marked tendency for the tensed verb to appear immediately following the category occupying the first position. The subject tends to appear right after the tensed verb whenever it has not been fronted to the sentence initial position.

OE and OFr share another important trait: the distributions of their clitic pronouns are remarkably similar. Moreover, these pronouns have several of the properties of 2P clitics.³ First, there is a general restriction against clitic initial arrangements in root environments. Object clitics in OE and OFr tend to appear immediately following the first element in the sentence.⁴ Second, as is also typical of 2P clitic systems, philological evidence suggests that clitics in these two languages also tend to attach to the preceding lexical item in the phonology. Note especially that the spelling of the OFr examples (4a) and (6a) reveals that clitics in this language do precisely this. There is, however, evidence of phonological cliticization to the following verb already in the earliest OFr texts. This contrasts with other medieval

Romance languages such as OSp, where encliticization is the norm in the earliest texts, and evidence of phonological procliticization is extremely rare until well into the fourteenth century (see Adams 1987; and Fontana 1994, for discussions of the implications of the change from phonological encliticization to phonological procliticization).

- (4) a. *Gel te rendi a Paris ...* (OFr)
 I-him to-you delivered at Paris
 'I delivered it to you in Paris' (Ch.N. 7,199, cited in Adams 1987)
- b. and þæt hors *hine* bær forð (OE)
 and that horse him carried forth
 '...and that horse carried him forth...'
 (ÆLS 265.54-5, cited in Pintzuk, in press)
- (5) a. *Toutes ces choses te presta Nostre Sires* (OFr)
 all these things you lent our Lord
 'Our Lord lent all these things to you'
 (de Kok, 1985: 74, cited in Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991)
- b. *Fela spella him sædon þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera*
 many stories him told the Permians, both of their own
 agnum lande,... (OE)
 country,...
 'The Permians told him many stories, both about their own coun-
 try...'
 (from van Kemenade 1987)
- (6) a. *.C. mil humes i plurent, kis esguarderent* (OFr)
 one hundred thousand men there weep, who-them regard
 'One hundred thousand men who see them are weeping.'
 (Rol.3882, cited in Adams 1987)
- b. *thaet him irenna ecge mihton helpan aet hilde* (OE)
 that him swords' edges might help in battle
 'that the swords' edges might help him in battle'
 (from Pintzuk 1991)

The patterns illustrated in (4)–(6) above do not exhaust all the possible arrangements in which clitics appear in the medieval English and French texts, but they are representative.

Finally, although the clitic is typically found between the fronted constituent and the tensed verb in root environments, there are some root environments in which no constituent appears to be fronted to the initial position, and hence the tensed verb appears linearly in sentence initial position. When a clitic is also involved, it appears immediately after the tensed verb, as illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *Voit le li rois* (OFr)
 sees him the king
 'The king sees him'
 (*Le Charroi de Nîmes*, 1. 58, cited in Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991)

- b. *het hine mid þæm "lacum "leode "swæse "secean on*
 ordered him with those gifts people his-own seek in
 "gesyntum (OE)
 safety
 'He ordered him to seek in safety his own people with those
 gifts' (Beo 2518, cited in Pintzuk 1991)

This configuration is never found in subordinate clauses.

Thus, a rough description of the most distinctive distributional patterns of object clitics in these two V2 languages would be as follows: in a typical root V2 configuration, if a clitic is involved, it tends to appear between the constituent topicalized in the first position and the tensed verb. In certain root environments which are exceptions to the V2 constraint in these and other languages (i.e. *yes/no* questions, imperatives and V1 declaratives), the clitic appears immediately following the tensed verb. In subordinate environments, clitics can appear as the first constituent in the clause, and they always precede the tensed verb.

This description contrasts in a very interesting way with that of certain Germanic languages. Take Middle Dutch (MDu), for instance. Middle Dutch texts typically display the kinds of root/subordinate asymmetries exhibited by Modern Dutch with respect to the position of the tensed verb, and which served as the basis for the formulation of standard analyses of the V2 constraint in this language: the tensed verb generally follows a constituent fronted to the sentence initial position in root environments, but in subordinate environments it tends to appear in clause final position (van der Horst 1981; Weerman 1987).

What makes this language interesting in the context of the present investigation is its system of clitics. Pronominal object clitics in Middle Dutch are also phonologically enclitic, attaching to a host on their left independently of its category. However, contrary to what we have seen to be the typical situation in OE or OFr, object clitics are invariably found immediately following the tensed verb in root environments. In other words, as a number of authors have pointed out, we never find an object clitic preceding a tensed verb (i.e. a configuration of the form: XP Cl V_[+finite]) in root environments.

As the examples in (8) illustrate, Middle Dutch exhibits the characteristic V2 arrangements in root environments, with the fronting of a wide range of categories to the preverbal position. In contrast with the patterns in (4) above, however, whenever an object clitic is involved in a typical V2 structure, it does not appear between the topicalized constituent in sentence initial position and the tensed verb, but rather in the position immediately following the tensed verb.

- (8) a. *nu moetene onse vrouwe bewaren* (MDu)
 now must-him our lady save
 'our lady must save him now' (from van der Horst 1981)

- b. soe troestse de hope vander goetheit Gods (MDu)
 in-this-way consoles-her the hope of God's goodness
 'in this way, the hope of God's goodness consoles her'
 (from Weerman 1987)
- c. Si haddet wel verdient (MDu)
 she had-it well earned/deserved
 'She had earned it well'
 (from Weerman 1987)
- d. dat seggic u (MDu)
 this say-I you
 'I say this to you'
 (from van der Horst 1981)
- e. Volmaect hadse die nature (MDu)
 perfected had-her the nature
 'Nature had perfected her'
 (from van der Horst 1981)

The patterns in subordinate environments differ from those in main clauses in significant and interesting ways. Object clitics in embedded clauses are almost invariably found in a position immediately following the complementizer, as in (9a, b). Full NPs are found occupying positions after the object clitic, with subjects preceding objects.

- (9) a. datt=*en* God niet en spaert (MDu)
 that-him God not NEG-PART saves
 'that God does not save him'
 (from van der Horst 1981)
- b. dat=*se* onse here troest (MDu)
 that-her our lord consoles
 'that our lord consoles her'
 (from van der Horst 1981)

Middle Dutch, as far as I am able to determine, adheres rather strictly to these basic patterns (although see (12) below). However, there are other V2 languages that exhibit the same basic clitic system yet allow for some other possibilities not typical of Middle Dutch. The examples below are from the Bernese dialect of Swiss German.⁵ As illustrated in (10) with a subordinate clause, clitics in this language can appear in the same basic positions discussed above for Middle Dutch. As illustrated in (11), however, Bernese German clitics can appear in a slightly wider range of positions than their Middle Dutch counterparts. Thus, both in embedded and subordinate environments, clitics can appear either preceding the subject NP or following it. With some minor differences, the distribution of clitics in High German is very similar to that of Bernese German. Other languages that also exhibit clitic distributions similar to Middle Dutch are, e.g., West Flemish (see Haverkort 1994).

- (10) I weiss wos-dr Vater verloore het (Bernese)
 I know where=*it*=the father lost has
 'I know where father has lost it'
- (11) I weiss wo dr Vaters verloore het (Bernese)
 I know where the father=*it* lost has
 'I know where father has lost it'

It seems desirable to try to unify our accounts of the clitic systems of Middle Dutch and those of the other Germanic languages discussed here in view of the fact that the differences between the two appear relatively minor. Note that, in spite of the fact that most of the available descriptions of Middle Dutch emphasize the almost categorical nature of the patterns in (8) and (9), instances of configurations such as those in (11), although extremely rare, can also be found in some of the Middle Dutch texts. This is illustrated in (12) below. The availability of such configurations in Middle Dutch, together with the situation in Modern Dutch (where only the kinds of patterns illustrated in (11) but not those in (8)–(9) are available), and with the variation observed in different Germanic languages mentioned above, strongly suggest that these patterns could be the reflection of various stages in some diachronic development affecting the same original system of clitics. The facts of Middle Dutch could thus reflect the situation at the earliest stages of this development, with the different varieties of German and West Flemish representing some intermediate stages, and modern Dutch manifesting a still further stage of development (see Fontana, *in press*, for additional discussion of these facts).

- (12) Dat al mijn vrienden't horen (MDu)
 that all my friends=it hear (Heer Halewijn balad)
 'that all my friends hear it'

The patterns illustrated in (8)–(10) bear some resemblance to those observed in (4)–(7) in connection with OE and OFr: from a strictly descriptive standpoint, tensed verbs and object clitics in root environments typically appear in the same general area which follows the sentence initial position occupied by a fronted constituent in a typical V2 configuration. The two groups of languages differ, however, with respect to the relative orders in which object clitics and tensed verbs are allowed to occur in root environments. Whereas in the former group, the Cl V_[+finite] configuration is the norm in a V2 structure (with V_[+finite] Cl strings showing up only in some restricted environments), this configuration is not available in the latter group of languages.

It may seem that, for languages such as Middle Dutch or Bernese German, the descriptive label '2P clitic' is rather inappropriate. However, the existence in OE and OFr of the configuration shown in (7) suggests we might establish a link between the systems of clitics in the two types of V2 languages. Since, in turn, we have also established similarities between the clitic systems of OE and OFr and the general class of 2P clitics found in, e.g., Homeric Greek and Serbo-Croatian, by extension we should consider the possibility that languages such as Middle Dutch and Bernese German might have 2P clitics as well.

An ideal analysis of second position phenomena should be able to provide a principled account not only of the contrasts between the two basic groups of V2 languages established above, but also of the differences

between these languages and the languages that have 2P clitics but which are not characterized by a V2 phrase structure.

In the next section I will compare the analysis of second position phenomena suggested in Fontana (1993, *in press*) with those in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991), and Rivero (this volume). I will argue that the approach outlined in Fontana (1993) is better positioned to provide an analysis that can cover the whole range of phenomena discussed above.

3 Three alternative treatments of second position phenomena

I begin by summarizing briefly the relationship between the three analyses considered here. Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) seek to integrate the analysis of general second position phenomena in medieval Romance and Germanic, but are silent on the possible formal relationship between the clitic distribution in those two groups of languages and the systems of clitics traditionally studied under the rubric of 2P clitics. Rivero (this volume) sees no correlation between the syntactic mechanisms assumed to be responsible for the formation of V2 and related word order patterns and the distinctive distribution of clitics in the Old Romance languages (more specifically in Old Spanish), seeking instead to integrate the analysis of Old Spanish with the analyses of clitic facts and general word order in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian. Thus, the set of facts that determine the final make-up of her proposal are considerably different from those considered in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Fontana (1993, *in press*), and hence cannot be said to have much bearing on the analysis of word order and clitic facts in the Germanic languages. Finally, the proposal advanced in Fontana (1993, *in press*) takes the position that both Romance and Germanic families and those languages previously investigated within general research on 2P clitics share essentially similar clitic systems, but also sees a relationship between the phrase structure of the medieval Romance languages and that of the V2 languages. This approach also diverges from the other two in at least two other important respects.

First, unlike the analyses in both Cardinaletti & Roberts and Rivero, that in Fontana (1993) reflects the position that the TML and WL are simple descriptive generalizations that crudely reflect the interaction of the same basic type of clitic category with different syntactic/phonological systems which are ultimately responsible for the few but conspicuous differences in the distributions of these clitics across the relevant groups of languages. This is a significant point of departure from the other two proposals, since it does not entail any substantial complications of current grammatical models by rendering the syntax of specific languages sensitive in one way or another to those descriptive generalizations. In Fontana (1993, *in press*), I argue that both verb movement solely motivated as a last resort to prevent clitics from appearing in first position, as well as functional projections designed specifically to host clitics, are superfluous. Both are fundamental

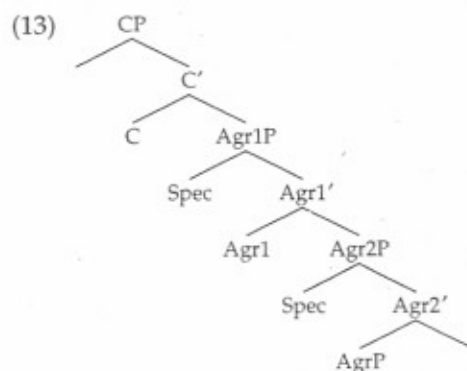
components of the other two analyses considered here. Instead, the differences and similarities observed in the relative positions that clitics can occupy with respect to the verb are accounted for in terms of the independently motivated differences and similarities in the syntax of verb movement and general phrase structure of the languages involved.

Second, the approach in Fontana (1993, in press) differs fundamentally from the other two in that it assumes a dynamic approach to the study of syntactic change (see, e.g., Kroch 1989, 1994; Santorini 1989; Pintzuk 1991; and also Miller 1991). This perspective can offer a principled explanation of how some of the properties of the OSp clitic system (and also, by extension, those of OFr and Old Italian) resemble those of clitics in Germanic, Serbo-Croatian and Homeric Greek, while others can be more adequately modelled after the clitic systems found in Modern Standard Bulgarian, or in the modern Romance languages.

3.1 Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991)

It is necessary to emphasize once again at the outset of this summary of the analysis in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) (henceforth the Agr1/Agr2P analysis) that their solution is explicitly restricted in its coverage to the second position phenomena observed in the Germanic and medieval Romance languages. Thus, no attempt is made to extend their general treatment to the analysis of 2P clitics crosslinguistically.

Cardinaletti & Roberts propose to account for a subset of the facts illustrated above through the postulation of a new phrasal projection within the IP complex. Specifically, they propose a further break-up of IP by positing, at least in the languages they consider, the existence of another functional projection, which they label Agr1P, in addition to TP, NegP and AgrP projections, assumed by many syntacticians working within the GB framework after Pollock (1989). Very roughly, the phrase structure they envision is that in (13).



They propose that Agr1⁰ is responsible for nominative case assignment, which, depending on the language, can be realized via government, via

Spec-head agreement, or both. These parameterized differences will permit subjects in some languages to occur only in the specifier position of Agr2P, where they would be assigned nominative case by Agr1⁰ under government, while in other languages, those where nominative case can only be assigned via Spec-head agreement, subjects will be allowed to appear only in Spec,Agr1P. Finally, in languages where the two modalities of case assignment are operative, subjects can appear either in Spec,Agr1P or Spec,Agr2P. The other crucial assumption Cardinaletti & Roberts make is that Agr1⁰ is the position for clitics in all these languages. One of the more attractive aspects of this analysis is that it tries to provide a unified account of a range of phenomena involving the interaction of verb-movement and clitic-placement on the basis of a small number of assumptions about the similarities between the phrase structures of the languages involved.

There are a number of facts that appear to be straightforwardly derived from the adoption of structures of the type illustrated in (2) and the ancillary assumptions about nominative case assignment and clitic placement. Among these, the most relevant for the present discussion are the following.

The first is the pattern of embedded verb-second observed in languages such as Yiddish and Icelandic. Cardinaletti & Roberts account for the word order patterns in these languages by assuming that Spec,Agr1 is the landing site for topicalized XPs, and Spec,Agr2, the position for subjects. The tensed verb is assumed to climb to Agr1⁰ in sequences of the form *XP V[+fin] Subj (XP)*, and only to Agr2⁰ in sequences of the form *Subj V[+fin] (XP)*. Subjects are assumed to receive nominative case from Agr1⁰ under government. They further assume that in some exceptional environments, mainly questions and declarative V1, the tensed verb can move further up to C⁰.

Since Agr1⁰ is also argued to be the position occupied by object clitics in all the languages examined by Cardinaletti & Roberts, they derive the patterns in the German sentences in (14) below (their 25) by assuming that the subject is occupying Spec,Agr2, and the clitics are in Agr1⁰.

- (14) a. ... daß *es ihm* der Johann gestern gegeben hat
 that it him-DAT John yesterday given has
 b. Gestern hat *es ihm* der Johann gegeben
 yesterday has it him-DAT John given

One of the advantages of the Agr1/Agr2P analysis is that it contains an additional position to host the subject between C⁰ and the fixed position they assume clitics occupy. Thus it can account for sequences such as the ones illustrated in (15), which differ from (14) in terms of the relative positions occupied by subject and clitic. This particular arrangement, which is also possible in German, is the only option in Dutch. To account for these contrasts in a principled manner, Cardinaletti & Roberts propose that in Dutch the only position that receives nominative case is Spec,Agr1 (via

Spec-head agreement), whereas German additionally allows Agr1⁰ to assign nominative case to the Spec,Agr2 position under government.

- (15) a. ... daß der Johann *es ihm* gestern gegeben hat
 that John it him-DAT yesterday given has
 b. Gestern hat der Johann *es ihm* gegeben
 yesterday has John it him-DAT given

Second, the Agr1/Agr2P analysis is designed to provide an account of the so-called TML effects. The following OFr examples (their (33a) and (33b)) are representative of these effects. Traditional Romance philologists as well as some authors working on the medieval Romance languages from a generative perspective, including Cardinaletti & Roberts, co-incide in correlating the relative positions occupied by clitic and tensed verb with a putative prohibition against clitic-first strings operative in these languages. Thus, the examples below reflect, in their own words, 'a ban on clitic-first orders; [hence] in constructions where a proclitic would appear in first position, enclisis is obligatory and proclisis is excluded (Mussafia 1893)'. The issue of the proper characterization of the TML facts is addressed in detail in Fontana (in press). For the moment, let us concentrate on how the Agr1/Agr2P analysis accommodates these facts.

- (16) a. Toutes ces choses *te* presta Nostre Sires
 all these things you lent our Lord (de Kok 1985: 74)
 b. Voit *le* li rois
 sees him the king (Le Charroi de Nîmes, 1. 58)

The contrasts observed in (16) are argued to follow from the assumption that the following underlying structures are assigned to the relevant examples. (17a) corresponds to (16a), and (17b) to (16b). (17a) is a slightly modified version of their (47a); (17b) is reconstructed from the discussion of sentences such as (16b) in section 2.2 of their chapter.

- (17) a. [_{CP} Top [_C Cl+V⁰ [[_{Agr1P}(Subj) [_{Agr1} t [_{Agr2P}(Subj) [...]]]]]]]
 b. [_{CP} [_C V⁰+Cl [[_{Agr1P}(Subj) [_{Agr1} t [_{Agr2P}(Subj) [...]]]]]]]

The different orders between tensed verb and clitic in the structures above are a consequence of their account of TML effects in medieval Romance. In (16a), the verb is said to have moved through Agr2⁰ to pick up inflection, then to Agr1⁰ to combine with the clitic, and, finally, the complex formed by the clitic and the verb is assumed to move to C⁰. In (16b), however, the tensed verb is posited to have 'skipped' the Agr1⁰ position and moved directly to C⁰ in order to prevent the violation of the TML prohibiting clitic-first sequences. Cardinaletti & Roberts view this latter operation as a 'last-resort' operation of the sort contemplated in Chomsky (1989). Since they also assume, at least for the medieval Romance languages, that clitics must combine with the inflected verb, they further suggest that the clitic left-adjoints to V in C⁰, possibly at PF.

Finally, this analysis is also claimed to provide a straightforward account

of certain contrasts observed between OE and Old High German on the one hand and the medieval Romance languages on the other. The account of the patterns illustrated in (18)–(20) below (their (40a), (41a) and (42a) respectively, borrowed in turn from van Kemenade (1987)) is as follows. In the case of the OE example in (18), where they concur with both van Kemenade (1987) and Pintzuk (1991) in assuming that the inflected verb is in C^0 , Cardinaletti & Roberts suggest that the clitic *hine* occupies $Agr1^0$.

- (18) Ne geseah *hine* nan man nates-hown yrre
 not saw him so little angry
 'No one ever saw him so little angry'

This contrasts with the structure assumed for the example in (19), where they argue that the tensed verb shares the $Agr1^0$ position with the clitic. Note that, if we exclude the clitic, this would be a typical instance of a verb-second clause. Thus, this analysis of verb-second effects in OE coincides in some basic respects with the analysis suggested in Pintzuk (1991), contra van Kemenade (1987). While the former author proposes that in these types of configurations the tensed verb remains within IP, the latter argues for the extension of the standard analysis of V2 effects, following den Besten (1978), to OE; that is, she takes the position of the tensed verb in (18) to be the same as in (19).

- (19) Fela spella *him* sædon þa Beormas, ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande,
 many stories him told the Permians, both of their own country...
 'The Permians told him many stories, both about their own country.'
 (van Kemenade 1987)

Finally, since the $Agr1/Agr2P$ analysis provides additional landing sites for the tensed verb, Cardinaletti & Roberts propose that their system provides a more straightforward account of configurations such as that illustrated in (20). In these constructions, the clitic immediately follows a complementizer, and the tensed verb appears separated from the clitic by an intervening constituent.

- (20) þæt *him* his fiend wæren æfterfylgende
 that him his enemies were following
 '...that his enemies were chasing him' (van Kemenade 1987)

In this case, they assume that the tensed verb has remained in the head of $Agr2^0$. Different restrictions concerning the possible landing sites for the tensed verb in root and subordinate environments, they argue, account for the existence of patterns such as (20) and their unavailability in the medieval Romance languages. While in the latter languages the verb moves to $Agr1^0$ in both matrix and subordinate clauses, in OE and OHG the verb moves to $Agr1^0$ only in matrix declaratives. The structures proposed to account for the patterns in (19) and (20) are those in (21a) and (21b), respectively.

- (21) a. [$Agr1P$ TOP [$Agr1'$ Cl+V⁰ [[$Agr2P$ Subj [$Agr2'$ t [...]]]]]]
 b. [$Agr1P$ Subj [$Agr1'$ Cl [[$Agr2P$ Subj [$Agr2'$ V⁰ [...]]]]]]

3.2 Rivero (this volume)

As noted above, Rivero's proposal differs substantially from the Agr1/Agr2P analysis both in terms of the treatment suggested for some of the clitic categories typically studied in the context of second position phenomena and in terms of its intended empirical coverage. The analysis in Rivero (1993, this volume) (henceforth the TMP/WP analysis) explicitly rejects relating the behaviour of OSp phrase structure and clitics to that in the Germanic languages and OFr, in contrast to what is advocated by Cardinaletti & Roberts. Rivero seeks instead to formulate a unified account for clitic distribution in OSp, Homeric Greek and in several Balkan languages, including Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian. Since her proposal is fully developed in this volume, I will not provide a detailed account of it here. I will, however, mention aspects of it that are most relevant for comparison with the other analyses considered here.

One of the most important contrasts between the TMP/WP and Agr1/Agr2P analyses is the former's departure from the notion that clitics are invariably head categories. Building on her earlier work (Rivero 1986, 1992), Rivero suggests that at least some of the clitic-like elements found in the OSp texts have the status of maximal projections (X^{\max} categories) in the grammar. She specifically claims that OSp has what she calls a 'mixed system' of I-oriented clitics related to the TMP projection she posits (for Tobler-Mussafia Law effects) and characteristic of Bulgarian — and C-oriented clitics, related to the WP projection she posits (for Wackernagel effects) and characteristic of languages such as Serbo-Croatian. While C-oriented clitics are typically X^{\max} categories, I-oriented clitics must be considered heads, i.e. X^0 categories. The two structures posited for I-oriented and C-oriented systems are illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. [_{CP} C [_{NegP} Y [_{Neg'} [_{TM'} [_{TM'} CL [_{IP}]]]]]] I-system
 b. [_{CP} C [_{WP} CL [_{W'} [_{NegP} Y [_{Neg'} [_{IP}]]]]]] C-system

Thus, what characterizes clitics in I-systems is that they must be adjacent to a verb, presumably (although this is not explicitly said) because there is something forcing the tensed verb to move to the TM^0 position. Clitics in C-systems, in contrast, are characterized by the fact that they must be adjacent to the complementizer in subordinate environments, and can be separated from the tensed verb by one or more constituents. These differences are illustrated in (23) ((4b) and (6b) from Rivero, this volume):

- (23) a. Ako bog ne *ti* pomogne,... Bulgarian
 if God not you helps
 'If God does not help you,...'
 b. Ako *ti* bog ne pomogne,... Serbo-Croatian
 if you God not helps,
 'If God does not help you,...'

OSp is classified as a mixed system because it exhibits both of the configurations illustrated in (23), as we can see in the examples in (24) below ((1a) and (2a) from Rivero, this volume).

- (24) a. E si él mejor *lo* faze... (OSp)
 and if he better it does
 'And if he does it better...' Z154
- b. Si *lo* el rey por bien toviere, mándeme quemar (OSp)
 if it the king for good had order+me burn
 'If the king considered it good, let him order that they burn me'
 CD243

3.3 Fontana (1993, in press)

3.3.1 Some methodological differences with other studies

3.3.1.1 Going outside Romance to understand medieval Romance clitics.

The last proposal considered here is the one advanced in Fontana (1993) and further developed in Fontana (in press) (henceforth the V2/2P analysis). Perhaps the simplest way to characterize this analysis is to say that it is a deliberate attempt to incorporate the study of OSp clitics within the general framework developed for the analysis of 2P clitics. 2P clitic systems exhibit properties crucially different from those of the clitic systems found in most modern Romance languages (see, e.g., Zwicky 1977; Klavans 1982; Taylor 1990; Miller 1991; and Halpern 1992 for general typologies, discussions and additional references). The basic conclusion of my investigation is that OSp clitics should be excluded from any of the models currently considered for the analysis of so-called clitics in modern Romance (earlier suggestions that clitics in some of the medieval Romance languages should be studied as members of the 2P clitic class can also be found in, e.g., Klavans 1982).

This line of research goes in a rather different direction from recent work by, e.g., van Kemenade (1987), Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Cardinaletti (1992). The latter presuppose that the models developed for modern Romance (based mainly on Kayne's (1975), initial study of French clitics and on further developments in the same spirit) can extend to virtually all categories called clitics, a presupposition which is highly problematic (see, e.g., Miller 1991 and Zwicky 1994, who concludes that clitics are 'unlikely to constitute a unified class for the purposes of theorizing about the nature of grammar').

Thus, whereas the latter strategy involves studying the behaviour of Germanic clitics in terms of the already developed models used to study modern Romance clitics, my strategy is to seek out instead a unified treatment of Germanic and Old Romance clitics, and to distinguish modern Romance clitics as an outgrowth of these categories, with fundamentally different properties. The basic idea behind this claim is that clitics in Romance went from being syntactically autonomous but prosodically

dependent words to being verbal inflectional morphology or, to put it differently, from being X^{\max} - to X^0 -related categories. Although a much closer examination of clitic phenomena across the different modern Germanic dialects is needed before these matters can be resolved with total confidence, I will suggest that, for the most part, pronominal clitics are still better treated as X^{\max} categories in the Germanic languages as well.⁶ Additional justification for this claim will be provided throughout this chapter (see also Halpern & Fontana (1994); and Haverkort (1994) for further argumentation in support of this position).

3.3.1.2 Different approaches to the study of diachronic data. I assume it to be rather uncontroversial that grammars of no longer existing languages are not substantially different, either qualitatively or in degrees of complexity, from the grammars posited for existing languages. Consequently, whenever possible, we should seek to relate patterns found in any given set of texts to established treatments of similar phenomena in living languages.

This is extremely difficult, if not impossible, if we adopt the view that a single and fully deterministic grammar is responsible for the generation of each and every string in a given text or set of texts, often ranging over several centuries. Instead, it is arguably much more fruitful to posit simple, well-motivated analyses which can cover the most substantial and representative subsets of the data. Data which do not fit the primary analysis must be then reconciled to the greatest extent possible by means of principled alternative analyses compatible with a well-worked-out theory of linguistic change.

Specifically, I have adopted a dynamic approach to the study of diachronic syntax often referred to as the *variationist approach* or the *double base hypothesis* (see, e.g., Kroch 1989, 1994; Pintzuk 1991; and Santorini 1989, 1992).⁷ The central premise behind this approach, according to Kroch, is that syntactic change is gradual, and that, more often than not, a particular generation of speakers will differ from the previous generation in terms of the relative frequencies with which they use certain forms rather than in whether those forms are possible at all. Thus, proponents of this view of historical syntax assume that syntactic change has two distinct aspects: 'a discontinuous aspect involving the coexistence of (sets of) discrete linguistic forms in alternation, but also a continuous, dynamic aspect characterized by fluctuations in the frequency of these forms' (Santorini 1989: 4). Moreover, as research within this framework has shown, during processes of change languages display variation in specific areas of grammar where we do not usually observe optionality when stable systems are involved. To handle this kind of situation, which is the typical situation most diachronic studies have to face, these researchers have proposed a model which is based on the assumption that 'syntactic change proceeds via competition between grammatically incompatible options which substitute for one another in usage' (Kroch 1994).

A dynamic perspective is not the only one we could bring to bear on diachronic facts. A second option, which is the one implicit in both Cardinaletti & Roberts' and Rivero's work, is to attempt to describe the data in static terms, not taking into account factors such as contact with other languages or geographic, social, and stylistic variation. On such a view, one would accord what amounts to exceptional data on the dynamic view an equal status with all other data in the language. As implicit in the comments above, the principal reason for rejecting this perspective is that the complexity of the data is likely to lead us to posit a syntax which is considerably more cumbersome than the syntax of living languages is usually assumed to be. Additional and perhaps more important reasons to be wary of any static approach are: (a) the fact that most diachronic investigations must be based on written corpora, entailing familiar idiosyncracies and tendencies to linguistic unnaturalness; and (b) the fact that the traditional boundaries for the periods known as OSp, OE, OFr etc. encompass several centuries, a period which more than stretches the limits of true synchronic analysis.

As noted in Kroch (1994), the variation which is characteristically observed in written texts can be either interpreted as the reflex of competing grammatical systems in the linguistic community of which the author was a member, or of the competition between the grammar of the spoken language and an archaic but still influential literary standard at a given time. In the latter case, he points out, the competition between grammatical systems could not be said to have a purely linguistic significance, but it would still be crucial for the appropriate interpretation of the texts.

I bring up these issues because it is extremely important to distinguish the methodological assumptions that separate the different proposals in order to conduct a productive comparison, and more specifically to achieve a proper understanding of the kinds of predictions made by each analysis. In addition, the previous comments clarify how statements such as 'OSp can be described as a V2 language' or 'OSp has 2P clitics' should be interpreted in subsequent discussion. It should be obvious, given what has just been said, that such claims, in the present context, must be understood simply as an abstraction based on the patterns found to be more representative of the period by means of a careful qualitative and quantitative study of a sample of texts ranging from the XIIth to the XVIth centuries. Although we lack crucial data from the period in which the hypothesized V2 phrase structure and 2P clitic system of OSp must have manifested themselves in their most 'pure' state, Fontana (1993) shows that the relative frequencies of counterexamples to the idealized analysis rise steadily over time, with exceptions becoming remarkably more noticeable towards the end of the fourteenth century, thus providing further support for the hypothesis that conflicting data reflect the competition between different grammatical systems.

I now turn to the details of Fontana's (1993) proposal for OSp, leaving discussion of its extension to other languages and of the solutions suggested to deal with potential counterexamples for section 4.

3.3.2 Old Spanish as an I-V2 language with 2P clitics

OSp manifests the distinctive second position effects discussed above, both with respect to its clitics and with respect to the distribution of the tensed verb. As illustrated in (25), the initial position in OSp main clauses can be occupied by virtually any kind of constituent. When the fronted constituent is not a subject, and a phonologically expressed subject is available, it typically appears immediately following the verb (which is indicated in bold; the subject is underlined).

- (25) a. este logar **mostro** dios a abraam
 this place showed God to Abraham
 'God showed Abraham this place' (GE-I.62v)
- b. Grande duelo **avien** las yentes christianas
 great grief had the peoples christian
 'The christian people experienced great grief' (PMC.29)
- c. dalli **fueron** ellas Sennoras luengo tiempo
 of-there were they ladies long time
 'they were the rulers of those lands for a long time' (EE-I.137)
- d. tanto **fueron** los godos nobles de coraçon. &
 so-much were the goths noble of heart and
 sabidores & atreuudos [...] (EE-I.127v)
 knowledgeable and daring
 'the Goths were so noble, and skilled and brave [in war that...]'

As illustrated in (26), V2 effects are found in subordinate contexts as well.

- (26) a. Cuenta la estoria que nueue meses **touo** el çercada la noble
 says the history that nine months had he sieged the noble
 çibdat de valencia
 city of Valencia
 'History says that he had the city of Valencia under siege for nine
 months' (EE-II.218v)
- c. Quando esta falsedad **dizien** los de carrion
 when this falsity said the of carrion
 'When the ones from Carrion told this lie' PMC
- d. por que en agua **mataron** ellos los njnnos delos ebreos
 because in water killed they the children of-the Hebrew
 'Because they drowned the Hebrew children' GEI.3

Finally, as also observed for languages discussed in relation to the data illustrated in (7), OSp manifests declarative V1 constructions, in addition to *yes/no* questions and imperatives, as in (27). This specific type of exception to the V2 constraint in root environments has been discussed in the Ger-

manic syntax literature on Yiddish, Icelandic, Old English and Old Norse. The construction illustrated by (27) is an instance of Narrative Inversion (see Sigurðsson 1990 and references therein; see also Fontana 1993, for discussion of additional structures involving this basic configuration). The examples in (28) illustrate some instances of declarative V1 in Old Norse; (28b) is typical of Narrative Inversion structures frequently found in the Old Norse sagas.

- (27) & **fizo** **el** **papa** **penitencia** & **dixo** **Sant Antidio** **la** **missa**
 & did the pope penance & said sant Antidio the mass
 en su lugar & **consagro** **la** **crisma**
 in his place & consecrated the host
 'And the pope did penance and Saint Antidio said the mass in his
 place and consecrated the host' (EE-I.126r)
- (28) a. **Vil** **ek**, at þér brøðr farit þessa ferð
 want I that you brothers go this trip
 'I want you brothers to make this trip'
 (*Ólafs saga helga*, cited from Faarlund 1990: 120)
- b. Bjorn **nam** Þóru á brott ok hafði heim með sér á Aurland; **váru**
 Bjorn took Þóru away and had home with self in Aurland; were
 þau þar um vetrinn, ok **vildi** Bjorn gera brúðlaup til hennar
 they there in the winter, and wanted Bjorn make wedding to her
 'Bjorn took Þóru away to his home in Aurland. They stayed there
 during the winter, and then Bjorn decided he wanted to marry her'

My account of the basic clausal structure of OSp is as follows. First, OSp is taken to have a phrase structure which, at least in its most basic attributes, is essentially like those posited to characterize languages such as Icelandic and Yiddish (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990; Diesing 1990; Santorini 1989). Of course, these patterns could be amenable to various alternative solutions, and possibly one would want to revise the initial assumptions of these authors in light of new findings. However, the basic idea behind those proposals can still be maintained, and I will claim that it applies to the OSp data as well. Adopting the standard approaches to phrase structure in the GB framework, the patterns discussed here are most adequately accounted for by assuming that V2 effects in these languages are generally obtained via verb movement to one functional projection between VP and CP, and topicalization of a constituent to the specifier position in the same maximal projection. Within the rather conservative view of phrase structure adopted in Fontana (1993) (conservative at least relative to the split-Infl hypothesis of Pollock 1989 and its outgrowths), the landing sites for the topicalized XP and the tensed verb are Spec,IP and I⁰, respectively, except in examples such as those in (27), where the landing site of the verb is argued to be C⁰.⁸ Positing verb movement to C⁰ in these latter cases accounts for both the well-known fact that this specific class of constructions is restricted to root environments, and the distribution of clitics in these types of structures, as will shortly be shown.

OSp also manifests second position effects in its clitic system. As illustrated in (29), clitics in OSp tend to appear immediately following the constituent that has been fronted to initial position, preceding the tensed verb. As noted above in reference to OE and OFr, the appearance of a clitic constitutes an exception to what would otherwise be a typical manifestation of the V2 word order pattern.

- (29) a. esto *les* mandaua el rey cuydando que...
 this them ordered the king thinking that
 'The king bade them to do this, thinking that...' GEL002
- b. Tu *lo* otorgaras
 you-it admit.FUT
 'You will admit it' (PMC)

Clitics in OSp can also follow the tensed verb in verb initial sentences, as in (30). Interestingly, configurations of the form $V_{[+finite]} CI$ are found in OSp precisely in the same types of constructions where they are found in OE and OFr, i.e. in environments where I to C verb movement can be independently motivated even in languages that are assumed to achieve verb-second effects via single verb movement from V to I (see, e.g., Santorini 1989; Sigurðsson 1990; or Fontana 1993, for justification of an I-to-C analysis of V1 declaratives). In (7) above, we saw instances of V1 declaratives from OE and OFr; (31) below contains a *yes/no* question and a counterfactual conditional from OFr. This situation clearly contrasts with the situation observed for the Germanic languages discussed above. Recall that in the latter languages, post-verbal object clitics are mandatory in all root clauses, including V2 structures, which is expected if in these languages verb movement is always to C^0 in these environments.

- (30) a. rogaron*le* que *les* diesse la llauē
 begged.3P-him that them gave.3S the key
 Respondio*les* el que lo non farie;
 answered-them he it not would-do
 'They asked him to give them the key. He answered that he would not do it'
- b. ?Miembra*t* quando lidiamos çerca Valençia la grant?
 reminds-to-you when fought.we near Valencia the great
 'Do you remember when we fought around Valencia the great?'
 (PMC 3315)
- (31) a. Oserai *le vous* demander?
 dare.1SG it you ask
 'Do I dare ask it of you?' (R.Gr.21, cited in Adams 1987)
- b. Fust *i* li reis, n'*i* oüssum damage
 were here the king not here had.1PL damage
 'If the king were here, we wouldn't suffer any damage'
 (Harris 1978: 240, cited in Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991)

As examples such as (32) show, V1 declaratives occur in OFr independently of the presence of a clitic as well.

- (32) Plurent Franceis pur pitet de Rollant
 weep the French for pity of Roland
 'The French weep for Roland' (Rol. 3120, cited in Adams 1987)

As was noted in the discussion of the TMP/WP analysis, clitics can also be found in subordinate environments immediately following the complementizer and preceding the subject or the topicalized XP (33a). The two patterns illustrated in (33) can be found in variable proportions, depending on the specific texts, until the fifteenth century. After the fifteenth century only the configuration in (33b) is found. The example in (33a) then, illustrates the fact that in OSp, as in OE or, in general, in the Germanic languages discussed here, object clitics can appear separated from the verb by intervening constituents. This phenomenon is known as *Interpolation* in the Romance philological literature.

- (33) a. otro dia [queles este buen mandado **dixo Moysen**]. fizieron
 other day that-them this good order told Moses. made.3PL
 muy grand fiesta
 very big party
 'The day after Moses had given them directions, they organized a
 big celebration' (GE-I.216v)
- b. ... dixo les [que esto les **fiziera el** por mostrar ...]
 told them that this to-them did he for show
 'He told them that he did that to them just to show ...' E-I.324v

OSp clitics also had the phonological attributes of 2P clitics. While it is commonly agreed that in Modern Spanish clitics are part of the same phonological word as the verb, the spelling of the medieval texts provides ample evidence that this was not the case in OSp. The examples below illustrate the fact that phonological attachment of the clitic to the preceding word, independently of its category, was the unmarked case in this language. In other words, they were predominantly enclitic, although there are several attested cases of phonological cliticization to the following word (i.e. procliticization) found mainly in poetic texts.⁹ It is interesting to point out in this respect that, although there are abundant instances of proclitic elements in the Homeric Greek data that served as the basis for Wackernagel's central observations, he noted that only enclitics are found in the distinctive second position that has come to bear his name. As these examples illustrate, this process of phonological merger frequently results in vowel reduction within the clitic. As noted above, this striking promiscuity of phonological attachment of clitic categories to virtually any type of category linearly preceding them is a typical trait of 2P clitic systems.

- (34) a. Amigo Aynart, yos prometo que oy...
 friend Aynart I-to-you promise that today
 'My friend Aynart, I promise you that today ...' (EE-II.12v)

- b. Estot lidiare aqui antel Rey don alfonsso
 this-you dispute.1SG here before-the King don alfonsso
 'I will challenge you on this before King don Alfonso' (PMC.3344)
- c. ... quien era el qui'l llamara y'l aquello dixiera
 who was the who-him called and-him that said
 '[he would see] who was the one who called him and told him
 that' (EEII.62r)

Building on a previous proposal by Taylor (1990) to account for the distribution of 2P clitics in Homeric Greek, in Fontana (1993) I advanced the hypothesis that OSp clitics are a special type of phrasal constituent (arguably NPs) which the syntax places at the left edge of the sentence by default. Taylor's analysis was in turn an adaptation to the GB phrase structure framework of Klavans' (1982) model to treat clitics universally. The V2/2P analysis has also benefitted from some of the central insights of the treatments of clitic phenomena found in Marantz (1988), Anderson (1992); and Halpern (1992), among others.

The basic idea behind this approach, as in most previous treatments of 2P clitic phenomena, is that syntactic cliticization (the process by which the clitic is placed in a position in the left edge of the sentence) and phonological cliticization (the process by which the clitic attaches to a phonological host on its left) operate independently of one another. Thus, there is a crucial distinction between being preverbal and being proclitic, one which, as we noticed earlier, is not always properly recognized in recent treatments of this phenomenon. In addition, 2P clitics are generally assumed to be categories which, due to their prosodically deficient nature, will typically have to lean on a lexical element to their left (i.e. they are enclitic by default).

As in other analyses of 2P clitic phenomena (e.g. Taylor (1990); Pintzuk (1991); Halpern (1992) or Halpern & Fontana (1994)), the V2/2P analysis takes this class of clitics to occupy a position below CP, and to be syntactically and morphologically independent of C⁰. That is, the phrasal projection that serves as the syntactic domain for cliticization is argued to be S (i.e. IP or the Tense/Agr complex). The analysis of OSp clitics I defended in Fontana (1993) and, more specifically, in Fontana (in press), crucially differs from other analyses of this distinctive class of clitics in positing no syntactic constraint or last resort mechanism to govern their relative orders with respect to other constituents appearing in the general area which, for the moment, we can loosely characterize as the left edge of IP.

Rather, sequences involving sentence initial clitics, i.e. those typically found in subordinate environments in 'pure' 2P clitic systems, are syntactically acceptable, and could in principle arise in matrix environments as a result of the operation of those syntactic mechanisms ultimately responsible for clitic and non-clitic constituent arrangements.¹⁰ These strings, however, would generally be ruled out at PF, because they conflict with a phonological constraint requiring clitics to attach to a lexical host on their left. A

detailed justification of this analysis can be found in Fontana (in press).

While most of the previous analyses of 2P clitic phenomena, including this one, attempt to account for the relative positioning of the clitic with respect to other elements occupying the left edge of the sentence, they are silent with respect to the motivation of the syntactic mechanisms by which these special kinds of constituents gravitate toward the left edge of the sentence in the first place. See Anderson (1993) for an interesting and challenging proposal where morphologically based requirements are assumed to play a key role in the determination of second position phenomena, not only with regards to the account of 2P clitic distribution, but also with regards to the interpretation of the V2 constraint.

As far as I am able to determine, there are no totally unproblematic answers to deal with this rather puzzling aspect of clitic placement. Under the other two proposals being discussed here, and in general under any treatment positing a specific phrasal projection or head status for clitics, one could possibly attempt an explanation in terms of some kind of Spec-head agreement requirement or the need to lexicalize some feature present in the relevant functional head position. But these kinds of solutions are rather stipulative at this stage, and they appear to describe the problem more than solve it. Hence, they cannot be claimed to be truly explanatory unless they are more explicitly formulated and tested. A more promising direction of research could be to attempt to relate these patterns to the syntactic strategies used by the languages involved to encode the information structure of the sentence.

Suppose, for instance, that all the languages with 2P clitics share a strategy that we could call, for lack of a better term, *focus flight*, by which elements not being part of the sentential focus would be fronted so as to remove them from a specific domain in the sentence restricted to the presence of constituents that must be assigned a focal interpretation.¹¹ Pronominal clitics, unstressed by definition, would have a different distribution from stressed pronouns to signal their different role in the encoding of the information structure of the sentence. In other words, they would be the ones that undergo focus flight, in case such a strategy turned out to be motivated. Some specific attempts to relate the distribution of medieval Romance clitics to informational considerations can be found, e.g. in Renzi (1992) or Uriagereka (1992b). Such an approach seems rather promising in the case of OSp. However, I have not carried out extensive research on the OSp data to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis, nor do I currently have enough information at my disposal to determine whether the data from the other languages with 2P clitics could bear this kind of approximation. Thus, this suggestion will have to remain speculative for the moment.¹²

3.3.2.1 The V2/2P analysis. The observations discussed above, taken in tandem with the claim that OSp has the general type of phrase structure found in I-V2 languages, suggest the following treatment of the syntax of 2P

clitics. First, a basic syntactic operation displaces the object clitic from its canonical position within VP to a position below CP available for the landing of phrasal constituents (given standard GB assumptions, this would be an A' position). Within the view of phrase structure adopted in Fontana (1993), AGR is taken to be simply a feature of INFL instead of heading its own projection; thus the wide range of possibilities allowed by the richer systems inspired by Pollock's (1989) split-Infl hypothesis and subsequent developments are not available.

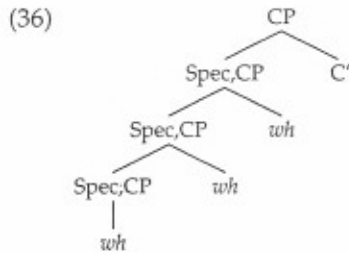
Nothing would prevent us, however, from integrating the basic insights of the analysis adopted there within these alternative frameworks if we so desired. Thus, the contrasts between examples in which the clitic follows vs precedes the fronted XP could be argued to follow from either adjunction or substitution in whatever maximal projection is posited immediately below CP, or in the maximal functional projection two projections below CP.¹³ Note that the only aspect of the claim that is really crucial to preserve the integrity of this proposal is that 2P clitics, unlike modern Romance clitic-like elements, are phrasal categories, i.e. X^{\max} , and that their default syntactic position is the left-most A-bar position within the minimal sentential domain, or IP.

Note also that this particular view of the syntax of 2P clitics bears an extraordinary resemblance to proposals advanced to treat a very similar set of facts, namely multiple *wh*-fronting in some Balkan languages. Rudin (1988) has proposed an account of the facts illustrated in (35) in terms of multiple adjunction of *wh*-phrases to the Spec,CP position. As shown by these examples from Bulgarian, whenever we have a question involving more than one *wh*-phrase, all are fronted to the sentence initial position. Furthermore, fronted *wh*-phrases must be positioned following a strict order: if one of the *wh*-phrases is the subject, it must appear as first in the sequence of *wh*-words, followed by the accusative *wh*-phrase and then by the dative *wh*-phrase. Similar facts obtain also in Rumanian. Other Slavic languages different from Bulgarian, such as Polish or Serbo-Croatian, allow for multiple *wh*-fronting as well, but the order of the fronted *wh*-phrases is not restricted.

- (35) a. **Koj kakvo na kogo e dal?**
 who what to whom has given
 'Who gave what to whom?' (from Rudin 1988: 29a)
- b. ***Kogo koj vižda?**
 whom who sees (from Rudin 1988: 54b)

Rudin convincingly argues that the best hypothesis to account for these and other differences between these groups of languages is to assume that in 'Bulgarian, but not Serbo-Croatian, [...] *wh*-words [are] in the same structural position and [bear] the same relation to their traces at S-structure as English has at LF'. She proposes the phrase marker in (36) as the correct representation for the underlying structure of sentences such as those in

(35a). In this structure, a single *wh*-phrase is substituted into the Spec,CP position, and then additional *wh*-phrase or phrases may be adjoined to Spec,CP. As Rudin observes, nothing in standard models of phrase structure following Chomsky (1986a) would prevent adjunction of *wh*-phrases to Spec,CP, since this is an XP and is not an argument position, so it would be a permissible adjunction site.



The analysis suggested above for 2P clitics in OSp is then essentially comparable to Rudin's treatment of multiple *wh*-movement in these Balkan languages and captures a similar set of facts. Like the *wh*-phrases in Bulgarian and Rumanian, 2P clitics move to an A' position at the left periphery of the sentence and must always appear in a particular order whenever more than one clitic is involved.

Given these assumptions, the A' positions where clitics are placed by the syntax could be: (a) adjunction to the left of IP; (b) substitution of the Spec,IP position (taken to be an A' position in I-V2 languages following Santorini 1989; Thráinsson 1994) in case no other constituent is found occupying this position; or (c) adjunction to the left or to the right of a maximal projection already occupying the Spec,IP position.

If this restricted set of possibilities is maintained, then, the only option available for the clitic in matrix contexts such as (29) would be the adjunction to the right of the XP occupying the Spec,IP position. This is sketched in (37a). For subordinate environments and for matrix clauses involving I⁰-to-C⁰, both option a) and c), as in (37b) or (37c) are available. Option b) would also be possible, in principle, in subordinate environments where no constituent has been topicalized to the Spec,IP position, as in (37d).

- (37) a. $[_{IP} [_{XP} [_{XP} = CI]_{XP}] [_{I'} V^0 [\dots]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} que/si [_{IP} = CI [_{IP} XP [_{I'} V^0 [\dots]]]]]$
 c. $[_{CP} que/si [_{IP} [_{XP} = CI [_{XP} XP]] [_{I'} V^0 [\dots]]]]$
 d. $[_{CP} que/si [_{IP} = CI [_{I'} V^0 [\dots]]]]$

In addition, the V2/P2 analysis straightforwardly predicts that clitics will always follow the tensed verb in all and only those contexts in which the verb is demonstrably in C⁰, namely in *yes/no* questions, imperatives and declarative V1. The two ways in which this configuration can be realized according to the analysis outlined above appear in (38). This prediction is in fact correct, as shown in the discussion of the examples in (30).¹⁴ See also

Fontana (1993); and Fontana (in press) where these issues are discussed in more detail.

- (38) a. [_{CP} V⁰ [_{IP} =CI [_{IP} Subj [_{I'} ...]]]]
 b. [_{CP} V⁰ [_{IP} [_{XP} =CI [_{XP} Subj]] [_{I'} ...]]]

To conclude this section, in the V2/2P analysis no mechanism in the syntax is triggered exclusively to prevent the violation of a phonological constraint. Rather, the syntax can license in principle more structures than are actually attested. That is, from a strictly syntactic standpoint, configurations in which the clitic is adjoined to IP or to the left of the constituent in Spec,IP are admissible. Representations in which the clitic lacks a host, however, conflict with restrictions imposed by the phonological component, and hence are generally filtered out at PF.

4 Comparisons

4.1 Basic descriptive coverage

I turn now to compare the three analyses that have been presented in the previous sections. As observed earlier, however, there are some significant differences among them in terms of the range of data they aim to account for. The Agr1/Agr2P and V2/2P analyses are similar in that they attempt to provide a unified account of the distribution of clitics in the medieval Romance languages and in some of the Germanic languages; in addition, both of these proposals aim to explain the general constraints on the distribution of clitics in terms of the overall distribution of tensed verbs in the V2 languages. The Agr1/Agr2P analysis, however, does not consider the clitics in these languages to be 2P clitics in the sense used here, and therefore does not draw on the insights of the work on 2P clitics in languages outside the Romance and Germanic families. Crucially, according to this view, the medieval Romance and Germanic clitics are invariably analysed as heads, not as X^{max} categories.

Rivero, in contrast, does attempt to relate OSp clitics to the system of clitics in a language that is generally considered to have 2P clitics in the relevant sense (i.e. Serbo-Croatian); she takes clitics to be (at least in some cases) X^{max} categories rather than heads. However, Rivero does not consider OSp to be a V2 language and therefore does not attempt to illuminate the distribution of clitics in terms of the general phrase structure of V2 languages. Thus, the V2/2P is the only analysis that attempts to explain the general distribution of clitics in the medieval Romance languages in terms of independently motivated facts about the syntax of general word order and the specific syntax of 2P clitics, eliminating the need to build generalizations like WL or the TML directly into the grammar. As we will presently see, this feature of the analysis allows for a more successful, less stipulative account of the facts.

Before starting a detailed comparison, let us recall the patterns we are

trying to explain. From what we have seen so far, two different groups of languages can be distinguished according to the relative positions clitics occupy with respect to the tensed verb in a typical V2 clause in a root environment. The first group of languages, including, e.g., Middle Dutch, Bernese German, and also German and Dutch, do not allow for sequences where the object clitic would appear in a position preceding the tensed verb in main clauses. This is illustrated by the schemata in (39) representing possible root environments involving the presence of clitics. As observed in section 2.3, some of these languages are more restricted than others in the range of positions clitics can occupy. Whereas the clitic appears almost categorically preceding the subject in Middle Dutch, it can appear only after the subject in Modern Dutch. Different varieties of German exhibit different degrees of variation in the distribution of their clitics, with preferences for one or the other sequencing.

- (39) a. XP V[+finite] Subj CI ...
 b. XP V[+finite] CI Subj ...

The other group of languages includes, e.g., OSp, OE and OFr. In this group, clitics can appear either preceding or following the tensed verb in root environments. In sentences exhibiting distinctive V2 properties, clitics appear in sequences such as the one illustrated in (40a); in sentences with SVO word order, we obtain the similar pattern in (40b). Yet in some specific syntactic environments, where no constituent has been fronted to a preverbal position (including *yes/no* questions, imperatives and declarative V1 constructions), or where the preverbal constituent is a member of a restricted class of elements (e.g. certain adverbials such as those equivalent to English *then*, or certain types of negative words in OE alone — see van Kemenade 1987, 1992; and Pintzuk 1991, 1993, for discussion), clitics in all these languages appear following the tensed verb. Thus we obtain the sequences schematized in (40c).

- (40) a. XP CI V[+finite] Subj ...
 b. Subj CI V[+finite] (XP) ...
 c. V[+finite] CI Subj (XP) ...

Under the V2/2P analysis, the contrasts between OE and OSp on the one hand, and Middle Dutch and Bernese German on the other, can be made to follow quite simply from independently motivated differences between the basic phrase structures of these languages. Together with the hypothesis that OFr was also an I-V2 language (Dupuis 1989), this proposal would also correctly predict that the patterns in (40), rather than those in (39), will hold for this language as well. If the kinds of clitic categories we are discussing can be posited to be phrasal constituents situated in an A' position below CP, these contrasts are precisely what we would expect given the different mechanisms involved in the achievement of V2 effects in the two groups of languages. Positing a 2P clitic system such as the one outlined earlier, in combination with standard assumptions about the phrase structure of C-V2

languages such as Middle Dutch or Bernese German, would also yield the configurations illustrated in (39) for these languages, rather than those in (40a, b): again, a correct prediction.

Of course, the Agr1/Agr2P analysis can also account for a significant subset of these facts, thus achieving superficially similar results to those achieved by the V2/2P analysis. However, it only does so at a considerably higher cost. Under this view, verb movement over Agr1⁰ must be invoked to account for the observed differences in the relative positions occupied by clitics and tensed verbs in V2 structures in OFr and German. Thus, sequences of the type XP Cl V[+finite] in OFr main clauses are accounted for by proposing that the tensed verb joins the clitic in Agr1⁰, and the complex formed by the clitic and the tensed verb subsequently moves to C⁰. In German, the tensed verb will always jump over Agr1⁰, leaving the clitic in that position. The tensed verb in OFr, however, is also assumed to be able to skip over Agr1⁰ when the TML ban on clitic-first sentences would otherwise be violated, thus creating a V[+finite] Cl sequence. OE and German are also expected to differ from each other. The postulated phrase structures for these languages in tandem with the assumption that clitics remain in Agr1⁰ will yield the structures in (41). OFr will in turn differ from both of these languages in that the complex Cl-V[+finite] is able to move to C⁰ (42).

This creates a paradoxical situation. Cardinaletti & Roberts classify OFr as a C-V2 language, and OE as an I-V2 language. Yet we have observed that the basic distribution of OFr clitics resembles that of clitics in OE more than those of C-V2 languages such as German, Middle Dutch and Bernese German, represented by (39) — a rather unexpected result. Cardinaletti & Roberts propose that this be attributed to some fundamental differences between the Romance family and the Germanic family. Recall that, according to this proposal, only the medieval Romance languages would be subject to the TML. The TML is then defined as a double requirement imposed by the clitics in these languages: '(a) [the clitic] cannot appear first, (b) it must combine with the inflected verb'.

- (41) a. [_{Agr1P} TOP [_{Agr1'} Cl+V⁰ [[_{Agr2P} Subj [_{Agr2'} t [...]]]]]]]] OE
 b. [_{CP} TOP [_{C'} V⁰ [[_{Agr1P} (Subj) [_{Agr1'} Cl [_{Agr2P} (Subj) [...]]]]]]]] Ger
 (42) [_{CP} TOP [_{C'} Cl+V⁰ [[_{Agr1P} (Subj) [_{Agr1'} t [_{Agr2P} (Subj) [...]]]]]]]] OFr

4.2 Empirical and theoretical problems for the Agr1/Agr2-analysis

The basic differences between the V2/2P analysis and the Agr1/Agr2P analysis discussed above can be summarized as follows. While the former would classify V2 languages with 2P clitics in two main groups according to whether they display the basic patterns in (39) or those in (40), the Agr1/Agr2P analysis proposes what amounts to a tripartite division between OE, OFr and German, and is totally silent about the OSp facts. Although OSp was not considered in the investigation which resulted in the

Agr1/Agr2 analysis, were we to adopt the premises on which it is based, we would be logically forced to posit a considerably different syntax for OSp, thus resulting in a four-way classification. This is so because, on the one hand, OSp, like OFr, must be taken to be subject to whatever grammatical constraints are putatively embodied by the TML. On the other hand, however, OSp clitics share with those in OE and the other Germanic languages the property of being able to appear independently of the verb, cf. (33), (14a), and (20). However, as we have noted, the basic distributional patterns displayed by clitics and tensed verbs in this language closely resemble those in OE and OFr (40), and thus can be equally distinguishable from those displayed by German (39). The Agr1/Agr2P analysis is then in essence claiming that languages such as OFr, OE, OSp and German have fundamentally distinct phrase structures, at least with respect to the specific relationship conjectured between the syntax of clitics and the syntax of verb movement.

It may well turn out to be the case that we need to posit the existence of some differences in a number of areas of the syntax of all these languages. However, I would like to argue that the particular classification the Agr1/Agr2P analysis forces us to adopt is built on the basis of fundamentally flawed reasoning and it misses some important generalizations about the syntax of these languages. Furthermore, it can also be shown that this particular account of the facts introduces a significant amount of stipulation and additional machinery into grammatical theorization which are unnecessary under the V2/2P account.

4.2.1 Different types of 'last resort' mechanisms

First, recall that this analysis takes clitics to be in the head position of Agr1P. In addition, it crucially assumes that, whenever we find a sequence of the form $V[+finite]-Cl$, the tensed verb has moved to C^0 , 'skipping' the Agr1⁰ position containing the clitic. What this entails is that the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Travis 1984; Chomsky 1986b) is routinely violated in every root sentence for the languages represented by the patterns in (39), since the verb is always assumed to be in C^0 and the clitic is always assumed to be in Agr1⁰. We saw that Cardinaletti & Roberts explicitly justify the violation of the HMC in the contexts traditionally related to the operation of the TML, which prohibits the formation of clitic initial sequences in root environments.

They also argue, however, that only the medieval Romance languages, and not the Germanic languages, are subject to this specific constraint; sequences such as (40c) in the medieval Romance languages are taken to be derived via verb-movement to the C^0 position, 'skipping' the Agr1⁰ containing the clitic. It is further assumed that the clitic left-adjoins to V, arguably at PF. Thus, the HMC, a principle which is otherwise considered operative in UG, is allowed to be transgressed on the grounds that the TML is a 'last-resort' operation in the sense of Chomsky (1989). Again, according to

Cardinaletti & Roberts, 'the two requirements imposed by the clitic [namely that it cannot appear first and that it must combine with the inflected verb], are satisfied most economically if V moves to C^0 , skipping $Agr1^0$ '.

But this leads to some undesirable complications. First, notice that if the HMC can only be assumed to be dispensable in exceptional circumstances, such as to prevent the generation of clitic first sentences in languages subject to the TML, we must have an alternative explanation for the fact that it is routinely violated in all root environments in the relevant Germanic languages, given that the tensed verb is taken to always land in C^0 . Note that these complications are easily avoided if we take clitics in these languages to be phrasal categories (i.e. X^{\max}).¹⁵

Of course, one could argue that obligatory movement of the tensed verb to C^0 in root environments in these languages is in itself some kind of last-resort mechanism. But this leaves us with no explanation for the fact that clitics in the relevant Germanic languages appear in the configuration in (39) in a V2 sentence, while in OFr, which, on the Agr1/Agr2P analysis, obtains V2 effects in the same fashion as German, they must appear in the configurations in (40a, b).

This, in turn, raises an even more general and serious question: is this unified treatment of second position clitic phenomena compatible with previous unified accounts of verb second phenomena in the two language families?

4.2.2 Romance X-second vs Germanic X-second

A rather undesirable result of the particular view of things adopted in the Agr1/Agr2P analysis is that it creates unnecessary complications for a general unified account of V2 phenomena, since it obscures some well-established distinctions between basic types of syntactic mechanisms available in V2 languages. Thus, even though this is not explicitly said, this analysis claims in effect that there is an important subset of configurations, otherwise handled rather easily under an adequate general theory of V2 phenomena, which now must be taken to have been derived via substantially different syntactic mechanisms: namely, those structures in OFr (and, presumably, also in OSp, unless the TML-based distinction between Germanic and Romance is omitted for this language) which, except for the presence of a clitic, display all the basic distinguishing characteristics of the constructions known in the literature as V2 clauses and V1 declaratives.

Recall that the TML plays a crucial role in the specific account proposed to handle the unexpected differences in clitic distribution between OFr and German. However, resorting to putative grammatical constraints such as the TML is not only unwarranted but irreparably vitiates any attempt to arrive at a unified and principled account of second position phenomena. Upon some reflection, I can find absolutely no basis for positing that medieval Romance and Germanic languages diverge so fundamentally

from one another by obeying such different sets of grammatical principles or constraints.¹⁶ It is not difficult to see that the traditional association of the TML with the medieval Romance languages is the product of a mere coincidence; the consequence of a historical accident which has little to do with any putative intrinsic linguistic differences between the languages we are discussing. In other words, the traditional restriction in the use of this term to the domain of this specific language family has to do largely with the simple fact that Tobler and Mussafia were Romance philologists and, as such, devoted a great deal of their time to the study of medieval Romance texts. Hence, their observations happen to be based on the examination of a fairly restricted set of languages such as Old Italian, OFr or Provençal. It is not at all unreasonable to conclude, then, that if these two scholars had extended the scope of their investigations to texts in languages such as, say, OE, the 'law' that bears their name (which is no more than a simple descriptive label) would now be said to 'apply' in this language as well. If we follow this reasoning, then, most languages exhibiting the kinds of patterns illustrated in (40), that is, a considerable subset of the languages with 2P clitics, should be said to be also 'subject to' the TML.

Since a number of problems arise because of the assumption that OFr was a C-V2 language, we might wonder whether analysing OFr in this way is the right move, especially since Cardinaletti & Roberts themselves claim that just a century prior to the period they discuss, OFr *was* an I-V2 language. Their main motivation for positing a C-V2 structure is the absence of embedded V2 structures during this latter period. However, from this we cannot conclude that OFr was C-V2. Note that embedded topicalization of arguments is rare or nonexistent in OE, and infrequent in Modern Icelandic, and yet Cardinaletti & Roberts are willing to classify these languages as I-V2.¹⁷

Instead, we can rationalize the rarity of embedded topicalization in OFr (as opposed to OSp) by recognizing that OFr was already losing V2 and becoming SVO during the period under discussion. Given the extensive similarities between OFr and OSp, it seems more productive to view the differences in the availability of embedded topicalization as a consequence of the fact that OFr was in a more advanced stage of development away from a more 'pure' I-V2 phrase structure than was OSp during the relevant time period. This seems at least more justified than simply claiming that OFr had become a C-V2 language without providing any further motivation. Otherwise we are led to posit fundamentally different grammars for the two languages, a move that leaves their deep similarities unexplained. While embedded topicalization is attested in OSp, in many embedded environments we also find that no constituent has been fronted to preverbal position (or only a clitic is found in that position). Such variation cannot be given an elegant synchronic analysis, but can be rationalized on the double base hypothesis discussed in section 3.3.

Maintaining this hypothesis allows us to account for the enormous

similarities between the two languages since, overall, OSp and OFr would still be I-V2 languages in the relevant sense, while also avoiding the difficult problem of explaining how the latter language could have so suddenly changed from having an I-V2 phrase structure to having a C-V2 phrase structure. Especially if, as we noted, OFr appears to have already been on the way to losing its V2 syntax altogether precisely during this time period (M. P. Adams 1987; Vance 1989).

A further problem for the Agr1/Agr2P analysis in this respect is posed by the underlying structures illustrated in (43a) and (43b) and proposed for OE and OFr respectively. The basic claim presupposed in these structures is that the subject will invariably precede the verb in embedded clauses in OE, in contrast to OFr, which is predicted to allow subjects either preverbally or postverbally.

- (43) a. [Agr1P Subj [Agr1' Cl [[Agr2P Subj [Agr2' V [...]]]]]] OE
 b. [Agr1P Subj [Agr1' Cl+V [[Agr2P Subj [Agr2' t [...]]]]]] OFr

This analysis is intended to account for the existence of configurations such as those illustrated in (44a, b) in OE subordinate clauses, together with the observation that, in the period they discuss, embedded contexts in OFr display the configurations illustrated in (44b, c, d) but not that in (44a). These patterns are argued to follow from the assumption that the underlying structures of embedded clauses for the two languages are as in (43).

- (44) a. Comp Cl Subj V
 b. Comp Subj Cl V
 c. Comp Cl V Subj
 d. Comp V Subj

However, evidence can be found which shows that OE and OFr do not differ so radically in this respect, either. This can be seen in the following OE examples taken from Higgins (1992). In (45) we can see instances of the Comp V Subj configuration, and in (46), instances of Comp XP V Subj. We cannot establish with certainty whether the pronominal object in (46) is a clitic, as opposed to a non-clitic object pronoun which has been topicalized; however, this is irrelevant for the issue we are trying to resolve here. What is important to notice, as pointed out by Higgins, is that the subject can appear following the finite verb in a wide range of subordinate contexts. This strongly suggests, he argues, that these sequences are not likely to have been derived via an operation of Verb Projection Raising, since it is widely assumed that this type of operation cannot yield these types of sequences.

- (45) a. man sceal witan mid deopðanclum móde [hwær **beo**
 one shall know with deep-thinking spirit where be.OPT
se mona tyn nihta eald
 the moon ten nights old
 'You must very thoughtfully observe when the moon is ten days
 old'
 (ByrM 164.28-166.1)

- b. [Ða herde Ægelric biscop þet gesecon], þa
 when heard Ægelric bishop.NOM that.ACC say.INF then
 amansumede he ealle þa men
 excommunicated he all the men
 'When bishop Ægelric heard tell of this, he excommunicated all
 those men that [...]' (ChronE 1070 207.26-7)
- (46) a. [hwilce hwile hine wille Drihten her on worolde lætan]
 which-while him will Lord here in world leave
 'the time which the Lord will grant him here in the world'
 (HomS 46 [BlHom 11] 125.8-9)
- b. He geseah ða [þæt hine ne mihte nan læce gehælen...]
 he saw then that him NEG might no leech.NOM heal.INF
 'He saw then that no doctor could heal him...'
 (Æ Chom II, 32 279.213)

The fact that OFr and OE do not differ in this way further weakens the motivation for positing such a significant distinction between the phrase structures of these languages.

4.2.3 The Agr1/Agr2P analysis and the theory of language change

We have seen that there seems to be no justification for positing that OFr and OE differ so fundamentally in their phrase structures. Earlier, we saw that the distributional patterns exhibited by clitics in these two languages coincide in the relevant respects with those found in OSp. However, if we want to group OFr with OE and OSp, that is, as a language with an I-V2 basic phrase structure and a system of 2P clitics, we still need to account for one significant property which, as observed in the Agr1/Agr2P analysis, distinguishes OFr from all the other languages being discussed: namely, the fact that in this language clitics do not appear independently of the verb.

We saw that one of the distinguishing characteristics of 2P clitics is precisely the fact that their syntax exhibits a remarkable independence of the syntax of the verb. OFr clitics, in spite of sharing most of the other distinctive features of 2P clitic systems, lack this one. However, since a number of difficulties faced by the Agr1/Agr2P analysis in its handling of second position phenomena in the other languages arise only because clitics are taken to be invariably X^0 categories, we might ask ourselves whether maintaining this particular treatment of clitic facts in all these languages is still a productive strategy even in the case of OFr. This is especially the case if we bear in mind that an adequate analysis of second position phenomena should be able to provide a reasonable account of the similarities among these languages as well as of their differences.

At this point, the significant methodological disparities between the Agr1/Agr2P and the V2/2P analyses discussed in sections 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2 must be emphasized once again. Specifically, recall that the latter builds on a dynamic theory of syntactic change such as the double base

hypothesis, while the former does not. We noted that, by adopting a dynamic approach to the study of diachronic corpora, we can abstract away from certain apparent discrepancies in the data, in order to achieve a more principled and elegant analysis of the synchronic facts, while making more accurate predictions about syntactic change. I would like to argue that this is also the most productive strategy to solve the apparent problem posed by the lack of interpolation phenomena in the OFr texts being considered.

First, independently of whether OFr clitics can appear separated from the verb by other intervening constituents, a number of authors have noted that phonological attachment to a preceding lexical item different from the verb is not infrequent in the OFr texts. Treating each and every instance of a clitic-like category in the texts as an X^0 category incorporated to the verbal head forces us to maintain that, in these cases, a partial constituent of a complex word is prosodically dependent on a constituent external to that complex, a counterintuitive claim at best. Yet this is what the Agr1/Agr2P analysis entails in view of the structure in (17a), above. In contrast, if we allow for the possibility that these clitics were still, at least in some cases, syntactically independent of the verb, as on the V2/2P analysis, the phonological encliticization occasionally manifested in the texts can be straightforwardly accounted for.

Second, unless we can define a bit more precisely the time boundaries of what constitutes OFr, the basic empirical claim the Agr1/Agr2P analysis uses to justify its particular characterization of clitic facts in this language can be shown to be false. Not surprisingly, it turns out that OSp is not the only medieval Romance language where clitics can appear independently of the verb. As illustrated by the examples in (47), cases of interpolation such as the ones we are discussing are in fact attested in OFr (47a), as well as in Old Italian (47b) or Old Portuguese (47c).

- (47) a. *qu'il vous en mal averra* (Balain, 8.9–10, cited in Ramsden 1963)
 b. *Ke ce non abbi quella dilectione* (DG 7.12, cited in Ramsden 1963)
 c. *pois m'assy desenparades* (Lapa 15.13–14, cited in Ramsden 1963)

These kinds of examples, admittedly rare in OFr and Old Italian, and much less rare in Old Portuguese, do lend significant additional support to the hypothesis that the clitic systems of other medieval Romance languages were at some stage essentially the same as that of OSp, namely 2P clitic systems. Given that Old Portuguese and OSp are widely assumed to be more conservative than OFr in many respects, the scarcity of patterns such as those illustrated in (47) in a specific subset of the medieval Romance languages can be interpreted simply as the reflection of a divergence in the particular chronologies of the specific syntactic changes which arguably affected most of the languages in this group. The contrasts between OFr and OSp (only contrasts of degree, as we have seen) would then imply that OFr was at a substantially more advanced stage in the hypothesized evolution from a 'pure' 2P clitic system (i.e. a system of X^{\max} categories)

toward a modern Romance-type system of clitic-like categories (i.e., a system of X^0 -related categories).

On the view that a fully deterministic grammar is responsible for the generation of all the strings found in the texts ordinarily labelled 'Ofr', the degree of complexity of the syntactic analysis postulated for this language would have to be increased even further, or else these patterns of data would have to be left unaccounted for. In addition, this kind of analysis would still have to account for the fact that these patterns cease to appear in the Ofr texts at a certain point. But this is just the partial manifestation of a more general problem. Under this particular view of things, it becomes rather difficult to see how and why the distinctive properties of clitic systems in Ofr and the other medieval Romance varieties could have disappeared altogether, allowing for the emergence of the systems typical of most modern Romance languages at the present time.

4.3 Empirical and theoretical problems for the TMP/WP analysis

While the Agr1/Agr2P analysis has trouble accounting for these various facts, it does succeed in relating the variations in the distribution of clitics to variations in the phrase structures of the languages studied. In contrast, the TMP/WP analysis does not relate the distribution of clitics in the Romance and Germanic languages at all. However, this cannot be considered a defect of the analysis until Rivero's claim that OSp was not a V2 language is refuted. Since the refutation of her claim grows out, once again, of the adoption of a fundamentally different approach to the study of diachronic data, I will postpone comparing the V2/2P and TMP/WP analyses until section 4.3.2, where additional implications of a dynamic approach to diachronic syntax are considered.

4.3.1 Theoretical considerations

The V2/2P analysis has arguably two costs in theoretical terms. The first is that it posits adjunction both to the left and to the right of a maximal projection. Some theoreticians have argued recently that adjunction should be only to the left. The second cost is that it requires that not all of the data analysed in any given period should be covered by a single grammar as it is generally assumed in most synchronic analyses of a given language.

The principal theoretical problem with the TMP/WP analysis is that it crucially posits two new types of maximal projections, TMP and WP, which are designated exclusively as the landing site for clitics in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, respectively. But this raises the question of what the fundamental features of these categories are, since Rivero also assumes the full range of Agr and Tense projections widely posited in the GB literature. This approach thus seems to explain the TML and WL by building them directly into the theory.

I want to show that the V2/2P analysis is certainly no more costly in

theoretical terms than the other analyses, and indeed would appear to involve the fewest complications. The cost of positing left and right adjunction, for instance, seems rather small in contrast to the theoretical complications entailed by the other two analyses, some of which we have discussed in the previous sections, especially since other linguists have argued that both adjunction options should be available (Rohrbacher 1994). In addition, the V2/2P analysis has the advantage of avoiding building the TML or WL into the grammar either via fundamental constraints or new phrasal projections, treating them instead as the simple descriptive generalizations that they really are and explaining them in terms of independently identifiable characteristics of the clitic systems and syntax of word order.

4.3.2 Methodological differences

As noted earlier, the V2/2P analysis builds on a specific dynamic theory of syntactic change, i.e. the double base hypothesis, while the others do not. I have just suggested how this difference allows for an analysis of OFr on the V2/2P analysis which captures the demonstrable similarities between OFr, OSp and OE. Here, we will see that, in adopting the double base hypothesis, one can also avoid certain weaknesses of the TML/WP analysis which arise simply because Rivero assumes that all sentences in the corpus should be subsumed under a single fully deterministic grammar. More specifically, Rivero disputes the claim that OSp was V2. Consequently, she claims that the OSp facts cannot be related to the Germanic and OFr facts as suggested by both the Agr1/Agr2P analysis and the V2/2P analysis. Since it has been argued that this would result in a significant loss of generalization, we should therefore examine Rivero's objections to the claim that OSp was V2.

Rivero points out putative counterexamples to the claim that OSp was V2 in the historical texts. For instance, she mentions that V1 is frequent. However, we have already discussed the fact that declarative V1 and many other exceptions to superficial verb second order exists in languages for which the V2 label is not in dispute. The conclusion we drew on the basis of such examples was that V2 should be considered only a rough descriptive label for these languages, reflecting deeper facts about their syntax (as developed in the various works cited in this chapter). Ironically, then, if OSp did not manifest such exceptions to superficial verb second order, we would have even less reason to classify it as an I-V2 language. Such putative counterexamples are discussed at length in Fontana (1993, in press).

A different sort of counterexample is the variable occurrence of V-final order attested in conditional clauses and other subordinate environments (see, e.g., (24) above); modern V2 languages show more internal consistency in the positioning of the finite verb (whether clause-initial or final). Again, however, we should not conclude from such examples that OSp was not V2. There are indeed a number of good reasons to want to preserve the term V2, at least in the sense this term is used in reference to languages such as OE, OFr, OIc, etc., to describe the basic phrase structure of OSp. First, this

kind of V-final word order occurs only in a rather small percentage of embedded clauses (a total of 4 out of more than 800 embedded clauses, i.e. less than 0.5 per cent of the embedded clauses in the corpora used in the quantitative study carried out in Fontana 1993). Although more research is needed to determine why such examples exist, there are several plausible alternative explanations.

For example, these could be remnants of a V-final word order earlier in the history of OSp; Pintzuk (1991) has argued that such an analysis can explain the variable presence of V-final clauses in OE. Similar problems arise in the study of the phrase structure in other medieval languages such as Old Norse (Faarlund 1990), which, as OE, displays a considerable variation between verb-final and non-verb-final word order patterns in subordinate environments. In this respect, Rögnvaldsson (1992) has suggested a similar approach to that proposed in Pintzuk (1991) to handle the difficulties posed by this kind of variation for the analysis of the Old Icelandic syntax. In connection with the configurations in (24), we notice that the word order patterns in examples such as that in (48) below, where the auxiliary (in bold) appears to the right of the non-finite verb, which is, in turn, preceded by the subject (underlined), could suggest that this is a possibility at least in some of the cases.

- (48) o en qual guisa quier [que lo el auer **podie**]
 or in which way want that it he have.INF could
 'or in whichever way he could have it' (EEII)

Verb-final order could also reflect the influence of conventional syntactic patterns associated with the Latin stylistic tradition on writers during this period, since Latin was a V-final language. Philologists have long observed the influences of Latin in certain texts of this and later periods.

Finally, some cases of verb-final order arguably arise because of adjunction of one or more constituents to the left of the maximal projection which constitutes the domain for which V2 effects are computed. The 'mirror image' of this suggestion has been made by van Kemenade and Pintzuk, who argue that some cases of non-verb-final order in OE can be made consistent with positing verb-final syntax if we assume that some NPs extrapose to the right. In fact, the gradual replacement of structures involving substitution into a specifier position with ones involving adjunction of this sort to the left has been argued by, e.g., Kroch (1989), Vance (1989); and by Fontana (1993) to have played a central role in triggering the loss of V2 in OFr and OSp. This sort of adjunction, which is not usually assumed to be characteristic of V2 languages, must have already been an option, albeit limited, even at earlier stages in the development of OSp, and started to become more and more noticeable during the period under consideration here.

The data illustrated in (49) provide support for the assumption that some constituents, including subject NPs, can appear in adjunction structures, presumably base-generated in this position. Examples (49a-c) show an

adverbial, an object and a subject, in the construction known as *recomplementation* (Higgins 1988). It is important to bear in mind that the only constituents that can appear between the two overt complementizers in these distinctive constructions are sentence-modifying adverbials such as *if/because/when* clauses; direct or indirect objects with a coindexed pronominal in the lower clause, as in (49b); and subjects. Note that although there is no overt doubling of the subject within the embedded clause, since OSp was a pro-drop language we can posit a null resumptive *pro* subject (see also Fontana 1994 and references therein for further justification of the adjunct status of subject NPs in Spanish). It is also important to observe that recomplementation structures appear as sentential objects of the types of predicates that have been argued to license CP recursion, i.e. bridge verbs (McCloskey 1992; Iatridou & Kroch 1992). The analysis suggested for these structures is that outlined in (50).

- (49) a. ...dize que si a omne del mundo *lo* digo que toda mi
says that if to man of-the world it say.1sg that all my
fazienda et aun la mi vida es en grand periglo
property and even my life is in great danger
'He says that, if I tell anybody, all my property and my very life
will be in great danger' (Lucan.144)
- b. ...cuenta Maestre pedro... que aquel cordero_i [...] quel_i
tells Master pedro that that sheep that-it
ponien en ell altar
put.3P in the altar
'apostle Peter [talks later on about the other reasons, and] says that
they placed the sheep [which they sacrificed in the morning,] on
the altar'
- c. Dixome quel' dixeran que aquella muger, que era la
told-me.he that-him told.3PL that that woman that was the
mas fuerte et mas brava cosa del mundo
most strong and most vicious thing of-the world
'He told me that somebody told him that this woman was the
strongest and meanest woman in the world' (Lucan.154)
- (50) dize [_{CP} [_C que [_{CP} si a omne del mundo ...[_{CP} [_C que toda mi
fazienda..]]]]]

Support for the positing of a null resumptive *pro* comes from comparison of (49c) with a similar example from OE, which contains an overt resumptive subject pronoun:

- (51) Hit is awriten þætte David_i þa he þone læppan
it is written that David when he the corner
forcorfenne hæfde, þæt he_i sloge on his heortan,...
(of Saul's coat) cut-off had that he struck in his heart
'Therefore it is written that David, when he had cut off the corner (of
Saul's coat), struck his heart...' (CP, 199,16, from Gorrell 1985)

Invariably when dealing with diachronic data, it will not be possible to account for all counterexamples without an unusually cumbersome and theoretically problematic grammar. It seems more productive to assume that the grammars of languages like OSp were not fundamentally different in degree of complexity from those of modern languages, and to attribute the observed degrees of variation to factors such as language change or influences related to specific literary traditions. More specifically, it can be shown that whatever problems face the hypothesis that OSp was V2 will arise for other languages for which the V2 label is not in dispute; even more so if the analysis is based over a corpus of similar dimensions and characteristics as the one considered here. Consequently, given the noted similarities between OSp and these other languages, there seems to be little reason to treat them differently, even if we eventually should decide that the label 'V2' is inadequate.

Another benefit of adopting a dynamic approach to the study of diachronic syntax has to do with the characterization of the clitic system of OSp. Rivero correctly notes that OSp clitics behave like heads in some cases and like X^{\max} in others. From this she concludes that OSp had a 'mixed' clitic system. This conclusion is compatible with the argument advanced in Fontana (1993, in press) that OSp clitics gradually evolved from being X^{\max} to being heads. Again, these facts can be viewed either as something to be accounted for under a single fully deterministic grammar or as a consequence of 'grammars' in competition. If we take the former view, then a principled explanation is needed to account for the contexts in which clitics function as heads vs phrases (i.e., where TMPs vs WPs are licensed). Another problem is that positing a mixed system of this sort fails to make any connection to the fact that this system represents an intermediate stage in the transition from a system in which all clitics are uniformly X^{\max} to one in which they are uniformly (or close to uniformly) part of verbal inflection.

The V2/2P analysis, building on the double base hypothesis, is integrated into a theory of the interaction of the loss of V2 with the change in the clitic system from 2P to verbal inflection, and is supported by quantitative analysis on texts over a 500-year period. While an account of the language change may be compatible with either the TMP/WP analysis (or for that matter, the Agr1/Agr2P analysis), the burden is on the proponents of such analyses to explain the diachronic development of languages like OSp in an elegant fashion. For a much more extensive discussion of the implications these analyses have for an appropriate explanation of the changes which took place in the syntax of Spanish, I refer the reader to Fontana (in press).

5 Conclusion

I have argued that languages can manifest both V2 and 2P phenomena, and that OSp, OFr and a subset of the Germanic languages are such languages.

I have also argued that the V2/2P analysis in conjunction with a dynamic view of linguistic change can provide a more principled account of the basic differences in the distribution of clitic categories across these languages. Finally, I have also shown that this analysis represents the intersection of ideas in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Rivero (this volume), thus capturing the insights of both while improving on the descriptive and theoretical adequacy of their individual analyses.

Notes

- * I wish to thank Ans van Kemenade, Louise McNally, Nigel Vincent and two anonymous reviewers for useful comments and discussion. The usual disclaimers apply.
- 1. See also Anderson (1993) for a rather different approach to second position phenomena which will not be included in this discussion.
- 2. Some authors have sought a unified analysis of 2P clitics by attempting to correlate the appearance of clitics following the first word with the general availability of split constituents in the relevant languages. In other words, according to this general view, 2W clitics would be underlyingly 2D clitics. For some of these authors (e.g. Klavans 1982), the status of the first word as a syntactic constituent would be masked by the fact that these languages are non-configurational (as defined in Hale 1982). For others (e.g. Taylor 1990; Progovac, in press), the first position in the sentence immediately preceding the clitic would be occupied by an element that has moved out of the maximal category containing it. This alternative approach to non-configurationality (Saito 1985; Weibelhuth 1989) builds on the assumption that it is possible to derive all possible word orders from a fixed base order by movement, usually 'scrambling'. Halpern (1992) argues for an alternative approach to unify the analysis of 2D and 2W configurations.
- 3. Note that OE allows constituents to intervene between the clitic and the verb in certain contexts. This appears not to be an option in OFr. See section 4 for discussion.
- 4. Again, this can only be stated as a strong tendency, since various types of exceptions are attested in both languages. In one of the earliest poetic texts in OE, namely *Beowulf*, for instance, several instances of clitic-first arrangements have been observed to exist (Pintzuk 1991). While in the earliest available OFr texts clitic-first arrangements are also extremely rare, some instances are already attested in twelfth-century texts (Adams 1987), and they start to be fairly noticeable in the thirteenth-century texts, with their frequency increasing over time. See Fontana (in press) for a discussion of clitic-first configurations in OSp.
- 5. I wish to thank Marco Haverkort for providing me with these data he borrowed from Penner (1991).
- 6. Some possible exceptions to this general claim could be for instance the Dutch subject clitics discussed by Zwart (1991). A number of authors have observed that the distributional patterns of subject and object clitics markedly differ from each other in some of the Germanic languages. Since not all the languages examined here have subject clitics, I leave aside the discussion of whether a unified treatment of subject and object clitics is justified for all the languages that have these two kinds of pronominal clitics, and shall restrict the present comparative study to the syntactic distribution of object clitics. It is also important to recall, as noted in section 2.2 above, that there have been also some notable changes in the basic distributional patterns of object clitics in some of the Germanic languages.
- 7. See also Hankamer (1976) and Miller (1991) for similar claims that the linguistic competence of (some) speakers cannot always be modelled by positing a single, discrete grammar. And, for a radically different view of syntactic and morphological change, see also Tabor (1994). This latter theory of change, which is also dynamic in nature, is based on connectionist models of language learning.

8. This analysis could be made compatible with approaches to phrase structure that follow Pollock (1989) in splitting IP into various functional projections. The problem would be to formulate the appropriate set of principles and restrictions that would make such a rich system sufficiently constrained and disallow the generation of more configurations than are actually possible in the languages in question. This is the object of much ongoing research and does not fundamentally affect the basic observations made above.
9. See Fontana (in press) for a detailed discussion of the implications of this restriction in the direction of phonological attachment. For an interesting discussion of variation in the phonological attachment of clitics in *Beowulf* see Pintzuk (1991, in press).
10. As Pintzuk (1991) and other authors have observed, several instances of clitic initial strings are attested in *Beowulf*. Interestingly enough, some clitic initial strings are also found in *Poema de Mio Cid*, one of the first extant OSp literary texts. This has led some philologists to claim that this segment of the poem was not part of the original text.
11. I would like to thank Enric Vallduví (p.c.) for this suggestion.
12. An anonymous reviewer notes, for instance, that there are some languages such as Serbo-Croatian where members of this general class of clitics can appear 'in the middle of emphatic constituents'. As Vallduví (forthcoming) points out, informational focus and contrastive 'focus' are distinct phenomena and are encoded differently in different languages. Consequently, without a better understanding of the particular functions of these 'emphatic' constituents, the connection between the reviewer's observation and the proposal concerning focus flight remains unclear.
13. This type of solution is proposed in Halpern (1992) and suggested as a possibility in Halpern & Fontana (1994). Halpern (1992) claims that cliticization always involves syntactic adjunction to the left of a constituent; I will leave this as an open question.
14. OSp *wh*-questions might at first appear to be a counterexample to this claim, since clitics always precede tensed verbs in this environment. However, there is strong independent evidence suggesting that *wh*-fronting is to a position below CP, arguably Spec,IP, in both OSp and Modern Spanish, hence implying that verb movement is to I⁰. It is then unsurprising on the analysis advocated here that the clitic should precede the verb in *wh*-questions but not in *yes/no* questions. See Fontana (1994) and references cited there for a detailed discussion of these issues.
15. Additional arguments of an empirical as well as a theoretical nature in favour of considering Germanic clitics phrasal projections can be found in Haverkort (1994). See also the same work for an extensive critique of other recent attempts to unify the treatment of Romance and Germanic clitics similar to the one proposed in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991).
16. See Fontana (in press) for an extensive critique of the use of notions such as the Tobler-Mussafia Law or the Wackernagel's Law in recent generative literature.
17. See van Kemenade (1992) and Pintzuk (in press) for similar discussions concerning the implications of these kinds of facts for the appropriate analysis of OE phrase structure.