1. Introduction

This paper deals with the type of word order variation displayed by Old Portuguese (OP) sentences such as (1a-b) and seeks to understand the (S)VO/(S)OV alternation, as well as the loss of (S)OV, by addressing the questions listed below.

(1) a. E sse pela uêtuja uos alguê enbargar a dita vêa
and if by chance you_{CL,DAT} someone blocks the mentioned vineyard
b. E sse pela uêtuja uos alguê a dita vêa enbargar
and if by chance you_{CL,DAT} someone the mentioned vineyard blocks
‘And if by chance someone blocks the vineyard from you’

QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED:

(i) What is the structure of SOV sentences like (1b)? Where does the preverbal object stay?
(ii) How does the VO/OV alternation relate with information structure?
(iii) In which type of sentences is the SOV order found?
(iv) What does the (S)VO/(S)OV alternation tell us about other aspects of word order in Old Portuguese and other Romance languages?

MAIN FEATURES OF THE ANALYSIS:

(i) SVO is the basic word order of Old Portuguese. The type of OV displayed by sentence (1b) is middle scrambling (also termed IP-scrambling), understood as movement of the scrambled object to Spec,TP. Because in Old Portuguese T could select multiple specifier positions (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2005), more than one object constituent can surface to the left of the verb (which itself undergoes V-to-T movement).

(ii) Middle scrambling had in Old Portuguese the same informational effect that short scrambling (also termed VP-scrambling) has in contemporary European Portuguese. The scrambled constituent would be prosodically and pragmatically demoted by being removed from the position to which sentence nuclear stress and narrow focus (or informational salience) is assigned.

(iii) This strategy to set up discourse-driven information focus configurations is constant throughout the history of Portuguese. But while Old Portuguese allowed both short scrambling and middle scrambling of the verbal complements,¹ only short scrambling is a grammatical option in Contemporary European Portuguese, because T lost the ability to select multiple specifiers. Hence, Old Portuguese object scrambling could derive SOV sentences whereas Contemporary European Portuguese object scrambling maintains the object in post-verbal position. The fact that OP mainly

used the right side of the sentence to mark information focus seems to put it apart from other Old Romance languages that have been described as using instead the sentential left periphery (see Sitaridou (2012) for Old Spanish, Cruschina (2012) for Old Italo-Romance varieties, for example). This is an interesting contrast that will not be explored here. Future comparative investigation should consider that the two different strategies do not need to exclude each other.

(iv) Not all Old Portuguese sentences allow the (S)OV order, but the split is not between root clauses and embedded clauses, against what an analysis of Old Portuguese as a verb-second (V2) language would predict. In fact, OV root clauses where the preverbal object is not sentence-initial and is not preceded by a topic offer strong evidence against the V2 hypothesis for Old Portuguese (in line with Kaiser (1999, 2002), Fiéis (2003), Eide (2006), Rinke (2007, 2009), and diverging from Ribeiro (1995), Salvi (1990, 2000, 2001, 2004), among others Italian and Brazilian scholars). This conclusion presumably extends to other Romance languages (cf. Sitaridou (2012)).

(v) Clitics in clauses with interpolation (like (1b) above) are signposts of the border between the left periphery and the middle field. So, OP interpolation offers a reliable diagnosis to separate OV orders where the object is a contrastive focus or a marked topic from OV orders where the object is a scrambled constituent. The loss of interpolation in the sixteenth century might be at the origin of the loss of middle scrambling (see Martins (2002) on this issue).

*The presentation is organized in four sections:*

2. Scrambling and information focus in Contemporary European Portuguese
   3. Middle scrambling in Old Portuguese and other OV orders
      3.1. Verb movement in Old Portuguese
      3.2. The syntax of OP middle scrambling
   4. SOV root clauses displaying object scrambling and the V2 hypothesis
   5. Old Portuguese object scrambling does not target “internal” topic/focus positions

**2. Scrambling and information focus in Contemporary European Portuguese**

Costa (1998, 2004) discusses cases of linear rearrangement of postverbal constituents in European Portuguese and demonstrates that they are to be analyzed as instances of short scrambling, with the scrambled constituent adjoined to VP.\(^2\) Leftward movement enables the displaced constituent to escape narrow focus assignment. Short scrambling is thus a strategy to establish appropriate information focus configurations. The interpretative effects arising from word order alternation induced by scrambling are illustrated below, with examples taken from Costa (1998:178, 2004:68). The monosyllabic adverb *bem* ‘well’ marks the border of the VP.\(^3\)

\(^{2}\) Takano (1998) admits that short scrambling, being movement to a lexical domain, is allowed universally, only the availability of medial/long-distance scrambling being subject to crosslinguistic variation. This is predicted by Takano’s Functional Parametrization Hypothesis: “only functional elements in the lexicon are subject to parametric variation”.

\(^{3}\) Costa (1998, 2004) also shows that VP-scrambling derives the order VOS in Contemporary European Portuguese when the subject remains in VP-internal position and the object scrambles over it:

(i) A: Quem comeu a sopa?
   \begin{align*}
   \text{Who} & \quad \text{ate} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{soup}\?
   \end{align*}

   B: Comeu a sopa a Maria.
   \begin{align*}
   \text{ate} & \quad \text{the} \quad \text{soup} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Mary} \quad \text{– ‘Mary did.’}
   \end{align*}
Cardoso (2010) observes that CEP scrambling is not restricted to narrow focus configurations, as illustrated by the broad information focus sentences in (4). In (5) to (7) I add some further examples confirming that CEP allows short scrambling in broad information focus sentences and additionally showing that scrambling is not free since it indirectly leads to emphasis on the unscrambled sentence-final constituent. The grammaticality contrasts between the (b) and (c) sentences in (5) to (7), which are similar in displaying scrambling of the direct object over the oblique complement, can be understood under the perspective that informational unpredictability easily goes hand in hand with prosodic/discourse prominence (cf. Zimmermann 2007). What the speaker believes to be unknown or unexpected by the hearer is evaluated as informationally ‘rich’ and worth emphasizing. In examples (5) to (7), the expressions ‘the jacket’, ‘water’ and ‘money’, respectively, are informationally ‘poor’ because they are predictable/expected while ‘{the shoes/the glasses}’, ‘an aspirin’ and ‘a fortune’ are informationally ‘richer’. Making the latter, but not the former, prosody/discourse prominent is felicitous on pragmatic grounds.

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4 Cf. Costa (2010) on the suggestion that scrambling may be optional in ‘out-of-the blue environments’.

5 Example (i) below makes clear that weight effects are not involved in the relevant contrasts. It is informational richness, not prosody by itself, that matters. As prosodically heavier constituents are usually also informationally richer, the question arises on whether the phenomena that have been described as displacement induced by prosodic weight are after all independent of prosody. This issue will not be treated in this paper.

(i) a. Ele ofereceu ao filho de seis meses um computador.
   he offered to-the son of six months a computer
   ‘He offered a computer to his six months old son.’

b. Ele ofereceu ao filho mais pequeno, que ainda não tem seis meses, um computador.
   he offered to-the son more small, that yet not has six months, a computer
   ‘He offered a computer to his younger son, who is less than six months old.’
(4) Context: recipe
   a. Frite bem um quilo de batatas. *non-scrambled object
      fry well one kilo of potatoes
      ‘Fry one kilo of potatoes thoroughly.’ (favored implication: the recipe includes no more potatoes)
   b. Frite um quilo de batatas bem. *scrambled object
      fry one kilo of potatoes well
      ‘Fry one kilo of potatoes thoroughly.’ (favored implication: one kilo is part of the total amount of potatoes to be used in the recipe)

(Example taken from Cardoso 2010:145)

(5) a. Ele entrou e pendurou o casaco no bengaleiro.
      he entered and hanged the coat in-the coat-stand
   b. *?Ele entrou e pendurou no bengaleiro o casaco.
      he entered and hanged in-the coat-stand the coat
      ‘He entered and hanged his coat on the coat stand.’
   c. Ele entrou e pendurou no bengaleiro {os sapatos/os óculos}.
      he entered and hanged in-the coat-stand {the shoes/the glasses}
      ‘He entered and hanged {his shoes/his glasses} on the coat stand.’

(6) A: Estas flores estão lindas.
    this flowers are beautiful
    ‘This flowers look perfect.’
B: a. Eu ponho todos os dias água na jarra.
    I put all the days water in-the vase
   b. *?Eu ponho (todos os dias) na jarra (todos os dias) água.
    I put (all the days) in-the vase (all the days) water
    ‘I pour water into the vase every day.’
   c. Eu ponho (todos os dias) na jarra (todos os dias) uma aspirina.
    I put (all the days) in-the vase (all the days) an aspirin
    ‘I add everyday an aspirin to the water in the vase.’

(7) a. Ele perdeu dinheiro ao jogo.
    he lost money to-the game
   b. *?Ele perdeu ao jogo dinheiro.
    he lost to-the game money
    ‘He lost money gambling.’
   c. Ele perdeu ao jogo uma fortuna.
    he lost to-the game a fortune
    ‘He lost a fortune gambling.’

Another significant piece of evidence is introduced in (8), where the sentences are to be interpreted as conveying broad information focus. As the marginality of (8c) and (8d) reveals, if an object DP includes (at its left edge) an exclusive focus marker (like só ‘only’) it strongly prefers the sentence-
final placement, be it its original position or not. Examples (8c) and (8d) are to be read without extraposition of the final constituent.\(^6\)

(8) a. Ele dá (todos os dias) bife.do.lombo só ao cão.
   he gives (all the days) sirloin only to-the dog
   'He feeds (everyday) with sirloin only the dog.'

b. Ele dá (todos os dias) ao cão só bife.do.lombo.
   he gives (all the days) to-the dog only sirloin
   'He feeds the dog everyday with sirloin only.'

c. *Ele dá (todos os dias) só bife.do.lombo ao cão.
   he gives (all the days) only sirloin to-the dog
   'He feeds the dog (everyday) with sirloin only.'

d. *Ele dá (todos os dias) só ao cão bife.do.lombo.
   he gives (all the days) only to-the dog sirloin
   'He feeds everyday with sirloin only the dog.'

Differently from Old Portuguese, Contemporary European Portuguese (CEP) does not allow middle scrambling, whose availability was lost after the 16\(^{th}\) century.\(^7\)

3. Middle scrambling in Old Portuguese and other OV orders

Old Portuguese is a pro-drop SVO language like Contemporary European Portuguese. The order OV can be derived in Old Portuguese by left-dislocating or focusing the object (see (9) and (10) respectively). OP and CEP do not essentially differ from each other in this respect.

(9) O conselho já o eu filhei
   the advice already it-ACC I took
   'I have already taken his advice'

   (Example taken from Huber (1933:284); fifteenth century)

(10) Estas pallavras e outras muitas lhe disse dom egas moniz
   these words and other many him-DAT said Dom Egas Moniz
   'Dom Egas Moniz said to him THESE WORDS AND MUCH MORE'

   (Example taken from Pádua (1960:144); fifteenth century)

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\(^6\) When the exclusive focus marker só ('only') precedes the verb, different readings are associated with the sentences with and without object scrambling:

(i) Ele só dá bife.do.lombo ao cão.
   he only gives sirloin to-the dog
   2 readings: 'He feeds the dog with sirloin only.'
   'He feeds with sirloin only the dog.'

(ii) Ele só dá ao cão bife.do.lombo.
    he only gives to-the dog sirloin
   scrambling of the indirect object
   1 reading: 'He feeds the dog with sirloin only’; the reading ‘He feeds with sirloin only the dog’ is not available unless the constituent ao cão ‘to the dog’ bears marked heavy stress.

\(^7\) Only deictic locatives may undergo middle scrambling in Contemporary European Portuguese. See Costa & Martins (2009, 2010).
In view of the fact that preverbal objects may be left-dislocated or focused, we will have to ask how to unambiguously distinguish those from scrambled objects. In general, sentences displaying left-dislocation or focusing have the object in first position but SOV can be derived in two situations where scrambling is not involved: when the subject, in addition to the object, is left dislocated (see (11) below) and when a left-dislocated subject co-occurs with a focused object (see (12) below).

(11) E Messála, a cada lêtera do ABC fez um livro que trata déla
and Messala to each letter of the alphabet made a book which treats of-it
‘And Messala wrote a book on each letter of the alphabet’
(Example taken from Morais (1997:208); year 1540)

(12) E os muitos comeres nõ tam solamente as almas mais ajnda os corpos destruem
and the many eatings not just only the souls but also the bodies destroy
‘And too much eating ruins BOTH THE SOUL AND THE BODY’
(Example taken from Pádua (1960:67); fifteenth century)

In Old Portuguese preverbal clitics did not necessarily occur adjacent to the verb. The phenomenon of non-adjacency between clitic and verb is known as interpolation in the Romance philological literature. Interpolation structures, which are mainly attested in subordinate clauses, give us the means to clearly identify OV sentences displaying object scrambling. This is so because the clitic signals the border between left-dislocated and (contrastively) focused constituents on one side and scrambled constituents on the other.

The word order found in subordinate clauses with interpolation is indicated under (13) and exemplified by sentences (14) to (16) below. The pre-clitic constituents are respectively a left-dislocated object, in (14), a focused adverbial, in (15), a left-dislocated object followed by a focused object in (16). Scrambled verbal complements in the relevant kind of structure are concomitantly interpolated constituents but interpolation is not restricted to them.

(13) Comp - topic - focus - clitic - scrambled/interpolated XPs - verb

(14) E com todas as pertenças que aos ditos casaes lhes dereitamête pertêce
and with all the belongings that to-the said properties them rightly belongs
‘And with everything which according to the terms of the contract is a part of the said properties’
(Example taken from Lorenzo 1977:440)

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8 It is important to notice that English-type Topicalization is not found in OP whereas it is a grammatical option in CEP. Clitic Left Dislocation generally occurs in Old Portuguese where CEP would have the option to go with CLD or English-type Topicalization (see Martins 1994). This gives us the means to clearly distinguish topics from contrastive foci (when accusative/dative objects are at stake) since topics, in contrast to foci, will always be doubled by a resumptive pronoun.

9 As for sentence (14), note that the adverb dereitamête occurs in post-verbal position when it is not scrambled:
(i) fara leis per que todos vivam dereitamente e em paz
will-make laws by which everybody live rightly and in peace
‘He will make laws so as to allow everybody to live justly and peacefully’
(sentence taken from Lorenzo 1977:440)
(15) que sempre a os Moesteyros de Anssedj e de Arnoya usarõ e possoyrõ 
that always it-ACC the monasteries of Ansede and of Arnoia used and possessed 
‘that the monasteries of Ansede and Arnoia have ALWAYS owned and 
cultivated it’  

(16) E aos outros tres, suas moradas lhes avyam ja dadas 
and to-the other three, their lodgings them-DAT had already given 
‘And they had already given a place to stay to the other three of them’  
(Example taken from Ogando (1980:259); fourteenth century)

3.1. Verb movement in Old Portuguese

Old Portuguese has verb movement to T(ense). So OV order in typically SOV sentences is not 
derived by short object scrambling with the verb staying inside the VP. This section provides 
evidence that V-to-T movement is a property of Old Portuguese.

Old Portuguese sentences (17) and (18) below show that “lower adverbs” – the temporal sempre 
‘always’ and the monosyllabic manner adverb bem ‘well’ – follow the verb in Old Portuguese. 
These adverbs have been consensually taken in the literature as VP peripheral (see Belletti 1990, 
Costa 1998, Cinque 1999, among others). The fact that they surface postverbally signals therefore 
that the verb has moved to T.

(17) E rogo que cada uno destes ańiuersarios facan sempre en dia de 
and request-1SG that each one of-these anniversaries do-3PL always in day of 
mia morte 
my death 
‘And I request that a religious ceremony be always performed in celebration of the 
anniversary of my death’  

(18) a. que adubedes bem a dita v whales the said vineyard 
that manure-SUBJ-2PL well the said vineyard 
‘You shall manure the vineyard well.’  
(Legal document, year 1394. Cf.. Martins 2001:469)

b. auedes a laurar esta vinha bê have-SUBJ-2PL to plough-INFIN this vineyard well 
‘You shall plough that vineyard well.’  

The same result is obtained by observing floating quantifiers. As the examples in (19) demonstrate 
floating quantifiers associated with the subject of unaccusative, unergative and transitive verbs may 
surface after the verb, which constitutes evidence for V-to-T movement. Note that the majority of 
the chosen examples show the order [verb-adverb/verb-floating quantifier] in subordinate clauses. 
So an hypothetic verb second effect cannot be at stake. With respect to example (18b), notice that
the relative ordering of the direct object and the adverb bem ‘well’ indicates that short scrambling (as it is found in CEP) was also available in OP.

(19) a. e elles se juntaram todos no mosteiro de Sam Domingos and they SE_{CL} joined all in-the monastery of Sam Domingos ‘And they gathered together in the monastery of Sam Domingos.’

b. e esto porque muitas das mais rricas gentes moravom todos fora and this because many of-the more rich people lived all outside ‘And this was because many of the richer families lived outside the city walls.’

d. aos quaes escrevia que se juntassem todos com elle to-the whom wrote-IMPERFECT that SE_{CL} joined-SUBJ-3PL all with him ‘to whom he appealed that they all ought to join him.’

e. mandou dizer a esses melhores do logar que cavallgassem todos sent-3SG say-INFIN to those better of-the town that ride-SUBJ-3PL all ‘he appealed to the best people in town for riding all together.’

f. os da parte d’ el-rei dom Pedro e do principe traziam todos the of-the part of the king Dom Pedro and of-the prince bore-3PL all cruzes vermelhas crosses red ‘Those in the army of the king D. Pedro and the prince all bore red crosses.’

(Crónica de Dom Fernando, Fernão Lopes. Cf. Macchi 1975)

### 3.2. The syntax of OP middle scrambling

Old Portuguese middle scrambling is unselective movement to (multiple) Spec,TP driven by an EPP feature optionally associated with T (see, for further details, Martins 2002). Because in Old Portuguese T (i.e. its Attract-all-F EPP feature) could select multiple specifiers, a structural position for scrambled constituents was available in the functional domain. The option for scrambling objects into the IP space originated the variation between (S)OV and (S)VO orders. This word order flexibility allowed for a more transparent equation between syntax and interpretation.\(^{10}\)

The loss of IP-scrambling in Portuguese, and thus of the order (S)OV it derived, is the effect of a change in clausal architecture, namely with respect to the selectional properties of the T head. To be more specific, T ceased to allow multiple specifiers, that is, it lost the option for being associated to an Attract-all-F EPP feature. Hence a structural position for scrambled objects is no more available in the IP space (cf. Bošković 1999). For the possible relation between the loss of interpolation and the loss of IP-scrambling, see Martins (2002).

(20) \[[CP \ldots [TP (S) [T^\cdot O [T^\cdot (O) [T^\cdot (S) [T^\cdot [V+T] \]_{VP} \]_{S-V-O} \ldots\]

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\(^{10}\) Languages with flexible word order generally display a more transparent relation between syntax and information structure. This is so because presumably clausal architecture makes available more structural positions for syntactic configurations with interpretative consequences.
The proposed analysis thoroughly derives the OP data, namely:

(i) the OV order obtained by moving the verb to T and the scrambled constituents to Spec,TP
(ii) the unselective nature of scrambled objects, allowing all syntactic types of constituents to undergo scrambling (DPs, PPs, APs, AdvPs and reduced clauses)
(iii) the unrestricted number of scrambled constituents and their unfixed ordering, which is an effect of the availability of multiple specifiers within the T projection
(iv) the fact that when preverbal the subject shows a preferred but not obligatory linear ordering, as it may be higher than Spec,TP (targeting, for example, Spec,ΣP) or be an element of Spec,TP in tandem with the scrambled object(s)
(v) the availability of the order SOVO where not all verbal complements are scrambled and its relation with the hypothesized interpretation of SOV sentences.

3.2.1. Syntactic types of scrambled constituents

A striking trait of Old Portuguese scrambling is the diversity of syntactic constituents that can undergo this type of displacement. Middle scrambling in OP indistinctly displaces all types of verbal complements (in the broad sense of Larson 1988, 1990), no matter what their syntactic category or semantic type. Thus DPs, PPs, adverbs, adjectives, reduced clauses, definite and indefinite, specific and non-specific DPs all may undergo scrambling and so become preverbal, as illustrated in (21) to (33). This unrestricted nature of Old Portuguese middle scrambling makes it unaccountable under both Case-driven approaches (see Costa 1998 for an informed outline) and semantically-driven approaches (cf. Diesing & Jelinek 1995, Diesing 1997) to scrambling (insofar as we take scrambling in Old Portuguese as a unitary phenomenon). A third perspective on scrambling describes it as a strategy to create appropriate focus configurations (cf. Reinhardt 1995), Costa (1998, 2004), Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), among others). This type of approach seems more rewarding with respect to Old Portuguese scrambling, since it can smoothly accommodate all the range of data under consideration. In fact, if we see scrambling as a strategy to make the object escape the default focus stress and concomitantly lose informational prominence, we expect no restrictions with respect to the type of syntactic constituents that may be scrambled.

(21) quem vos tall cousa disse, mentivos mui grande mentira
whoever you-DAT such thing told, lied-you-DAT very big lie
‘whoever told you that, lied to you’
(Example taken from Pádua (1960:73); fifteenth century)

(22) se algẽ a eles veer que diga que llj eu alguna
if someone to them comes-FUT.SUBJ who says-SUBJ that him-DAT I
 cousa diuia
something owed
‘if anybody comes and claims that I owed him something (i.e. any one thing)’
(Legal document [will], year 1275. Cf. Martins 1994 [vol. 2]:12)
(23) Nunca leemos que meestre nêhũũ ouvesse never read-PAST-1PL that master none had-3SG
‘We never read that there was any master.’
(Example taken from Mattos e Silva (1989:820); fourteenth century)

(24) quem.quer que lhe sobre elle e parte delle e sobre as whoever that him-DAT over it and part of-it and over the ditas casas e qualquer cousa delas algũu embarguo ou mentioned houses and any thing of-them some obstruction or constraint puts
‘[protecting him from] whoever tries to block it [the land], or any portion of it, from him’

(25) pero vos ledo semelho but you-DAT happy seem-1SG
‘but I seem happy to you’
(Example taken from Ogando (1980:281); thirteenth century)

(26) todollos adubyos que lhes compridoiros e neçessareos forem all-the fertilizers that them-DAT due and necessary are
‘[the renters will put on the land] all sorts of fertilizers that the lands may need’

(27) A terra daqueles que nũca te mal fezerom the land of-those who never you-DAT bad did
‘the land of those who never treated you badly’
(Example taken from van der Eijk (1992:59); fourteenth/fifteenth century)

(28) ssegundo as elle sempre trouxera as them-ACC he always cultivated
‘in the way that he always cultivated them’

(29) E ainda vos end’ eu mais direi and still you-DAT of-it I more will-say
‘And I will even tell you more about that.’
(Example taken from Ogando (1980:278); thirteenth century)

(30) como lhe entregou as terras que lhe de dar avia how him-DAT returned the lands that him-DAT of give-INFIN had
‘How he returned him the lands that he ought to give him.’
(Example taken from Costa (2001:184); fifteenth century)
(31) E sse as nos comprar não quisermos
and if them-ACC we buy-INFIN not want
‘And if we do not want to buy them [the lands]’

(32) com os lauradores que as ssemeadas teuerê
with the farmers who them-ACC cultivated will-have
‘with the farmers who keep the lands cultivated’

(33) os sobredictos autos que se pressente mj tabaljam pasarã
the said statements which $E_{CL}$ present me-DAT notary took-place
‘the said statements which were written while I, the notary, was myself present’

3.2.2. Ordering of (preverbal) scrambled objects

Old Portuguese object scrambling is not restricted to one constituent per clause, as example (34) illustrates. Moreover, there is no fixed word order pattern when multiple scrambling arises. The pairs of sentences in (35) and (36) show that when a direct object (OD) and an oblique object (OO) are scrambled together in preverbal position both the orders [OD – OO] and [OO – OD] are admitted. The fact that there is not a rigid linear ordering imposed on scrambled objects is consistent with the proposed account of Old Portuguese scrambling. Regardless of which XP moves first to satisfy the Attract-all-F property of the T head, all the derivations will be equally valued from the point of view of economy (cf. Bošković 1999:170).

(34) quem.quer que lhe sobre elle e parte delle e sobre as
whoever that him-DAT over it and part of-it and over the
ditas casas e qualquer cousa delas algũu enbarguo ou
mentioned houses and any thing of-them some obstruction or
dempedymento puser
constraint puts
‘[protecting him from] whoever tries to block it [the land], or any portion of it, from him’

(35) a. de quem.quer que uos algũu enbargo sobrel quiser põer
from whoever that you some obstruction over-it wants put-INFIN
‘[protecting you] from whoever tries to block it [the land] from you’

b. de qualquer pessoa ou pessoas que lhe sobre ello algũu
from any person or people that him-DAT over it some
obstruction puts
‘[protecting him] from whoever tries to block it [the land] from him.’
3.2.3. Subject position with respect to scrambled object

Being in the IP domain in tandem with the scrambled objects, the subject usually precedes the scrambled objects. But this pre-object placement is not obligatory. Sentences (37a) and (38a) exemplify the more common SO order; sentences (37b) and (38b) exemplify the OS order. Presumably the subject either occupies a specifier position above TP (for example, Spec, ΣP) or undergoes scrambling as well. This would account for the relevant word order facts. That is: the subject has a preferential position (before the object); this order is derived when the subject and the object(s) undergo independent displacement operations triggered by different features; if both the subject and the object(s) undergo scrambling either order – SO or OS – may arise.11

(37) a. nẽ por tanto que nos outrẽ por ela de
not for as-much that us-DAT someone-else for it gives
b. nẽ por tanto que nos por ela outrem de
not for as-much that us-DAT for it someone-else gives
‘[We will not sell it] for the same price to anybody else.’


(38) a. Os quaaes dinheiro que uos eu assy hey de dar
the which money that you-DAT I so have to give
‘the amount of money that I will give you in the stated way’


b. a quall terça parte lhe asy os ditos senhores compradores ou
the which third part him-DAT so the said honorable purchasers or
their heirs will-pay
‘which third part [of the debt] the purchasers will pay him in the stated way’


11 Moreover, the subject may stay inside the VP, deriving the order scrambled object-verb-subject:

(i) diuídadas (…) que aos ao dicto mosteiro deuiã alguãs pessoas
deeds that them (the debts) to-the above-mentioned monastery owed some people
‘debts that some people owed to the monastery’

3.2.4. Non generalized object scrambling. Middle scrambling and information focus

Sentences with the order (S)OVO are found in Old Portuguese texts, showing that not all potential goals for scrambling actually have to be scrambled. The sentences (36) to (43) below exemplify the relevant configuration. Under our analysis, this is in fact expected whenever narrow information focus is assigned to one of the object constituents but not the other.\(^\text{12}\)

Now if we were to strictly adhere to the view that scrambling is defocusing (in the sense that it extracts a constituent from the domain of focus), we would have to deal with severe textual counter-evidence. But we have seen in section 2 that scrambling in European Portuguese is not strictly tied to narrow information focus configurations. Risky as it might be judging OP sentences with contemporary eyes, broad information focus sentences like (39) and (40) seem to be good empirical evidence to strengthen our point. These sentences make clear the unequal pragmatic salience of the two verbal complements, with discourse prominence falling on the unscrambled object. In notarial documents, proper names are central information, so it is unsurprising that the unscrambled object in example (39) is the name *Pedr(o) Airas*, while the informationally ‘poor’ oblique complement *per nome* undergoes middle scrambling. Example (40) is extracted from *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, a Portuguese version of *Crónica General y Cronica de Castilla* and other historiography texts. Within the context of the chronicle, it is expected that the Castillian are considered the best among the knights whose deeds are narrated. What is underlined is the extension of the universe of comparison beyond the geographic universe covered by the historical narration, as the Castillian knights are said to be not only the best in their own world but the best in the world.

(39) Hũu homẽ mâčebo que se per nome chamava pedrairas
    a man young who SE\textsubscript{CL} by name was-called Pedrairas
    ‘A young man who was {called/known by the name of} Pedr’Airas.’

(40) todo homẽ que uise os cavaleiros castellaãos bem poderia dizer
    all man that would-see the knights Castillian well could say
    que melhores cavaleiros nõ auia no mũdo.
    that better knights not existed in-the world
    ‘Everybody who watched the Castillian knights could undoubtedly say that they were the best knights in the world
    (Example taken from Pádua (1960:55); fourteenth/fifteenth century)

(41) por.que o entender partem os letterados em quatro ramos
    because the knowledge divide the literates in four branches
    ‘because scholars divide knowledge in four branches’
    (Example taken from Pádua (1960:57); fifteenth century

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\(^{12}\) Taking OP to be like CEP in that default prosodic/information focus would be assigned to the rightmost constituent of the sentence does not seem to be a too risky step to take since in Latin the clause-final position appears to be also associated with narrow information focus (see Pinkster (1990:178ff.) and Devine & Stephens 2006: 13ff., 119ff.).
Incidentally, note that sentences (39) to (43) make it clear that (S)OV in Old Portuguese cannot be just the reflex of a sociolinguistically marginal grammar with obligatory OV order in subordinate clauses. Such Dutch-type grammar would not derive most of the OVO sentences that we find in the Old Portuguese texts (cf. Zwart 1994).

4. **SOV root clauses displaying object scrambling and the V2 hypothesis**

The fact that SOV order – where the object is not a clitic – is mostly attested in OP texts in subordinate clauses was noted from the earlier works on OP constituent order (see Pádua 1960:62ff.). In this respect Old Portuguese clearly diverges from Latin which easily allowed verb final sentences both in main and subordinate clauses (cf. Pinkster (1990), Devine & Stephens 2006).

Although much less frequent than SOV subordinate clauses, SOV root clauses are also attested in Old Portuguese. SOV root clauses displaying object scrambling constitute strong empirical evidence against the V2 hypothesis for Old Portuguese. In fact, there is no way that a V2 grammar could derive sentences like (44) to (46). Similar sentences seem to be attested in Old Spanish (see (48), while (47) attests middle scrambling in subordinate clauses), offering good grounds for comparison and supporting the thesis that Old Spanish, like Old Portuguese, was not a verb-second language (see Sitaridou (2012) and references therein).

(44) E ja m’ el tanto mal fez and already me-DAT he so-much harm did ‘He has done me a lot of harm’

(Example taken from Ogando (1980:256); fourteenth century)

(45) E sempre m’ eu mal acharei and always me-REFL I bad will-feel ‘And I will always feel myself bad’

(Example taken from Ogando (1980:278); thirteenth/fourteenth century)

(46) Dom Froyaz amaua-a muyto e numca lhe tantas cousas pode fazer

*Dom Froyaz* loved-her much and never her-DAT enough things could do que a podesse fazer fallar that her-ACC could make speak

‘*Dom Froyaz* loved her heartily but he wasn’t ever able to do enough to get her to speak’

(Example taken from Pádua (1960:53); fourteenth century)
(47) a. Et si lo el rey por bien toviere, mánde-me quemar
   and if it the king for good had order-me burn-INFIN
   ‘If the king considers it good, let him order that I burn.’
   (Example taken from Rivero (1993:244); thirteenth century)

b. Que le de Dios parte venga / E só le desto ploguier
   (Example taken from Chenery (1905:123); fourteenth century)

(48) a. Ya nunca vos yo mas veré!
   already never you-DAT I more will-see
   ‘Never again I will see you.’

b. Todos se muy bien guisaron / Todos se luego ayuntaron / Sienpre bos lo a bien ternán
   (Examples taken from Chenery (1905:123); fourteenth century)

The restricted availability of SOV orders derived by scrambling is a consequence of the particular relation between the polarity-encoding head Σ and the verb in Portuguese (see, on this topic, Martins (1994, 2005, 2006, 2007); Costa & Martins (2010), Costa, Martins & Pratas (forthcoming)). This particular relation also accounts for clitic placement in Old and Contemporary European Portuguese. This is why the split between SOV and non-SOV structures does not correspond to the partition between subordinate clauses and root clauses but instead to the partition between proclitic contexts and enclitic contexts.

This is confirmed by the distribution of deictic locatives in Contemporary European Portuguese. Deictic locatives are the only elements that can still undergo middle scrambling and so appear left-adjacent to the verb. In order to explain why preposing of a deictic locative to Spec,TP is not always permitted, Costa & Martins (2010) propose that in EP the strong nature of the polarity-encoding head Σ requires it to be ‘lexicalized’ either by syntactic merger or by morphological merger under adjacency. Middle scrambling is barred whenever Σ and V must be adjacent (hence the ungrammaticality of the configuration in (49)). The analysis derives the particular syntax of the deictic locatives and its puzzling parallelism with clitic placement. In Contemporary European Portuguese, speaker/utterance-anchorage is what links together deictic locatives and tense, enabling the former to enter the syntactic domain of the latter.13 As T does not select multiple specifiers in CEP, only one deictic locative per sentence may undergo middle scrambling.

(49) * [EP (Subj without polarity features) (Σ [+aff]) [TP loc [(cl) [ V + T]]] ...

13 Costa & Martins (2010) consider that the distinction between strong and weak functional heads is theoretically relevant (pace Chomsky 2001), and propose that the distinctive property of strong functional heads is the fact that they require visibility at PF. Thus a strong functional head is licensed if and only if it is given phonological content, which is to say, if it is ‘lexicalized’. Lexicalization may arise under syntactic merger (associated or not with movement) or under morphological merger. In European Portuguese, the functional polarity head Σ (Laka 1990, Martins 1994), which immediately dominates TP, is precisely subject to that type of visibility constraint at PF. Thus it is licensed only if it is lexicalized. In proclitic environments, Σ is licensed by some element syntactically merged in its domain or in a higher domain. In enclitic environments, Σ merges with the verb via morphological merger, specifically local dislocation merger, a post-syntactic process operating under strict adjacency (Embick & Noyer 2001). In OP there might be instead verb movement to Σ in enclitic contexts (Martins 1994). Either way the OV order would not be derived because either the verb would be in a higher position relative to the scrambled object or object scrambling would block adjacency between the functional head Σ (with the feature [+aff]) and the verb, thus preventing the licensing of Σ and resulting in ungrammatical/unattested sentences.
(50) a. Ele telefonou para lá.
    he called to there

b. *Ele para lá telefonou.
    he to there called
    ‘He called there.’

c. Ele já para lá telefonou. (optional scrambling)
    he already to there called
    ‘He has already called there.’

(51) a. Ele telefonou-me.
    he called-me

b. *Ele me telefonou.
    he me called
    ‘He called me.’

c. Ele já me telefonou. (obligatory proclisis)
    he already me called
    ‘He has already called me.’

5. Old Portuguese object scrambling does not target “internal” topic/focus positions

Can the V2 hypothesis be saved by the proposal that V2 may be satisfied at the vP phase level?

Elaborating on work by Benincà (1995) and Belletti (2004), Poletto (2005) takes the CP and vP phases to display architecturally and featurally parallel left peripheries. From the assumption that Old Romance languages were verb second languages, follows the proposal that the V2 property could be satisfied at the higher or the lower phase level. In this way the order SOV and the unrestricted nature of Old Italian IP-scrambling (which placed the object to the left of the past participle) is thoroughly derived.

Benincà(1995) proposes that V2 in OI is the effect of a Focus projection located inside the low CP which needs to be obligatorily filled by the inflected verb; V3 orders (which are very frequent in OI, contrary to Old French) are obtained by filling Spec,Focus and one (or more) Spec,Topic located higher than FocusP. (...) The same reasoning can be applied to IP-scrambling: in OI the past participle has to move to the Focus projection at the left edge of the vP phase, hence scrambling is obtained by moving an XP to the Spec,Focus projection or by having one or more XPs located in the Spec,Topic(s) of the low left periphery. (Poletto 2005)

This type of analysis faces important difficulties when tested against the Old Portuguese data.

A. The analysis does not predict the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses with respect to the frequency of SOV because it makes scrambling indistinguishable from focus-movement or topic-movement. As far as “verb second” is taken to be a property of both the high left periphery and the low left periphery, V2 will always be satisfied at the level where the verb stays and topicalized/focused objects (which are non distinct from scrambled objects) will surface to its left under similar semantic/pragmatic conditions.

B. Old Portuguese does not allow English-type Topicalization (in contrast to Contemporary European Portuguese). Thus if a direct or indirect object is a topic, it must be doubled by a pronoun, usually the clitic pronoun of a Clitic Left Dislocation structure. If medial scrambling could be
reduced to movement to a topic (or focus) position we would expect pronominal resumption to emerge, which is not confirmed.

C. If we accept the previous argument against allowing scrambling to be topic-movement, only the focus-movement part of Poletto’s analysis survives. In turn we would expect that scrambling like focus-movement would be limited to a single constituent per clause.

D. It is a well known fact that focus-movement makes subject-verb inversion necessary (cf. Hernanz and Brucart 1987, Ambar 1992, Zubizarreta 1999, among others). SOV sentences where the object is a contrastive/emphatic focus are infrequent because they can only be derived if the subject is externalized to a topic position. Typically object focalization leads to OVS order. To the contrary, in middle scrambling structures the subject in general precedes the object, giving rise to SOV. The order OSV is also available when the object is scrambled, but crucially not when it undergoes Focus-movement. Postverbal subjects are possible but infrequent in middle scrambling configurations.

E. In sentence (52) below the focused constituent can only be the temporal adverb *sempre*. This leaves no room for the preverbal subject no matter whether we take V2 to be satisfied at the CP level or at the vP level. Recall that in OP topics always precede contrastive foci (the fixed order topic(s)-focus is also assumed by Poletto for OI).

(52) que sempre a os Moesteyros de Anssede e de Arnoya usarô e possoyrô
that always it-ACC the monasteries of Ansede and of Arnoia used and possessed
‘that the monasteries of Ansede and Arnoia have ALWAYS owned and possessed’


F. European Portuguese futures and conditionals are the only verbal forms that allow mesoclisis, which indicates that futures and conditionals have a particular morphological structure among verbal forms. As illustrated in (53) clitics are in general enclitics in matrix clauses in EP, surfacing adjacent to the right edge of the verbal form (i.e. after the agreement morphemes). When a future or conditional form of the verb occurs in a matrix clause, however, the clitic surfaces preceding the sequence formed by the tense morpheme (present or past) plus the agreement morpheme:

(53) a. Ele ataca-o se puder.
    He attack-PRESENT-INDICATIVE-him if can-3SG
    ‘He will attack him if he can.’

b. Ele atacá-lo-á se puder.
    he attack-him-will if can-3SG
    ‘He will attack him if he can.’

Considering the availability of mesoclisis in EP, Roberts (1992) and Roberts and Roussou (2002, 2003) analyse the EP futures and conditionals as verbal strings made of the infinitival form of a main verb plus a present or past form of the auxiliary *haver* ‘have’. The unusual order displayed by the verbal string, with the main verb preceding the auxiliary, is attributed to the clitic nature of the auxiliary (which induces verb movement in order to allow the clitic-auxiliary to encliticize). An analysis in the same vein is proposed by Duarte and Matos (2000), who take the finite form of *have* to be an affix-auxiliary instead of a clitic-auxiliary. The relevant point here is that both analyses take the *have*-element to be generated under the T head. These analyses are incompatible with an
approach to OP middle scrambling as suggested by Poletto’s (2005) analysis, because if put together the order SOV with futures and conditionals would be disallowed, against the facts (see (54)). Recall that under Poletto’s analysis of Old Italian IP-scrambling, the scrambled object targets the left periphery of the vP phase, staying therefore below T.

\[(54) \text{E ainda vos end’ eu mais direi} \]
\[\text{and still you-DAT of-it I more say-will} \]
\[\text{‘And I will even tell you more about that.’} \]

(Example taken from Ogando (1980:278); thirteenth century)

6. Conclusion

This paper proposes that object scrambling both in Old and Contemporary European Portuguese is a strategy to create appropriate information focus configurations. Essentially, it makes the rightmost constituent that would otherwise bear the neutral sentence nuclear stress escape it. In narrow information focus structures this amounts to defocusing of the scrambled constituent. In broad information focus sentences the scrambled constituent is prosodically and pragmatically demoted with respect to salience. In both cases, leftward displacement of the scrambled constituent allows another constituent to acquire discourse/informational prominence or creates a ‘flat’ structure in that respect. The informational import of the scrambling strategy is constant throughout the history of Portuguese. But while Old Portuguese allowed both short scrambling (i.e. adjunction to VP) and middle scrambling (i.e. raising to multiple Spec,TP), only short scrambling is a grammatical option in Contemporary European Portuguese. Hence, Old Portuguese scrambling could derive SOV sentences whereas Contemporary European Portuguese scrambling maintains the object in postverbal position.\(^{14}\)

In addition, the analysis of OP middle scrambling structures has consequences for the debate on the V2/non-V2 nature of Old Portuguese. Root clauses displaying middle scrambling offer empirical evidence against the V2 hypothesis (for Old Portuguese and maybe beyond).

References


\(^{14}\) Cross-linguistic evidence supports the view that scrambling may induce loss or downgrading of discourse/informational prominence as it removes constituents from the clause-final position to which such prominence is assigned (cf. Taylor and Pintzuk (2010) for Old English, Pinkster (1990) and Devine & Stephens (2006) for Latin).


