

A Study of Verb-Second Phenomena in Medieval Spanish Complex Sentences

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Eun-Young Cho. 2005. A Study of Verb-Second Phenomena in Medieval Spanish Complex Sentences. *Language and Information* 9.2, 85–105. This study aims at investigating the ‘verb-second’ phenomena indicated in complex sentences of medieval Spanish. Especially, when the complex sentence is composed of a preposed adverbial clause and its succeeding main clause, the subject inversion is noticeable in the latter. The fundamental motive of this type of inversion is due to the ‘verb-second’ structure, in which a topic appears in the first position and the verb immediately after the topic. So it can be said that the subject inversion is a prerequisite for a verb to be located in the second position when the adverbial clause functions as a topic to the main clause, as is often the case with Germanic languages like German, Dutch, etc.. On the contrary, modern Spanish complex sentences do not show this phenomenon, with a strong tendency to locate a grammatical subject in the preverbal position. Therefore, medieval Spanish might be typologically closer to Germanic languages than to modern Spanish. In order to argue for this assumption, the formal and functional criteria by which the preposed adverbial clause could be defined as a topic NP will be examined across the comparison with left-dislocation structure. (Seoul National University)

Key words: subject inversion, preposed adverbial clause, main clause, non-finite construction, verb-second, left-dislocation, topic, TVX word order, foreground, background

1. Introduction

In all languages, a discourse is divided into foreground, a principal part comprising central plots, and background, a subsidiary part which supplements, emphasizes or modifies the principal episode part. Some languages indicate such functional division through morphosyntactic mechanism -for example, Spanish and Russian divide these two grounds by perfect/imperfect aspects of verb- and some languages do not. By the way, the complex sentence composed of a subordinate clause and a

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main clause is a language-universal phenomenon, and can be said to be a representative structure that realizes, at the same time, foreground/background division. Supposing that the main clause plays a role in pushing out toward a narration unfolded in the order of time, a subordinate clause belongs to the background which supplements the principal plots of main clause. And, among subordinate clauses, a preposed adverbial clause is syntactically independent from a main clause, setting such a situation as time, space, modals. causes, etc. to this one, so it can be defined as a typical topic. If it is considered that the functional paper of a topic noun phrase is to be a psychological subject or 'starting point' from which following discourse unfolds and to provide a 'frame' as shared information between speaker and hearer, a preposed adverbial clause can be identified with a topic similarly with a noun phrase. This will be verified from the similarity of two structures: left-dislocation structure and complex sentences. The characteristics of a preposed adverbial clause as a topic resulted in peculiar syntax in medieval Spanish complex sentences, and, as an example of such syntax, there is a phenomenon the subject is regularly inverted in the main clause that follows an adverbial clause.

Typologically, medieval Spanish is classified as a verb-second language because it constructs sentences centering around notions like a topic, a focus etc. related to the psychological selection of a speaker rather than grammatical arguments like a subject or object. Therefore, in medieval Spanish, in case non-subject elements appeared in the beginning of a sentence, the subject was inverted so that the verb may come in the second place.

This article, from the same viewpoint as above, is intended to understand the subject inversion phenomenon of a main clause in complex sentences composed of <adverbial clause+main clause>. Though the adverbial clause is non-argumental element having no syntactic relation with a main verb, it affects the word order of its main clause as same as do the argumental elements. By examining such a phenomenon through its mutual comparison with modern Spanish, medieval Spanish, and German, Dutch which belong to Germanic language family, we will disclose that medieval Spanish is typologically closer to Germanic than modern Spanish.

For the development of arguments of this study, first, the complex sentences in medieval Spanish will be divided into two types, <adverbial clause+main clause> and <main clause+adverbial clause>, and the word order distribution between the subject and the verb in each type will be investigated. In the next, attention will be paid to verb-second phenomena of medieval Spanish comparing German and Dutch which belong to the typical 'verb-second' languages, and how the inversion phenomenon in main clauses is formally marked in these languages will also be discussed. Third, this study will address the basis that only a preposed adverbial clause affects the word order of a main clause but a postposed adverbial clause should be excluded from this consideration from the standpoint named 'sentence initial placement is a prerequisite of a topic'. Lastly, we will look into what effect the non-finite constructions have on the word order of main clauses, centering also on medieval texts. And recognizing that such influence on the main clause word order is also controlled according to the 'verb-second' structure, this article aims to propose that medieval Spanish was an altogether different language type from modern Spanish.

2. 'Verb-second' Phenomena in Medieval Spanish Complex Sentences

2.1 Remarks on the syntactic characteristics in the complex sentence

Medieval Spanish has a syntactic characteristic differentiated from modern Spanish in the complex sentences composed of <adverbial clause+main clause>. For example, there is a phenomenon that when an adverbial clause providing background such as time, space, conditions, cause, modal, etc., the subject of a main clause is regularly inverted, and such phenomenon does not appear in modern Spanish which prefers SV word order in a main clause.

- (1) /E quando los senadores le dizien gracias por alguna cosa que les prometie, dizie el... (SV, VS) (PCG 122a, 14-16)

"and when the senators appreciated him something he promised them, he said"

The subject inversion in main clause regularly occurs only when the adverbial clause comes before the main clause, and irregularly occurs when the adverbial clause comes after the main clause.

- (2) a. **rey don Ramiro** desperto luego que **ell apostol** se tiro delante (SV, SV) (PCG 360a, 28-29)

"King don Ramiro woke up after the apostle dashed forward"

- b. et me quieras tu ayudar en tal manera por que pueda **yo** Castiella sacar desta premia (VS, VS) (PCG 409b, 34-39)

"and you want to help me in such a way that I could draw out Castiella from this violence"

Of course, it may be impossible to decide a word order type of each sentence composing complex sentences in a language like medieval Spanish which is in the process of diverging from the proto-romance to an individual romance language, that is, Castilian. But all the languages are to include heterogeneous, sometimes, typologically inconsistent aspects at the same synchrony, so our attention is paid to a word order tendency from the collected and then classified medieval data. And the medieval data classified for this study is shown in the following table.¹

| | adverbial clause | main clause |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Subject-Verb(SV) | 80.4% (645) | 20.9% (168) |
| Verb-Subject(VS) | 19.6% (157) | 79.1% (634) |

[Table 1] Word order distribution in <adverbial clause+main clause>²

¹ Most of medieval Spanish materials in this study were selected from *Primera Crónica General de España*(=PCG). Because this prose text, written for about 3 centuries(12~14C) in the Middle Age, exactly reflects the reality of the then current language.

According to Table 1, in a complex sentence where an adverbial clause comes before a main clause, there is a strong probability that the adverbial clause will have the word order SV, the main clause, VS. Considering that the general distribution of the subject position in medieval Spanish shows relatively balanced percentage of the preposition(SV) 48.1% and postposition(VS) 51.9%, it is necessary to consider a special situation that only a complex sentence can have.³ Meanwhile, a complex sentence is composed in the order of <main clause+adverbial clause>, that is, when an adverbial clause comes after a main clause, the word order of each clause is as follows.

| | main clause | adverbial clause |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| Subject-Verb(SV) | 49.3% (108) | 60.8% (133) |
| Verb-Subject(VS) | 50.7% (111) | 39.2% (86) |

[Table 2] Word order distribution in <main clause+adverbial clause>

According to Table 2, a main clause that comes before an adverbial clause has balanced distribution between SV and VS in the almost same ratio as the word order distribution of simple clauses in general. And though SV continues to appear in the high ratio in the postposed adverbial clauses, it is a relatively low compared with SV ratio of preposed adverbial clause observed in Table 1. The high ratio of SV in the preposed adverbial clause in comparison with that of the postposed clause might suggest us that the first position of the sentence and a topicalized word order relate to SV, but a serious consideration about this will be excluded in the present study.

Eventually, the fact we should know through above two tables is that in case of an adverbial clause, SV shows in the high ratio regardless of its location, but in case of a main clause, there is a difference in word order in relation to the location of an adverbial clause. Especially, in case a main clause comes after an adverbial clause, it is noteworthy that VS appears in the ratio of almost 80%. This makes it possible to predict that an adverbial clause located before a main clause, differently from a postposed adverbial clause, can affect the word order of a main clause, because this is the same as the phenomenon that the subject is inverted when an object comes before a verb.⁴ So to speak, it can be understood that, in case an adverbial clause precedes a main clause, it acts as a topic to the main clause and provokes the

² As Spanish is a pro-drop language, it is not necessary for subjects to be lexically expressed. So the complex sentences gathered from the text, *Primera Crónica General de España* numbered in 802, in which each constituent clause has its proper lexical subject. The numbers cited in parentheses indicate those of each clause.

³ Both medieval Spanish and modern Spanish show flexibility between SV and VS as their neutral word order. According to Hinojo Andrés(1987), the frequency of VS in medieval Spanish is due to the object's appearance before a verb. But if an object does not come before a verb, the word order is relatively evenly distributed between SV and VS.

⁴ According to the generativists, 'object-verb-subject' word order in 'verb-second' language does not show the subject inversion but represents 'double movement' of object and verb. The topic object moved to [Spec, CP] and the verb also moved to [Comp, CP]. Accordingly, though it is not that the subject moved behind a verb but is that the verb moved toward, that is, before the verb, 'subject inversion' is used for convenience purpose in this article.

subject to be inverted. This is a typical characteristic of a verb-second language in which the subject is placed after the verb due to the existence of a sentence initial topic, and medieval Spanish, in which the subject inversion regularly occurs when an object appears initially, also has 'verb-second' as its basic word order.

2.2 'Verb-second' phenomena in medieval Spanish

'Verb-second' language is a language having the word order in which the finite verb comes in the second position whatever the first element may be, and Germanic languages such as German, Dutch, Icelandic etc. belong to this language type. All the elements such as subject, object, argumental adverb etc. can be the first element in these languages. The syntactic relationship defined by the verb government is meaningless but the pragmatic relationship between topic and focus(or comment) is to be noticed. A topic is 'a psychological starting point' of a speaker when he begins a discourse and it decides pragmatic domain of a following discourse. Of course, the topic category can be multiple, so it should not necessarily be a sentence(or proposition) and may be a term related to macro structure such as a paragraph, a text etc.⁵ But as the term 'verb-second' is usually treated at a sentence category, the notion of topic in this study will also refer to a 'sentence topic'.⁶

Typical 'verb-second' languages show 'topic-verb-focus(or non-topical elements) as its basic word order in which a topic becomes an initial element and a verb comes next to it.⁷ Accordingly, it can be said in these languages that the syntactic concept such as subject or object exists regardless of word order. If other elements than a grammatical subject are selected as a topic, the subject is located after the verb, so the subject inversion frequently occurs. As we can see in the following German examples,

- (3) a. Gelesen hat er das Buch erst gestern
read has he the book only yesterday
"He has read the book only yesterday" (Fontana 1993:75)
- b. Peter hat den Mann gesehen
Peter has the man seen
"Peter has seen the man"
- c. Heute habe Ich ein Fahrrad gekauft
today have I a bicycle bought
"Today I bought a bicycle"

⁵ Usually, it is normal to distinguish the concepts of 'sentence', 'proposition' and 'discourse' in linguistics, but these concepts are used without any distinction in this study.

⁶ Topic has been traditionally defined by two criteria, 'old information' and 'aboutness' which do not always coincide. The present study, however, will concentrate on the formal and functional correspondence between the topic noun phrase and the adverbial clause, considering topic as a notion defined by 'aboutness'.

⁷ The term 'focus' generally confused with 'comment', 'rheme', 'point', etc. has also confusedly used for notions like 'new information', 'stressed or emphasized elements', etc. In the present study, however, it is nothing but a 'non-topical element' with its wide-spread function of emphasize or supplant or confirm the previously mentioned clause.

- d. Diese Frau habe Ich nie vorher gesehen
this woman have I never before seen
"I have never seen this woman before" (ibid 59)

it can be observed that any constituent may come before a verb and the verb is bound to be located in the second place. And in case an initial constituent is not the subject, it induces subject inversion. This phenomenon is indicated the same in medieval Spanish.

- (4) a. Grande duelo avien las yentes christianas (PMC 29)
great grief had the peoples Christian
"The christian people experienced great grief"
- b. este logar mostro dios a abraam (GE-I 62)
this place showed God to Abraham
"God showed Abraham this place"
- c. A priessa cantan los gallos e quieren quebrar albores (PMC 235)
hurriely sing the roosters and want to break the dawn
"The roosters sing hastily and they want the new day to arrive"
- d. dalli fueron ellas Sennoras luengo tiempo (GE-1, 137)
of there were they ladies long time
"they were the queens of those lands for a long time"
- e. bastir quiero dos archas (PMC 85)
build want two chests
"I want to make two chests"

Through sentences quoted in (4), it can be found that medieval Spanish seems relatively free compared with modern Spanish which usually allows SV to be neutral word order, but this does not mean that medieval Spanish has free word order. Rather, it is better to say that this language has a constant <topic-verb-focus> word order. The reason, on the other hand, why modern Spanish shows relatively flexible word order compared with English or French is that it also allows VS to be a neutral structure, but it must be distinguished from medieval Spanish in that the subject position is varying with the existence or absence of an initial topic, whereas, in modern Spanish, it is varying with the semantics of a verb and information structure of the subject itself.⁸ Meanwhile for non-subject elements to appear before a verb in modern Spanish, it is necessary to go through syntactic filter called 'left-dislocation' without fail. Let's examine the followings.

- (5) a. La chaqueta, María la quiso comprar.
the jacket, María it(clitic) wanted buy
"The jacket Maria wanted to buy"

⁸ As a verb that prefers subject inversion in modern Spanish, there are presentative, ergative verbs, etc. and, if subject NP contains new information, the subject usually comes behind a verb.

- b. A nosotros, nos gustaron los coches rojos.
to us, (clit) made-like the cars red
 “We liked the red cars”
- c. Anoche, ellos vieron la película.
yesterday, they saw the movie
 “Yesterday they saw the movie”
- d. *De esto trata así la historia de España.
about this treats so the history of Spain
 *“About this, the history treats so”
- e. *Cantando andan las chicas del barrio.
singing go the girls of the town
 *“singing the girls of the town go”

(5a,b,c) provide, respectively, examples that a direct object, an indirect object and an adverbial phrase function as a left-dislocated topic, and in case preposed phrases which are not left-dislocated like (5d,e), appear initially, the sentence becomes non-grammatical. Therefore, it can be said that, in modern Spanish, the subject position is relatively free but the initial appearance of other elements than subject is being strictly restricted. It was revealed through (5) that the initial place is fixed only for a grammatical subject, which is different from medieval Spanish in which all constituents could freely appear in the first place. Medieval Spanish, rather, shows an aspect closer to the ‘verb-second’ languages including German. A typological similarity between medieval Spanish and German clearly shows in a complex sentences, and, for example, there is a common phenomenon that the subject of a main clause is regularly inverted. Following complex sentences in German and Dutch, typical ‘verb-second’ phenomena can be given.

- (6) a. Wenn ich Zeit hätte, käme ich vorbei.
if I time had, came I past
 “If I had time, I’d come by”
- b. Als het regent, zal ik naar school gaan.
if it rains will I to school go
 “It it rains, I’ll go to school”

In the above sentences, the finite verbs “kame” and “zal” of main clauses come before the subjects “ich” and “ik”, which is similar to complex sentences of medieval Spanish proposed previously through (1) and (2). Meanwhile, in modern Spanish, an adverbial clause does not affect the subject location of a main clause, and it can be said that if a verb is not presentative or ergative verb, most of word order is SV.

- (7) a. Cuando llegué a casa, **mis padres** ya estaban dormidos. (SV)
when (I) arrived at home, my parents already were sleeping.

- b. Aunque lo hagas mal, **Juan** no se enfadará contigo. (SV)
although(you) do it wrongly, Juan will not get angry.

Accordingly, it can not be definitely said that a complex sentence of modern Spanish, differently from medieval Spanish revealed through Table 1 and 2, has tendency toward specific word order in its main clause, and the phenomenon that the main clause regularly has subject inversion is limited to 'verb-second' language and medieval Spanish.⁹

2.3 Preposed adverbial clauses vs. postposed adverbial clauses

Through Table 1 and 2, it was found that the word order distribution of each clause was different when an adverbial clause is located before and after a main clause. The subject inversion of a main clause regularly occurred in a complex sentences constructed by the order <adverbial clause+main clause>, but when an adverbial clause follows its main clause, the subject inversion did not occur. Then, the respectively different behaviors and functions of preposed and postposed adverbial clauses should be considered. If only a preposed adverbial clause induces subject inversion to a main clause, the 'topicality' of a preposed adverbial clause will be the cause in accordance with the 'verb-second' structure.

Vennemann(1974) expressed 'verb-second' structure as TVX. T represents topic, V, verb and X, other element, and the topic(T) is extended to not only the subject but also all the sentence constituents and the verb is located in the second place. At that time, if the subject is not selected as a topic T, subject inversion necessarily occurs in order to maintain the second place of a verb. Accordingly, in medieval Spanish, a complex sentence composed by the order of <adverbial clause+main clause> can be expressed as TVX and a preposed adverbial clause corresponds to a topic T, V to the verb of a main clause and X to all non-topical elements including the subject. The problem is that though a typical topic of a verb-second language comes just before a verb without 'left-dislocation' filtering, a topic can be embodied through this filtering, too.

- (8) a. **Esto** dizien los romanos. (OVS)
this said the Romans
 "The Romans said **this**"
- b. **De esta manera**, contol la historia. (Adv.VS)
by this way, said-it the history
 "The history said it **by this way**"

(8a) shows the typical structure of medieval Spanish and its order becomes VS when the object "esto" appears as a topic. Meanwhile, (8b), which is left-dislocation structure, is the case where a left-dislocated adverbial phrase "de esta

⁹ According to Morales de Walters(1982), the existence of a preposed adverbial clause or a left-dislocated element does not greatly affect the subject position of a main clause in modern Spanish and the ratio of preposed/postposed subject is about 50% to 50%.

manera” acts as a topic to the following sentence “contol la historia”.¹⁰ According to Fontana(1993), though (8a) is a typical ‘verb-second’ structure, (8b), is said to have been also allowed in German or medieval Spanish. By the way, in Spanish, as a structural grammaticalization progresses centering around the syntactic relationship between the verb and its arguments, the (8b) is diachronically substituted for (8a). Eventually, today’s topic is realized through the left-dislocation without fail. Therefore, the medieval topic indicated in (8a) is named ‘neutral topic’ and the left-dislocated topic embodied in (8b), ‘marked topic’. And the author maintains that both kinds of topic can influence the subject position in a ‘verb-second’ language. In the meantime, according to the generative terms, the ‘neutral’ topic occurs at the [Spec, CP] in verb-second language. Simultaneously, a topic also can appear at the [Spec, TP] which is above the CP. And this type of topic can be said ‘marked topic’.¹¹ Therefore, from following Dutch examples superficially disclosed to be ‘verb-third’, it can be interpreted that two types of topic are placed in its respective position.

- (9) a. Als het regent, zal ik naar school gaan.
 b. Als het regent, dan zal ik naar school gaan.
if it rains, then will I to school go

In (9a), the verb occurs at the second place but in (9b) the verb is located in the third place due to the insertion of an anaphoric adverb “dan”. But, both sentences came from “verb-second” mechanism because the preposed adverbial clause is considered to be generated in [Spec, TP] and “dan” in [Spec, CP]. In these both cases, the subject inversion occurs without fail.

Now, let us look for some formal clues that a preposed adverbial clause can be considered as a topic. Usually and traditionally, the adverbial phrases or clauses have been excluded in the discussion about the topic. Because a topic is defined as an ‘entity of which is spoken’, the initial noun phrases or subjects have been considered as a topic. But Haiman(1978) addressed, centering on the conditional clauses mentioned below, that an adverbial clause can be defined as a topic. For example, the following sentences are said to have formal equivalence to the left-dislocation structure.

- (10) a. The tall man, he is a priest.
 b. If Max comes, (then) I’ll stay.

¹⁰ In medieval Spanish where there were no punctuations such as comma(,), question mark(?), period(.) etc., a problem of deciding whether an initial element is left-dislocated or not can be caused. The sentence punctuations in medieval texts we usually face are what the modern editors inserted for the reader’s readability, so initial elements are sometimes judged on whether or not they are external or internal elements through the clitic position(enclitic/proclitic). It is because in medieval Spanish, the clitics are enclitic if a verb is the sentence initial element, if not, they are proclitic. For example, “esto” in “Esto, dixo| el rey” is considered as extrasentential or dislocated, and ”esto” in “Esto lo dixo el rey” as intrasentential.

¹¹ Haegeman(1992) defines the topic position by quoting Chomsky’s remark “Topic is the left-most NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure”, according to this, an adverbial clause as a topic(CP₁) can be said to be adjuncted to a main clause(CP₂).

In (10a), which is left-dislocation, the degree of semantic-syntactic interdependency between “The tall man” and “he is a priest” is very low because the former exists independently of the syntactic domain of the main verb “is”. But these two parts are considered to have a minimum strategy to form a sentence unit through its semantic intercorrespondence between themselves (“the tall man”–“he”). So we can say that the left-dislocated element does not show any syntactic dependence on the following sentence(or main clause), but can be said to be connected semantically to the latter in that the former is copied by an anaphoric element in the main clause. Similarly, in (10b), as the conditional clause can be copied by “then” in the main clause, two clauses are connected with each other. However, the conditional clause exists outside of the syntactic domain of the main verb, which is symbolized as comma(,) between the two clauses. But, the conditional clause can be said to offer an ‘situational orientation’ to the main clause because the pragmatic domain of “I’ll stay” is necessarily true only within a conditional frame “If Max comes”. This is the reason why the Haiman(1978)’s following statements about a topic and a conditional clause are consistent.

“The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse” (Haiman 1978:585)

“A conditional clause is a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse” (ibid: 583).

And then, we can question whether all the adverbial clauses have topicality or not. The answer to this question is positive, but the case of a postposed adverbial clause seems to be excepted. It is very meaningful for Haiman to limit his account to the preposed conditional clauses, demonstrating a conditional clause can be identified with a typical topic. Meanwhile, Chafe(1974) and Marchese(1987) reported that not only a conditional clause but also all adverbial clauses correspond to a topic NP and only the position of an adverbial clause is decisive in whether or not it is a topic. This means that only initial adverbial clause is a topic because a sentence initial placement is the prerequisite for a topic. They maintained that a postposed adverbial clause is differentiated from a preposed one because the former only performs a very limited function such as supplement, emphasis, revision, etc. to a main clause and has no influence on the following discourse(or sentence) and rather, they noted the particularity as a focus of the postposed adverbial clause. This can be well indicated in following example sentences proposed by Givón(1987), which clearly disclose information and discourse differences in two conditional clauses.

(11) a. Under what conditions would you do it?

b. I’ll do it if he leaves.

(12) a. What will you do if he leaves?

- b. If he leaves, I'll follow him.

The adverbial clause of (11) is closer to a new information than a topic, so it rather corresponds to a focus. Meanwhile, in the adverbial clause of (12), the portion remitted in the preceding question (12a) is repeated, so that, as an old information shared by a hearer and a speaker, it plays a role as 'bridge' which connects the previous discourse to the following one and, at the same time, prepares conditional frame in which the semantic domain of a main clause can anchor.¹²

Meanwhile, the preposed/postposed adverbial clauses also provide different semantic domains to the main clause. Let's suppose that following two complex sentences.

- (13) a. Cuando murió su esposa, él murió.
 when died his wife, he died
 "When the wife died, he also died"
- b. El murió cuando murió su esposa.
 he died when died his wife
 "He died when his wife died"

The preposed adverbial clause of (13a) includes the situation of 'time' and 'cause' at the same time. Accordingly, it can include two meanings, "He died when the wife died" or "As the wife died, he also died". But the postposed adverbial clause of (13b) only has a meaning "When the wife died, he also died" to the main clause. This phenomenon accords with Bolinger(1954-55) statement: "*If some element initially appears, it becomes the setting of a wide-area situation and thus indicates presupposition against succeeding proposition. On the contrary, if some element appears last, it indicates only the contrastiveness in a narrow sense*".

2.4 Formal characteristics of a preposed adverbial clause as a topic

According to our examination developed in section 2.3, the most important difference between a preposed/postposed adverbial clauses was due to a topicality. This notion of topicality was given from almost innate standpoint called "to secure, first of all, the sentence initial position".¹³ By the way, there is also a structure such as 'right-dislocation' in which a topic is realized at the end of the sentence. But it simply means that it is named as right-dislocation because it has a formally symmetrical relation with left-dislocation structure, not because the discourse functions between the left and right-dislocated elements are also the same. Let's compare following structures.

¹² Following statement of Thompson(1987) well expresses the differences of a preposed/postposed adverbial clauses: "...the same phenomenon in terms of front-placed adverbial clauses serving as 'guideposts' to information flow, 'providing a temporal, conditional, causal, or other such orientation for the information in the upcoming main clause.[...] A preposed adverbial clause represents a limitation of focus, signalling a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood. A postposed clause, on the contrary, only adds something to the assertion made by the main clause or modifies part of what was stated there".

¹³ The fact that an authentic topic only corresponds to a sentence initial element, in other words, configurationality of a topic is a language-universal phenomenon. This reflects the human cognition which progresses successively from one to another.

- (14) a. Juan, este payaso llegó a conocer ahí a María.
Juan, this clown arrived to meet there María
- b. Es un buen chico, tu hermano.
(he)is a good boy, your brother

(14a), which is a left-dislocation structure, exhibits a left-dislocated topic “Juan” and the rest of sentence that speaks and comments about the topic. On the contrary, not only is it difficult to say that “tu hermano”, the right-dislocated topic in (14b), provides entity framework to the preceding sentence “Es un buen chico”, but this whole sentence can not be about “tu hermano”, either. Rather, when the speaker enunciates “Es un buen chico” (*he’s a good boy*), he presupposes that the hearer also knows who the “he” is, but when the enunciation was finished, he confirms “he” is “tu hermano” (*your brother*), considering that his belief in the hearer’s knowledge might be wrong. Therefore, an authentic topic of (14b) is “he” phonologically unrealized. Then, it can be said that the rightmost element indicated in (14b) has only formal equivalence to the left-dislocated topic but can not be defined as an authentic topic.

Like this, as a principle that a topic should necessarily appear initially, the ‘configurationality’ of a topic is also discussed. Gernsbacher(1992) maintains that “*Language structure is an enunciation made suitably to a human cognitive process, The speaker enunciates firstly old information before new information. As such, the hearer accepts successively new informations on the basis of old information*”. Gernsbacher explained configurationality saying that a typical topic as the first element of an enunciation plays a role named “the speaker’s perspective”, ‘psychological startpoint’ and ‘entity or situation framework’ to the following sentence, and thus should initially appear in that sense. Therefore in accordance with the principle of configurationality, only preposed adverbial clause can be defined as a topic and a postposed adverbial clause can be defined as a focus which supplements or emphasizes the main clause previously mentioned. This very difference was what was reflected in the word order of each clause as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

In addition to word order, medieval Spanish was positively equipped with formal markers to express topicality of a preposed adverbial clause. In most cases, these markers are used in order to separate adverbial clause from the main clause, and the subject of main clause is usually postposed.

- (15) a. e despues que fue poblado, que podrie **ella** yr alla si quisiese (37a, 4-5)
É after it was inhabited, que she could go there if she wanted
- b. quando yo vin a este moro, que me recibio el onrradamiente (514b, 20-21)
when I came to this pagan, que he received me honestly
- (16) E por que fueron estos emperadores amos cristianos, no fallamos que fuesse en su tiempo martiriado **ningun martir** (165b, 27-29)

Et because these both emperors were Christian, we don't find that anyone was martyred in their time

- (17) Despues que este rey Tireso dixo esto a Cipion sobrel fecho de Çamora, assi cuemo ya oystes, llegol **mandado** de Roma (30b, 51-54)
*After this king Tireso told this to Cipion about the occurrence de Zamora, such as you already heard, the **message** arrived to him from Rome*

The examples presented in (15) show a preposed adverbial clause is separated from its main clause by a conjunction “que”. And in this case, there is no actual grammatical function performed by this conjunction, so it can be replaced with comma(.). Meanwhile, in (16), other main phrases are inserted between an adverbial clause and the rest of sentence, in (17) also, an inserted sentence plays a role of separating these two clauses. The common point of (15)-(17) is that all the inserted elements separate adverbial clauses from their main clauses, which becomes evidence of the grammatically independent status of the preposed adverbial clause in relation to the main one, as is often the case with a left-dislocated topic noun. Among them, (16) and (17) are still used to separate a topic from the non-topical part of sentence in modern Spanish, but the conjunction ‘que’ indicated in (15) need to be mentioned as a peculiar phenomenon of medieval Spanish.

An attentive reader can observe the regular use of ‘que’ as a topic marker in a medieval Spanish texts.¹⁴ Fontana(1993), with regard to the medieval use of ‘que’, uses the terminology ‘recomplementation’, that is, a term of ‘double complementation’, which refers to the structure that CP is repeated, from the generative perspective. Accordingly, ‘que’ can mark all topical NPs, including adverbial clauses. As we can see its use in the following examples,

- (18) a. la tierra que se abrie et soruie tus malquerientes, et los rayos del cielo que unien et los matauan (PCG 133b, 23-25)
the land que was open and sucked up bad persons & the lightning from the sky que came and killed them
- b. dalli adelant que se non trabaiarien ellos de fazer (PCG 76b, 8-9)
since that time que they would not try to do
- c. e las cibdades et los castiellos et los logares que los alaraues tomaron por fuerça, (PCG 327b, 3-4)
Et the cities and the castles and the places que the Arabians took forcedly

a preposed subject in (18a), an adverbial phrase in (18b) and an direct object in (18c) play a role as a topic respectively. All these elements are separated from the rest part of sentence through the conjunction “que” without any grammatical function. And now we wonder if a postposed adverbial clause can be marked by the conjunction ‘que’. But this is negative as expected. We could not find any

¹⁴ In modern Spanish, the use of “que” for distinguishing a topic from a non-topic element disappeared, but still remains in Catalan: “*Ens van demanar que si finalment decidíem portarlos que per favor els pugéssim al tercer pis*”

case, even one, where a postposed adverbial clause and even a postposed subject or postposed object are separated by 'que' in medieval texts. Therefore, the reason why a preposed adverbial clause is formally differentiated from the postposed one is essentially due to the topicality of the former.

Lastly, the difference between a preposed/a postposed adverbial clauses can be also confirmed by existence or not of comma(,). So to speak, a preposed adverbial clause has semantic and pragmatic relation with not only a main clause but also with a previous discourse, so that it is difficult to firmly consider the adverbial clause as a subordinate one to the main clause. This point is the reason why comma is arranged only between an preposed adverbial and a main clauses whereas a postposed adverbial clause is not separated from the previous main clause by means of comma. The postposed adverbial clause, therefore, that has a semantic-pragmatic relation only with the previous main clause can be considered as a 'true subordinate clause'. This case should be the same as the leftmost elements are separated from the sentence through a comma(or phonological pause) in left-dislocation structure where a marked topic is realized. We can find the similarity between (19a) and (19b) is that the initial elements are separated from the sentence, and in (19c), such separation does not occur.

- (19) a. En cuanto al pescado, me gusta más la sardina.
as for the fish, I like best the sardine
- b. Cuando murió su esposa, él murió.
When his wife died, he died.
- c. El murió cuando murió su esposa.
He died when his wife died

Accordingly, we might say a left-dislocated topic or a preposed adverbial clause is not subordinate to a main clause but 'meta-enunciation' or 'quasi-coordinate clause', and it would be also reasonable to consider that only a postposed adverbial clause is a subordinate one.

We have proposed until now that the subject inversion in a main clause is due to the 'verb-second' structure or 'TVX', a term created by Vennemann. For that argument, the formal markers and functional roles a preposed adverbial clause has were examined through comparison with a postposed adverbial clause. Consequently, we have confirmed that a preposed adverbial clause is not different from a topic NP and the subject inversion of a main clause is controlled by the 'verb-second' structure. So to speak, when an adverbial clause is located in the first position, the subject appears postposed to maintain the verb's second position. This phenomenon is also shown in Germanic languages where a finite verb appears in the second place and the first place is bound to be occupied by a topic.

- (20) a. E todas estas cosas las deven ellos mostrar (VS) (PII 79)
and all these things they must show them_(elit.)
- b. Cinco razones ponen los sabios (VS) (PCG 89b, 40)
five reasons the wise men set down

- c. A la manñana vilos el mancebo de Helyseus (VS) (LFU 125)
in the morning the lad of Helyseus saw them
- d. E quando los reyes asyl temieren non les faldra ninguna cosa pora cunplir todo el bien (VS) (PII 51)
"E as long as the kings are afraid of him nothing will lack to carry out all the property"

In (20a,b,c,d), a left-dislocated object, a simply fronted object, an adverb and an adverbial clause, respectively, appear as a topic and the main subjects are inverted. This is a medieval syntactic feature, equally corresponding to the Germanic languages as discussed in 2.2 but different from modern Spanish, which tends to place the subject before a verb as indicated in the following examples.

- (21) a. Las acelgas **María** las detesta. (SV)
the spinach beet María hates them
- b. Cuando su mujer murió, **él** empezó a viajar por todo el mundo. (SV)
when his wife died, he began to travel through all the world
- c. Del examen **nadie** ha hablado todavía. (SV)
Of the examination nobody has spoken yet
- d. En el jardín **los árboles** crecen mucho. (SV)
in the garden the trees grow much

Because, the topic existence in the initial position does not affirm subject inversion in modern Spanish, so that it is impossible for a verb to come in the second place. This syntactic aspect can distinguish typologically modern Spanish from medieval Spanish, but 'verb-second' is still found in some sentences of the former, even if partially.

- (22) a. ¿Qué ha dicho María?
what_(obj) has said María_(subj)?
- b. Ayer vino Juan.
yesterday came Juan_(subj)
- c. *¿Qué María ha dicho?
**what María has said?*

The 'verb-second' structure shown in (22) is very restricted in modern Spanish. Therefore, it is classified as a 'residual verb-second language' and exhibits basically different language type from medieval Spanish where the 'psychological subject', that is, a topic occurred initially, whereas the 'grammatical subject' usually occurs in the first position in modern Spanish.¹⁵

¹⁵ Modern Spanish can be said to be typologically equal to English in this point. Following examples show us a 'verb-second' phenomenon which remains in English. "What has Mary said?", "There goes Max", "Pop goes the weasel", "-I don't know-, said Max".

2.5 Complex sentences composed of non-finite construction

When participle, infinitive, or gerund construction has its proper subject different from the subject of the main verb, it is called as 'non-finite construction', which plays the same functional role as an adverbial clause. Then, it can be predicted that this construction would affect the word order of its postposed main clause. Following tables are showing word order distribution of each clause according to the preposed/postposed non-finite constructions.

| | non-finite construction | main clause |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Subject-Verb (SV) | 52.5% (196) | 20.6% (77) |
| Verb-Subject (VS) | 47.5% (177) | 79.4% (296) |

[Table 3] <Non-finite construction + Main clause>

| | main clause | non-finite construction |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Subject-Verb (SV) | 51.2% (21) | 9.8% (4) |
| Verb-Subject (VS) | 48.8% (20) | 90.2% (37) |

[Table 4] <Main clause + Non-finite construction>

When non-finite construction is placed before a main clause, the subject inversion phenomenon is clearly shown in the main clause, but when the former comes behind the latter, the tendency toward VS is not detected. Furthermore, the word order in the preceding main clauses indicated in the table 4 alternates between SV/VS by the subject's old/new information or verb types like presentative and ergative verbs.

Meanwhile, in respect of the word order of non-finite constructions, a preposed construction shows relatively proportional distribution between SV/VS, while the postposed construction overwhelmingly shows VS. This means that the postposition of subject in this construction was grammaticalized not only in modern Spanish but already in medieval Spanish. But what distinguishes medieval Spanish from the modern one is the high ratio of SV word order of a preposed construction in the former, and this can be understood to mean that the sentence initial position made it violate the principle of "set its proper subject in the last position of the construction" and move is subject to the first place where topic NPs are located.¹⁶ But in modern Spanish, the subject of a non-finite construction should appear behind the verb regardless of whether or not the construction is preposed or postposed.

(23) a. Vendidas las casas, Juan se sintió triste. (VS)

sold the houses, Juan felt sad

b. *Las casas vendidas, Juan se sintió triste. (SV)

¹⁶ Hopper(1979) looked for the reason of the frequent appearance SV in the subordinate clauses, where a new subject rarely appears, It's because a subordinate clause, he states, is background which mostly contains 'presupposition' or 'old information'. As showed in Table 1 and 2, the tendency toward SV in the adverbial clauses can be also understood from this perspective.

- c. Le cedió todo su derecho, confiando el pueblo en el presidente, (VS)
to him (he)made over all his rights, confiding the people in the president
- d. *Le cedió todo su derecho, el pueblo confiando en el presidente. (SV)
- e. Al salir el sol, ellos se arrojaron al río. (VS)
to come out the sun, they hurled themselves to the river
- f. *Al el sol salir, ellos se arrojaron al río. (SV)

As showed in (23), modern Spanish always places the subject of the construction behind non-finite verbal form. But, from the fact that the medieval subject distribution is differently indicated according to preposition or postposition of this construction, it can be estimated that the grammaticalization toward VS was not totally performed in medieval Spanish, where the competition between SV and VS in the preposed construction reflects its hesitation between maximizing its topicality through locating proper subject in the topic position and defending its grammaticalized word order VS. The following medieval sentences are divided into the ones composed of preposed and postposed non-finite constructions.

- (24) a. Ellos estando assi hablando, llego el dragon (SV,VS)(PCG 13b, 19-20)
they being in this way saying, the dragon arrived
- b. Esto librado alli desta guisa, el rey don Ordonno tornose pora su tierra rico (SV,SV) (PCG 366a, 15-17)
picked out this there by this way, the king don Ordonno returned for his rich land
- c. Et ellos por entrarla, llegaron los moros quando aquello uieron todos los mas onrrados (SV,VS) (PCG 487a, 44-46)
Et they attacking-it, arrived the Moors when all the most upright men saw it
- (25) a. Dios me a otorgado de vencer esta fazienda seyendo yo muerto. (SV,VS) (635b, 23-24)
God has granted me to win this fortune being I dead
- b. Et dalli uiniemos a Baesça, et fallamosla yerma, foydos todos los moros ende (VS) (704b, 29-31)
Et from there we came to Baesca Et found out it barren, fled all the Moors from there

The examples proposed above show typical 'verb-second' word order of medieval Spanish. Especially, the structure shown in (24) corresponds to the one of <preposed adverbial clause+main clause>, of which the adverbial clause or its

correspondent non-finite construction acts as a topic to the main clause. Thus the 'verb-second' effects are the reason of subject inversion in the main clause.¹⁷

Meanwhile, a preposed non-finite construction indicates its own topicality by being accompanied by topic markers. First, it is separated from a main clause by insertion of the conjunction "que".

- (26) a. *ell estando alli que murio **aquel rey Yuçaf** (559b, 42-43)
*he being there que that king Yuçaf died**
- b. *andados **dos annos** del regnado deste rey don Ramiro de Leon, que ueno **Gunderedo rey de los normanos** con muy grand poder (424b-425a, 52-2)
*past two years of the reign of this king don Ramiro de Leon, que **Gunderedo, king of the Normans** came with very big power**

there is a case where an inserted main clause separates the non-finite construction from its main clause and the subject inversion is also clearly shown here.

- (27) a. *Et **el** estando faziendo su sermon diz que finco y **vn judio** en la puerta de la iglesia (642b, 1-3)
*Et he being doing his lecture it says that there was a Jewish at the door of the church**
- b. *Yendo **los cristianos** en alcance dizen que murieron en el rio de Xucar de los moros **bien tres mill** (592b, 18-20)
*catching up the Christians they say that about three thousand Moors died at the river Xucar**

Third, two constituent clauses are separated by insertion of other adverbial phrase or clause. In that case, the inserted adverbial clause acts as another topic to the main clause, and various adverbial phrases or clauses are frequently accumulated in the initial position. It is possible because the number of topics is not limited not only in modern Spanish but medieval Spanish.¹⁸

- (28) a. *Et non **cuedando** ninguno que la cosa uernie como ueno, assi como cuenta **ell arçobispo**, contesçio al rey don Fernando que uençio **ell la fazienda** (673a, 32-35)
*Et believing nobody that the thing will happen as it happened, such as says the archbishop, it occurred to the king don Fernando that he won the fortune**

¹⁷ Of course some medieval sentences having variant word orders can be observed, too, and this is another aspect of medieval Spanish where the grammaticalization degree was relatively low in comparison with modern Spanish: "*Et desta guisa dexaron amos en un dia ell imperio et la nobleza del, Diocleciano estando en Roma et Maximiano en Nicomedia.* (PCG 178a, 52-1)". The sentence mentioned above shows <VS in main clause + SV in non-finite construction>.

¹⁸ Fernández Soriano(1993) maintained that the number of topics appearing before a verb is not restricted but the number of focus in the same position should be only one in Spanish.

- b. Estando las huestes de la una part en los campos Cathalanos, luego que el rey Theuderedo fue soterrado, alçaron los godos por rey a Thurismundo (236b, 46-49)
being the soldiers of the other part in the camp Cathalanos, after the king Theuderedo was buried, the Goth erected Thurismundo as a king

Lastly, a preposed non-finite construction can be copied by an anaphoric element in a main clause, just like left-dislocation structure. It can be seen in the following sentences that a preposed non-finite construction is repeated in main clause by an adverbial phrases like “este anno”, “en esto” etc. This, as examined in (5), (10), and (14), is the same as the phenomenon that a left-dislocated topic is copied by an anaphoric element in main clause.

- (29) a. **Andados XI annos del regnado daquel rey don Vermudo, este anno** ueno Almançor con su hueste mui grand (448b, 38-42)
past XI years of the reign of that king don Vermudo, in this year Almanzor came with his very big troop
- b. **en quanto en husar ellos sus costunbres segunt su ley, que en esto** demandassen ellos lo que quisiessen (590b, 43-45)
while they making use of their custom according to the norm, by this way they will ask what to want

Therefore, a complex sentence composed of <non-finite construction+main clause> is also considered as left-dislocation, and the non-finite construction corresponds to a left-dislocated topic which induces subject inversion in the postposed main clause.¹⁹

3. Conclusion

The reason why medieval Spanish seems to have relatively flexible word order compared with modern Spanish is that the former ultimately had sensitive syntax to the topic existence. This means that medieval Spanish was a ‘verb-second’ language and had a TVX word order, in which a topic becomes an initial element and a verb is placed immediately behind it. The complex sentence composed of an preposed adverbial clause and a main clause also shows the arrangement according to TVX. It can be said in other words that if an adverbial clause(T) functions as a topic, the verb(V) of its main clause is located in the second and the subject(X) is necessarily inverted, which is just like the subject inversion when an object becomes a topic. This is the decisive clue that distinguishes medieval Spanish from modern Spanish because the latter is classified as a VO word order language. In a complex

¹⁹ M. Suñer(1986) and Morales de Walters(1988), on the other hand, noticed non-finite construction with preposed subject in Carribean Spanish. But the Carribean phenomenon should be differentiated from medieval Spanish because, in the former, the subject of the non-finite sentence is always preposed regardless of the position of the non-finite construction.

“Para el gobernador tomar eso en consideración debe ser presentado por escrito. /Pasó toda la tarde sin Daniel volverse a su casa. /cuando me empezaron a dar trabajo para yo hacer maquinilla...” (Suñer:1986)

sentence composed of a preposed adverbial and its main clause, modern Spanish does not show regular subject inversion in the main clause, whereas in medieval Spanish it occurs very regularly. And this medieval phenomenon explains that an adverbial clause acts as a topic and thus induces VS word order in the main clause. It is because the main subject was forced to be inverted in accordance with the 'verb-second' structure if other elements than the subject occur initially regardless of its syntactic relation with verbs. For supporting this hypothesis, we demonstrated that an adverbial clause can be identified with any topic NPs by quoting Haiman(1978) and Givón(1987) who argued that the preposed adverbial clause corresponds formally and functionally to a marked topic NP of the left-dislocation construction. On the other hand, we examined that not only the right-dislocated element but the postposed adverbial clause can not be defined as a topic in a true sense but as a focus. This is confirmed by the fact that, in a complex sentence composed of a preposed main clause and a postposed adverbial clause, the latter does not have any structural influence upon the word order of the former.

The non-finite construction was also examined in this investigation when it is one of the constituents composing complex sentences. Just like a preposed adverbial clause, the preposed non-finite construction induced subject inversion in the main clause and can be identified with a left-dislocated topic NP.

The formal markers that a topic NP, a preposed adverbial clause and a preposed non-finite construction share are that they can be separated from their main clauses through the insertion of conjunction 'que' or other adverbial phrases, existence of a comma, anaphoric copying in main clauses, etc., and mostly play a role of assuring their grammatical independence from the main predicate. But the same was not found in a postposed adverbial clause and postposed non-finite construction.

Lastly, it has been also noticed that SV appeared in a very high ratio in the preposed adverbial clause and non-finite construction. But this requires further study about word order SV especially in relation with topicality or topicalization of the adverbial clauses which generally function as a background to the principal storyline, namely foreground represented by VS word order of main clauses. And more attention also needs to be paid to correlation between grammatical strategies like informational status of subject, verbal aspect, aktionsart, and word order types, etc. and the division of background/foreground of clauses.

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