Diachronic variation in Romance I

A. Introduction

1. Is Old Romance V2?

- Object with no resumptive copy which in modern Italian is not possible
- New information Focus in CP

(1) a  
_"He told him about the treason that was planned by the vassal."_

b  
_"But he didn’t recognise Lancelot, as he was too sullen."_

(2) _"A short man can do this service for him."_

(3) _"King Solomon made a sedan chair. He made the columns of silver and the support of gold; he covered the steps on which one climbed up with purple."_

(4) _"You will leave the door open for me tonight."_

(5) _"I expect compensation from you."_

(6) _"The worm in the stone I knew the theorm in the stone I knew the which in modern Italian is not possible"_

b  
_"He sold the weapons and horse, the money himself kept"_

c  
_"Qual è il maestro, di voi tre?". L’ uno si fece avanti e disse: Messere, io sono (Novellino, p. 174, rr. 1-3)

(7) _"Who is the master, among you three? The one came forward and said: Sir, I am"_

(8) _"Other thing neg could the king find The one came forward and said: Sir, I am"_

(9) _"The king couldn’t find anything else."_

(10) _"Mador arrived to court a little after the hour of first hour (i.e., 6 AM)."_

(11) _"Pilatus gave bad advice."_

(12) _"so know I the best reason"_
“So I know the best reason.”

Este logar mostro dios a Abraam. (oSp.; Fontana 1993:64)
this place showed God to Abraham
“God showed Abraham this place.”

Con tanta pacência sofria ela esta enfermidade. (oPort.; Ribeiro 1995, 114)
with so-much patience suffered she this disease
‘She suffered this disease so patiently.’

Bon vin fa l’uva negra. (oMil.; Bonvesin, p. 96)
good wine makes the-grape black (subj)
“Black grapes make good wine.”

E t cosí lo mis e’ ço (oVen.; Lio Mazor, p. 31)
and so it-put down
“And so I put it down.”

Typical features of V2 languages
a) subject inversion
b) main versus embedded asymmetry (in all Germanic languages except Yiddish and Icelandic)
c) linear restriction: only one constituent before the inflected verb

2. Can the standard analysis of Germanic languages be extended to Romance as it is?
3. If not, which alternatives should we pursue?

B. Subject Inversion

• All Old Romance languages display subject inversion of the Germanic type (Aux-Subject Past. Participle, as examples of compound tenses are not frequent in all languages we also use the evidence coming from the V- Subject -Object order).

(7) Einsint aama la demoisele Lancelot (Le Mort le Roi Artu, 38; Adams (1987))
Thus loved the lady lancelot

(8) Desuz un pin en est li reis alez (la Chanson de Roland, 165 Schulze 1088: 200)
Under a pin-tree is the king gone

(9) Mes ou fu cele espee prise?
But where was that sword taken? (Perceval, 1.3640; Roberts (1993))

(10) quali denari avea Baldovino lasciati loro. Doc. fior. 437
which money had Baldovino left them

(11) Molt consirà Felix en les paraules que… (Fischer (2002): 13a/31,12)
Very preoccupied Felix in these words that...

• This is not more possible (not even in interrogative clauses) in modern non-V2 Romance (the only exception is Rhaetoromance, which is still V2)

(12) *Qua’ a Jean fait?
   Qu’a-t-il fait?
(13) *Ainsi aime la dame L.
   So loves the lady L.
(14) *Cosa ha Gianni fatto?
   What has John done?
(15) *Qu’a Jean fait?
   Qu’a-t’il fait?
(16) Enier è Giani gny a ciesa Rhatoromance V2 (S. Vigilio di Marebbe)
   Yesterday is G. come to home
C. Main vs. embedded asymmetry

- In the Germanic languages (except Yiddish and Icelandic) embedded V2 is restricted to declarative clauses embedded under bridge verbs (non factive V's), with a difference:

- Mainland Scandinavian languages have embedded V2 under a phonetically realized complementizer, German does not:

(17) Vi vet at kaffee drikker Peter aldrig
We know that coffee drinks Peter never

(18) Wir wissen Peter trinkt kein Kaffee

Apparently even within the Germanic domain we have to assume that there is either a difference in the position of the verb or a difference in the position of the complementizer

- the main vs. embedded asymmetry holds in Old Italian only for interrogative clauses, while declarative clauses generally admit embedded V2 (and the other phenomena related to this), though do not require it.

(19) et esso dicea che ll' avea morta a ragione, perciò che primieramente avea ella fatta a
and he said that she had killed with reason, so that for first had she done to
llui ingiuria, (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, 116)
him injury

(20) fuli detto che in sua pregione avea lo sovrano maestro intendente … (Novellino p. 126, 11)
was-him said that in his prison had the king master knowing...

- no cases of subject inversion are found in embedded interrogative clauses

In the latest period of V2 (XV century) when V2 was still possible but not more obligatory, relative clauses have obligatory V2 after the wh-relative item
Machiavelli “Il principe”

(21) La quale mai o di rado falla (p. 200)
Which never or rarely faults

(22) Altra difficoltà che quella che infra loro medesimi per propria ambizione nacque (p.201)
Other difficulty that the that among them-selves for their own ambition arouse

(23) Quelli i quali per vie virtuose simili a costoro diventano principe (p. 210)
Those who through honest ways similar to these become prince

No cases like that are found in embedded interrogatives.

Roberts notes the same for Old French: embedded V2 is possible in declaratives embedded under a bridge verbs but also when the main verb is not a bridge verb:

(24) Et il respondirent que de ceste nouvelle sont il moult lié (Le Mort le Roi Artu: 45 Roberts (1993:29))
And they replied that of this news are they very happy

(25) Que li soudans de Coine oi dire que si faitement avoient fait li Francois
That the sultan of C. heard say that so in this way had done the French

Problem: embedded V2 can be confused with Stylistic Fronting: in Icelandic, Faroese e Old Swedish stylistic fronting is found when
a) there is a subject trace of null expletive,  
b) the fronted element is typically an adverbial  
c) or the past participle  

However, Roberts notes that there are cases of XP movement after a subject pronoun in Old French, moreover, it can also be an object moving, not only an adverb or the past participle:

(26) Quant il de ci departiront    (Vance (1988:11))
    When they from here will-leave
(27) Il vaut grant argent, quant latin parole    (Fabliaux, Adams (1988:12))
    It is worth much money since Latin speaks

Apparently if Old Romance has stylistic fronting, then the phenomenon has a different distribution with respect to Germanic languages

Moreover, some cases are clear embedded V2

(28) Quant l’ot li chapelain escrit    (le Roman de Tristan, Adams (1988:19a))
    When it-had the chaplain written
(29) S’a la vostre bonté vousist mon pere prendre garde    (Le Vair Palefroi Adams (1988:19c))
    If against your good will wanted my father to take precaution

Whether we analyse cases like (24)-(27) like stylistic fronting or not, (28) and (29) are clear cases of embedded V2 in Old French and Old Italian.

D. Non V2 clauses

- the linear restriction is not always respected: V1, V3 and V* cases are found in Old Italian throughout its history (less in Old French, only in the second half of the XIV century)

Old Italian V3

- Throughout the whole history of Italian more than one constituent can be found to the left of the verb:

(30) Sao ko [kelle terre per kelle fini que ki contene], [trenta anni] le possette parte Santi Benedicti.
    I know that those lands for those boundaries that here contains, thirty years them-owned party of Saint Benedict
    “I know that the party of Saint Benedict owned for thirty years those lands between the boundaries that are here contained.”

(31)a Et dall' altra parte Aiaces era uno cavaliere franco (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 94, r. 7)
    And on the other side A. was a knight courageous
b E la reina Artemidora di Alicarnasso, che in adiuto di Serses era venuta, and the queen A. of Alicarnasso, who in help of Serses was come
    francamente si mescolò nella battaglia (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 92, r. 1)
courageously herself mingles into the battle

(32)  a  [L’altre  ami  [si] est la  moiller. (oPied.;  Serm. Sub., 238)

the-other friend so is  the wife

“The other friend is the wife.”

b  [A lè]  [per tug li tempi] me rend  e  me consegnó (oMil.;  Bonvesin, 163)
to her for  all the times  me surrender and me-deliver

“I surrender and submit myself to her forever.”

c  E  [Pero Capel] en la fiata branchà uno uiger de pes (oVen.;  Lio Mazor, 35)
and Pero Capel immediately sized a hamper of fish

d  [Allora]  [questi] andò e  ricombatté. (oFlor.;  Novellino, 37)
then  this went and fought-again

“Then he went there and began to fight again.”

e  [Ad ogni matto]  [i  savi]  paiono matti,  [sì come]  [ai savi]  [i matti] paiono veramente

to each madman the sane-men seem mad,  so as to the sane-men the madmen seem truly
mad

“To each madman the sane men seem crazy, just as the madmen seem truly crazy to the
sane men.”

f  Et  [chi facesse contra]  [la prima volta] gli sia imposta penitença, et la seconda sia cacciato
(oFlor.;  Testi fiorentini, 46)
and who should-act contrarily, the first time to-him be imposed a penance, and the second
be expelled

“And to anyone who may act  contrarily, the first time he should be fined, the second time
he should be expelled.”

g  [La speranza che avia  de lo tuo  gran perdonare] [a peccar] me conduca. (oUmbr.;
Jacopone)

the hope  that had1sg of the your great forgiving  to sin  me drove

“The hope that I had of your gráte forgiveness led me to sin.”

h  [La figura piacenté]  [lo coro] mi  diranca. (oSic.;  Scremin, 34,  Jacopo da Lentini)

the figure pleasant  the heart to-me wrenches

“The pleasant figure tears my heart.”

Old French V3

If there is an empty operator in Yes/no questions, these are cases of V3
The same is true of wh-questions: Roberts notes that although this construction resembles Left Dislocation, there is no resumptive clitic as in its modern counterpart.

Roberts states that, though possible, V>2 is rare, but increases with time (from 4-6% to 12-15%). The number of adverbs (also present in the Germanic languages) that can be found in first position without triggering V2 increases as well. Texts of the XVI century also present clear cases of V3 where no adverb is involved:

How are we going to account for:

- Embedded V2 under non-bridge verbs after a complementizer
- V3 cases only in interrogatives in Old French
- V3 cases in declaratives in MidFrench
- Generalized V3 possibility throughout the whole history of Italian

A unique CP layer does not give us enough “space” for this

Rizzi’s split CP

(37) [ForceP [LD* [Focus [LD* [FinitenessP [IP]]]]]] (Rizzi 1997)

E. The claims

- there is only one subfield for LD.
- Focus is not a single projection but a subfield as well.
- some adverbials can be located at the IP-edge lower than the non LD preverbal subject position.
- adverbials can also occupy a scene setting position which is close to Hanging Topic, defining a “Frame CP subfield”.
- a split CP perspective, far from being a problem for V2, can account for more fine-grained observations in V2 languages too.
- split CP gives us a handle to understand verbal selection of clausal complements.

E 1. LD ONLY OCCURS ABOVE FOCUSP

Rizzi (1997)

(38) C…(TOP*) (FOC) (TOP*)
The following pair shows that the order is LD-Focus:

(39) a  *A GIANNI, un libro di poesie, lo regalerete  
       To GIANNI, a book of poems, you will give it  
  b  Un libro di poesie, A GIANNI, lo regalerete  
       a book of poems, To GIANNI, you will give it  
       ‘You will give a book of poems to Gianni’  

(40)[TopicP [FocusP [IP ]]]

Apparent counterexamples (Rizzi (1997))

(41) a  QUESTO a Gianni, domani, gli dovremmo dire!  
       this to Gianni, tomorrow, to-him should tell  
       ‘Tomorrow we should tell this to Gianni’  
  b  A Gianni, QUESTO, domani gli dovremmo dire!  
       to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, to-him should tell  
  c  A Gianni, domani, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire!  
       to Gianni, tomorrow, THIS to-him should tell

This can be accounted for as follows:

As for (41b)

Adverbials have to be factored out as they can occur IP initially as shown by the following pair

(42) a  Mario (l) compra na casa  
       Mario (he) buys a house  
       ‘Mario is going to buy a house’  
  b  Mario, na casa, no*(l) la compra  
       Mario, a house, not (he) it will buy  
       ‘Mario is not going to buy a house’  
  c  Mario doman compra na casa  
       Mario tomorrow buys a house  
       ‘Mario is going to buy a house tomorrow’  
  d  Mario doman l compra na casa  
       Mario tomorrow he buys a house

Adverbs like doman ‘tomorrow’ can occur after a non dislocated subject as the absence of the subject clitic in (42d) shows

As for (41a)

a) dative clitics are not as reliable as object clitics as a test for LD, as the following example shows:

(43) Gliel’ho detto a Gianni  
       to him-it have told to John  
       ‘I told this to Gianni’

b) intonation is not a crucial test for determining the position of an XP: an intonationally focalised
Topic is perfectly possible, as (44B) indicates

(44) A: Mi ha detto che il tappeto, lo compra l'anno prossimo
He has told me that the carpet he will buy *it* next year
B: No, ti sbagli, il divano lo compra l'anno prossimo
'No, you are wrong, the sofa he will buy *it* next year'

A structure like (45a) is grammatical with the interpretation in which Gianni is the object in Topic and suo corefers with Gianni. On the contrary, (45b), in which the object is focussed, is ungrammatical, displaying the weak crossover effect.

(45) a Gianni, suo padre l'ha licenziato
Gianni, his father has fired him
‘Gianni has been fired by his own father’

b *Gianni, suo padre ha licenziato
Gianni, his father has fired it

Notice that (45b) is possible if suo padre «his father» is interpreted as the direct object and Gianni as the subject; if suo padre is the direct object, suo is correctly bound by a c-commanding antecedent, the basic position of Focus in SpecIP. Weak crossover can be used as a test to distinguish between Topic and Focus elements in other cases. Note that Topics, even if intonationally focalised, always escape the weak crossover restriction:

(46) A: Mario, suo padre non lo vede mai
Mario, his father never sees him
‘His father never sees Mario’
B: No, Gianni, suo padre non lo vede mai
no, Gianni, his father never sees him
‘No, his father never sees Gianni’

(47) a *A MARIA, Giorgio, sua madre presenterà
to Maria, George, his mother will introduce
‘His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria’

b *A MARIA, Giorgio, sua madre presenterà
to Maria, George, her mother will introduce
‘Her mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria’

c *A MARIA, Giorgio, la madre, lo presenterà
To Mary, G., his mother will introduce him

The presence vs. absence of the clitic has no effect on the weak crossover restriction:

(48) Di Gianni, suo padre non parla mai
of Gianni, his father not talks never
'His father never talks about Gianni'

(41) contains a PP-Topic which does not require a clitic and nevertheless no weak crossover effect arises.

The sequence in (41a) is thus not to be interpreted as (49a) but as (49b)

(49) a [Topic Focus Topic]
E 2. THE INTERNAL MAKEUP OF THE FOCUS FIELD

V2 Old Northern Italian Dialects and Modern Southern Dialects display an Informational Focus at the left

(50) a) aço dis-el plusor fiade (Old Venetian)
this said he many times
‘He said this many times’
b) una fertra fei lo reis Salomon (Old Piedmontese)
a sedan chair made King Salomon
‘King Salomon made a sedan chair’
c) Un libro comprasti? (Sicilian)
a book bought
‘Did you buy a book?’
c’ Hai comprato un libro? (Northern Italian)
have bought a book?
‘Did you buy a book?’
d) Antonio sono (Sicilian)
Antonio am
‘It’s Antonio’
d’ Sono Antonio
am Antonio
‘It’s Antonio’

E 3. Contrastive and Informational Focus in Rhaeto-Romance

Rhaetoromance is V2

(51) a) T vas gonoot a ciasa sua S. Leonardo
you go often at home his
‘You often visit him’
b) Gonoot vas-t a ciasa sua
often go-you at home his
c) *Gonoot t vas a ciasa sua
Often you go at home his

(52) a) *Da trai l liber ti a-i de a Giani
sometimes the book to-him have-I given to John
b) *L liber da trai ti a-i de a Giani
the book sometimes have-I given to John

(53) a) *Giani, duman l vaiges-t
John tomorrow him see-you
b) Giani, duman l vaiges-t?
John tomorrow him see-you
‘Will you see John tomorrow?’
A new information particle

(54) a  Al ploi pa.
SCL rains pa
‘It is raining’
b  Al ploi
SCL rains
c  Ci bel c al è pa!
how nice that SCL is pa
‘How nice it is!’
d  Ci bel c al è!
how nice that SCL is

It is incompatible with presuppositional elements

(55) a  *I n mangi pa min tres soni.
SCL neg eat pa neg always potatoes
‘I do not always eat potatoes’
b  *E k i l a pa fat
yes that SCL have pa done
‘Sure, I did it’

It occurs in a low Comp position

(56) a  Al a pa d sigy mangé (S. Leonardo)
SCL have pa of sure eaten
‘He has surely eaten’
b  *Al a d sigy pa mangé
SCL has of sure pa eaten
c  Al a pa magari bel mangé
SCL has pa perhaps already eaten
‘Perhaps he has already eaten’
d  *Al a magari pa bel mangé

(57) a  Inier a pa Giani mangé la ciara
yesterday has pa John eaten the meat
Yesterday John ate meat
b  *A i m a domané s al n fus pa bel.
SCL SCL me asked if SCL neg was pa nice
He asked me whether it was nice

(58)[ Contrastive Focus  [ Informational Focus…]]

Two contrastive Focus positions

(59) a  Al m a dit c L GIAT a-ai odù
he me has told that the cat has-he seen
He told that he has seen the cat
b  *Al s cruzie c L GIAT a-ai odù
he is worried that the cat has-he seen
(60)a Al m a dit c DA TRAI l a-al odù
    he me has told that sometimes him has-he seen
    He told that he saw him sometimes

b Al s cruzie c DA TRAI l a-al odù
    he is worried that sometimes him has-he seen
    He is worried because he saw him sometimes

(61)[Contr. CP1 adverbs/objects [Contr.CP2 circum./quant. adverbs [Informational CP]]]

E. 4 Contrastive and Informational Focus in standard Italian

(62) A GIORGIO, questo libro, devi dare
    TO GIORGIO, this book, you must give
    ‘You must give this book to Giorgio’

No informational Focus alone in modern standard Italian

(63)a *Antonio sono
    Antonio am

b *Una portantina fece re Salomone
    a sedan chair made King Salomon

But: Anaphoric Preposing

(64)a Mi ha detto di portargli un libro e un libro gli ho portato
    me has said to bring-him a book and a book I him have brought
    ‘They told me that I should bring them a book and I did it’

b Le stesse cose ha detto ieri il fratello
    the same things said the brother too
    ‘His/her brother said the same thing yesterday’

c E questo farà anche lui
    and this will-do also he
    ‘He will do the same’

(65) *Le stesse cose il fratello ha detto ieri
    the same things the brother said yesterday

(66) Qualcosa farò
    something I-will do
    ‘I will do something’

F. THE INTERNAL MAKEUP OF THE TOPIC FIELD

F.1. Two types of thematised arguments
Hanging Topic and Left Dislocation

1. LD has the entire argument at the left, HT can only be a DP

   (67) a Mario, non ne parla più nessuno
       Mario, not of-him talks anymore nobody
       ‘Mario, nobody talks of him anymore’
   b Di Mario, non (ne) parla più nessuno
       Of Mario, not (of-him) talks anymore nobody
       ‘Of Mario, nobody talks of him anymore’

   (68) a Mario, gli amici gli hanno fatto un brutto scherzo
       Mario, the friends to-him have done a bad joke
       ‘Mario, his friends made him a nasty trick’
   b A Mario, gli amici (gli) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo
       to Mario, his friends to-him have made a bad joke

2. There is only one HT but more than one LD

   (69) a *Gianni, questo libro, non gliene hanno parlato a lui
       Gianni, this book, they to-him of-it haven’t talked
   b A Gianni, di questo libro, non gliene hanno mai parlato
       to Gianni, of this book, they of it haven’t talked to him
       ‘They did not talk to Gianni about this book’

3. LD requires a resumptive pronoun only with direct and partitive objects, the clitic is optional in the other cases (impossible if the type of argument has no appropriate clitic). If present, the clitic agrees with the Topic in gender, number and case. HT requires a resumptive pronoun expressing the type of argument: it only agrees with the HT in number and gender, not in Case.

   (70) a *Mario, non parla più nessuno
       Mario, not talks anymore nobody
   b Di Mario, non parla più nessuno
       Of Mario, not talks anymore nobody
       ‘Mario, nobody talks of him anymore’
   c Mario, non ne parla più nessuno
       Mario, not of-him talks anymore nobody
       ‘Mario, nobody talks of him anymore’

4. The copy of the HT can be also a tonic pronoun or an epithet while, the copy of a LD can only be a clitic

   (71) a Mario, non darò più soldi a quell’imbécille
       Mario, not give anymore money to that idiot
       ‘Mario, I won’t give more money to that idiot’
   b *A Mario, non darò più soldi a quell’imbécille
       to M., not give more money to that idiot

   (72) a Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo mai di lui
Giorgio, to our friends, not talk never of him
‘Giorgio, to our friends, I never talk of him’

b *Ai nostri amici, Giorgio, non parlo mai di lui
‘To our friends, Giorgio, not talk never of him’

HT can cooccur with LD: the order is HT-LD and the complementizer is located between them

(73)a *Sono certa di questo libro che non (ne) abbia mai parlato nessuno
I am certain, of this book, that not (of-it) has ever spoken nobody
b Sono certa questo libro che non ne abbia mai parlato nessuno
I am certain, this book, that not (of-it) has ever spoken nobody
‘I am sure that nobody has ever talked about this book’
c Sono certa che, di questo libro, non ne abbia mai parlato nessuno
I am certain that, of this book, not (of-it) has ever spoken nobody
d ??Sono certa che, questo libro, non ne abbia mai parlato nessuno
I am certain that, this book, not (of-it) has ever spoken nobody

(74)[HT [che [LD [LD …[IP]]]]]

HT cannot occur in a relative clause, LD does.

(75)a *Una persona che questo libro non ne parlerà mai,....
A person that this book not of-it will talk never
b *Una persona questo libro che non ne parlerà mai
A person this book that not of-it will talk never

(76)a Una persona che di questo libro non ne parlerà mai,....
a person that of this book not of-it will talk never
‘A person who will never talk about this book...’
b *Una persona di questo libro che non ne parlerà mai,....
A person of this book that not of-it will talk never

F.2 A position for Scene Setting adverbs

+/-focalized adverbs

(77)a DUMAN va-al a Venezia
TOMORROW goes-he to Venice
‘He is going to Venice tomorrow’
b Duman va-al a Venezia
Tomorrow goes-he to Venice

Only a special class of adverbs can occur without focus in main V2 clauses

(78)a *Trees l feje-l
Always it does-he
‘He always does it’
b TREES l feje-l

the same class of scene setting adverbs is compatible with two agreement patterns, the other classes are not:
(79)a  *Gonoot a la Maria mangé pom
Often has the Maria eaten apples
b  Gonoot a-la la Maria mangé pom
Often has-she the Maria eaten apples

(80)a  Inier a la Maria mangè pom
Yesterday has the Maria eaten apples
b  Inier a-la la Maria mangè pom

Scene setting adverbs are not LD or HT as the contrast in (81) shows

(81)a  Duman ti dai l lber a Giani
Tomorrow to-him give-I the book to Giani
b  *Giani, ti ai bel dè l liber
John, to him have-i given the book

the scene setting position is not available in embedded contexts: adverbial are always focalized in embedded V2

(82)a  Al m a dit c DUMAN va-al a Venezia
he me has told that tomorrow goes-he to Venice
‘He told me that he is going to Venice tomorrow’
b  *Al m a dit c duman va-al a Venezia
he me has told that tomorrow goes-he to Venice
‘He told me that he is going to Venice tomorrow’

(83)  Domani Gianni lo vedo
tomorrow, Gianni I will meet him
‘Tomorrow I will see Gianni’

(84)a  Mario, nel 1999, gli hanno dato il premio Nobel
Mario, in the 1999 to-him have given the Prize Nobel
M., in 1999, they gave him the Nobel Prize
b  ??Nel 1999, Mario, gli hanno dato il premio Nobel
in the 1999, Mario, to-him have given the Prize Nobel
c  *Sul giornale, Mario, ne hanno parlato malissimo
on the newspaper, Mario, of him have spoken very badly

Scene setting is lower than HT

(85)[HT [SC S [LD…]]]

F 3. A position for Listed XPs

Context: a farm producing a set of goods which are known to the people involved in the conversation.

(86)a  La frutta la regaliamo, la verdura la vendiamo
the fruit it give for free, the vegetables it sell
‘We give fruit for free, while we sell the vegetables’

b La frutta la regaliamo e la verdura la vendiamo
the fruit it give for free and the vegetables it sell

c La frutta la regaliamo, invece la verdura la vendiamo
the fruit it give for free while the vegetables it sell

Test to single out the LI: the former, the latter

(87) La prima la vendiamo, la seconda la regaliamo
the first it sell, the second it give for free
‘We sell the former, we give the latter for free’

No Right dislocation possible with this reading

(88)a La frutta la regaliamo, la verdura la vendiamo
the fruit it give for free, the vegetables it sell
‘We give fruit for free while we sell vegetables’

b *La regaliamo, la frutta e la vendiamo, la verdura
it give for free, the fruit and it sell the vegetables
*La regaliamo, la prima e la vendiamo, la seconda
it give for free, the former and it sell the latter

In our view, the ungrammaticality of RD in LI is the consequence of a more general restriction: RD
can only be a Theme, not a Topic. We call Theme an LD element which can be recovered from the
immediate context. We call Topic an element which is present in the shared knowledge of the
speaker and the hearer but is not accessible in the immediate context so that it cannot be recovered.

(89)A Hai visto i miei occhiali?
have seen the my glasses
‘Did you see my glasses?’

B I tuoi occhiali, li ho messi sul tavolo ☺ if LD Topic or Theme
the your glasses, them have put on-the table
‘I put your glasses on the table’

B' Li ho messi sul tavolo ☺ if (50A)
them have put on-the table
‘I put them on the table’

B" Li ho messi sul tavolo, i tuoi occhiali ☺ if (50A)
them have put on-the table, the your glasses
‘I put your glasses on the table’

B"" I tuoi occhiali, li ho messi sul tavolo, i tuoi occhiali ☺ if (50A)
the your glasses, them have put on-the table, the your glasses

Tentatively, we propose that RD is a copying process of a LD element, which can be phonetically
realised, as in (89B") or empty , as in (89B").
We can infer that the copied LD element can only be a Theme and not a Topic from the fact that
both B" and B"" require a context like (89A), and are infelicitous if (89A) is missing.

(90a)) challenges our hypothesis that RD and LI are not compatible and leaves us without an
explanation for the ungrammaticality of (88b,c) and (90b):

(90)a La regaliamo, la frutta, e la verdura la vendiamo
it give for free, the fruit, and the vegetables it sell
‘We give fruit for free while we sell vegetables’
b *La frutta la regaliamo e la vendiamo, la verdura
the fruit it give for free and it sell, the vegetables

But, if we apply the substitution test with "the former - the latter" on (90a) and insert the specific lexical items that single out the LI construction, we obtain (91), which is ungrammatical.

(91)*La regaliamo la prima e la seconda la vendiamo
it five for free the first and the second it sell
‘We give the former for free while we sell the latter’

The fact that RD cannot be a Topic has been first noted by Benincà (1988) on the basis of sentences like to following:

(92)a Il vino lo porto io, la torta la porti tu
the wine it take I, the cake it take you
You take wine, I’ll take the cake
b *Lo porto io il vino, la porti tu la torta
it take I the wine, it take you the cake

Now we can better characterise what kind of construction these sentences are: they are a special case of LI, where two lists are paired. This can be shown by the usual substitution test:

(93)a Il primo lo porto io, il secondo lo porti tu
the first it take I, the second it take you
‘I take the first you take the second’
b Il vino lo porta il primo, la torta la porta il secondo
the wine it takes the first, the cake it takes the second
‘The former take wine, the latter takes the cake’
c L'uno porta il primo, l'altro porta la seconda
the one takes the first, the other takes the second
d Il primo porta l'una il secondo porta l'altra
the first take the one the second takes the other

Both the elements at the left and the element in postverbal position can be substituted by "the former - the latter", as shown in (93a,b,c, d).
This construction uses both the LI in the left periphery as well as the in situ list, which is in general independently possible:

(94)a Regaliamo la frutta e vendiamo la verdura
give for free the fruit and sell the vegetables
‘We give fruit for free and sell the vegetables’
b Regaliamo la prima e vendiamo la seconda
give for free the first and sell the second
‘We give the first for free and sell the second’

Does LI correspond ot a specific position? An LD argument or adverbial can be found at the left of LI elements, as the sentences in (95) illustrate:

(95)a Agli amici, la prima la vendiamo, la seconda la regaliamo
to the friends, the first it sell, the second it give for free
‘We sell the first to the friends and give them the second for free’

b Agli amici, la frutta la vendiamo, invece la verdura la regaliamo to the friends, the fruit it see, while the vegetables it give for free

‘We sell fruit to the friends, while we give them vegetables for free’

c Di storia, ai primi ne parliamo, coi secondi ne discutiamo of history, to the first of it speak, with the second of it discuss

‘We speak of history with the former, while we discuss about it with the latter’

\[(96)\] [LD [LI [LI [FOCUS ...]]]]

The whole structure of the declarative left periphery is the following:

\[(97)\]

[Hang. Topic [Scene Sett. [Left disl. [List interpr [ [\text{CONTR}_1 \text{ adv/obj}, [\text{CONTR}_2 \text{ circ.adv.} [\text{INFORM}_{	ext{cr}}]]]]]]]]

---

Once we have stated that this structure is the correct one, we can go back to our problems concerning Old Romance and see how these can be solved inside such a complex left periphery

V2 is movement to the lowest field: either a wh item or a Focus can move there.

In Old Romance only one element can be moved to the Focus field through A’ movement.

V3 cases: if an element is not A’moved to the CP domain, we can have V3 (hence the only possible orders are those predicted by (97). Old Italian confirms this

- Cooccurrence of Focus and wh is excluded for minimality reasons
- Cooccurrence of Focus (or wh) and Topic is possible (if Topic is non-A’moved)
- Cooccurrence of Focus and Frame is possible (limited cases of V3 in Germanic are probably of this type)
- Cooccurrence of Focus Topic and Frame are possible giving rise to V4 (which in Old Italian is found)

Why is V3 restricted in Germanic V2 languages? Several possibilities (some compatible with each other)

- Germanic V2 languages do not have a split CP
- Germanic V2 languages have a different type of movement for Topics, which interferes with A’ movement (no clitics in Germanic languages)
- Germanic V2 languages use a higher CP layer for V2 and Topic and Focus are located lower than the inflected verb

---

G. A mixed sistem: modern Rhaetoromance

G 1. The distribution of V2 and V3

HTs and LD items cannot enter a V2 structure:
As in the Germanic languages, it is not possible to have V3 with two XPs in the Focus field:

(99) a  *Da trai l liber ti a-i de a Giani
     Sometimes the book to-him have-I given to John
     ‘Sometimes I gave a book to John’

b  *L liber da trai ti a-i de a Giani
     the book sometimes have-I given to John

The same is true for the combination of a focalized constituent and a wh-item:

(100) *L LIBER che ti a de a Giani?
     the book who to him has given to John

However the combination of a focalized constituent (or a wh item) with a scene setting adverb is marginally possible:

(101) ?Duman, GIANI vaighest
     Tomorrow, GIANI see-you

The only possible V3 orders that are clearly admitted in declarative clauses when the first of the two elements is a HT:

(102) L liber, A GIANI ti l'ai bel dé
     The book, TO GIANI it have-I already given

Left dislocation is not possible as the first element of a V3 structure, as the following example shows:

(103) *De Giani CUN PIERO ai bel baié
     Of Giani, WITH PIERO have-I already spoken

The situation changes radically in interrogative sentences, as it is possible to left-dislocate all XPs in front of a wh-item:

(104) a  De Giani, con che bai-la pa?
         Of Giani, with whom speak-she interr. prt.?  

b  Giani, ci o-l pa?
    John what wants-he interrogative marker?
    ‘What does John want?’

c  *Ci Giani o-l pa?
what John wants-he interrogative marker?

(105)a  L liber chi l tol pa?
the book who it takes interrogative marker?
‘Who is going to take the book?’
b  *Chi l liber l tol pa?
who the book it takes interrogative marker?

(106)a  Gonot ula va-al pa?
often where goes-he interrogative marker?
‘Where does he often go?’
b  *Ula gonot va-al pa?
where often goes-he interrogative marker?

While the sequence left dislocation-wh-item is grammatical, the opposite wh-item/left-dislocation order is totally excluded.

Rr left-dislocation displays the usual properties of Romance left-dislocation, namely:
a) recursivity,
b) free word order of left-dislocated elements
c) occurrence in embedded contexts

(107)a  Giani, inier, ci a-al pa fat?
John yesterday what has-he interrogative marker done?
‘What has John done yesterday?’
b  Inier, Giani, ci a-al pa fat?
yesterday John what has-he interrogative marker done?
c  Giani, inier, l as-t ody?
yesterday John him has-you seen?
d  Inier, Giani, l as-t ody?
yesterday John him has-you seen?
e  Al m a demanee Giani, can c al vagn a ciasa
he me has asked John when that he comes at home
‘He asked me when John is coming home’

The contrast between declaratives and interrogatives is illustrated by a minimal pair:

(108)a  *Giani, duman l vaiges-t
John tomorrow him see-you
‘You will see John tomorrow’
b  *Giani, duman l vaiges-t?
John tomorrow him see-you
‘Will you see John tomorrow?’

Hence: Rhaetoromance left-dislocation is similar to standard Italian left-dislocation (as it is recursive, all orders of left-dislocated elements are possible and embedding is allowed), although this is a V2 variety. The only difference with respect to standard Italian is the limited context in which left-dislocation may occur in Rhaetoromance.
Summing up what we have seen so far:

a) V2 is only possible when the first constituent is a focalized XP, a scene setting adverb or a wh-item.
b) V3 instances are possible in declarative only if the first constituent is a HT (or marginally a scene setting adverb) and the second is a focalized XP or a wh-item.
c) V3 in interrogative clauses is possible if the first element is a HT or a LD items.
d) Interrogative clauses also admit V4 structures, given that it is possible to combine HT with LD and LD is recursive.

G 2. A possible explanation

- The V2 requirement can only be satisfied by a moved element, elements like LD and HT cannot occur at the immediate left of the inflected verb in the S. Leonardo dialect.
- The grammaticality of V3 sequences also depends on the type of elements that are found at the left of the verb: V3 sequences are excluded if both elements are moved to the CP domain:

(109)a  *Foc Foc
       b  *Foc wh
       c  *Wh foc

- V3 is only possible when one of the two elements is merged inside CP and not moved which leaves only sequences formed by a HT or LD element (which have been analyzed by Cinque (1990) as basic generated in the position where the occur) and by a focalized or wh-item.
- The ordering of the two elements is fixed: the first of the two elements preceding the inflected verb has to be merged in CP (either HT or, in interrogatives, a LD). If the first of the two elements is a focalized element and the second is a HT, the sequence is out even if the first restriction is respected:

(110)a  *Foc HT
       b  HT Foc
       c  *Wh HT
       d  HT Wh
       e  Wh LD
       f  *LD Wh

- Asymmetry between main interrogatives and declaratives: in interrogative clauses a LD can occur in front of a wh-item, but this is not the case for a focalized element in declarative clauses:

(111)a  LD Wh
       b  *LD Foc

Assumption 1.: Haegeman (1997) and Roberts (1999): in all V2 languages the verb has to move at least to the head of a low CP position because that head has a strong feature. Moreover, in order to satisfy EPP, an XP has to move to the Spec position of this low CP position, which, being “neutral” in terms of features, blocks all movements of other XPs to the CP domain by minimality.

This explains:
a) if V2 is a condition which leads to the deletion of EPP features, we expect that no element which is directly merged in a higher CP can satisfy this condition. Hence, only elements that are merged
in or moved to (or through) SpecFin can satisfy V2, while elements that are merged higher than this position cannot. This prediction is borne out, as no LD or HT can satisfy the V2 requirement.

b) V3 cases are possible only when the first of the two elements preceding the inflected verb is merged directly inside CP and not moved from within the clause because all movements across SpecFin is banned by minimality. This prediction os also borne out, as the only elements that can occur in the first position of a V3 sequence are merged in CP.

Assumption 2.: the CP layer is split also in V2 languages and the ordering is HT- LD- FOCUS;

[HT  [Scene setting  [Force [LD [LD [Focus [WH]]]]]]]

Assumption 3: Rr declarative does not target Focus as in Old Italian but Force

Wh-items target the Focus layer in Rr as well

Therefore: LD Focus is possible, while LD Force is not

H. Asymmetric pro drop

It is well known in the literature that Old Romance was pro drop for expletives, quasi-expletives and arguments

- Pro drop is only found in V2 contexts, otherwise a (weak?) pronoun is realized

(112)a se la natura domanda ciò ch'ella ha perduto (Novellino p. 135, r. 1)
if the nature asks that she has lost
b lo figliuolo lil domandò tanto ch'elli l'ebbe (Novellino pag. 166 r.25)
the son it-tohim asked so much that he had it

(113)a Or poez __ veoir a terre un des freres del chastel d' Escalot (oFr.; Artu, 14)
now can.2pl see on ground one of the brothers of the castle of Escalot
“Now you can see on the ground one of the brothers of the castle of Escalot.”

b Ceste merveille poés __ veoir (ibidem, 186)
this marvel can.2pl see
“You can see this marvel.”

(114)a Si errerent __ tant en tele maniere qu'il vindrent en la praerie de Wincestre
(OFr.; Artu, p.13)
so wandered _ so-much in such way that-they came in the prairie of Winchester
“They wondered so much in such a way that they arrived in the prairie of Winchester.”

b Or avoit __ tant les doiz gresliz Qu’il s’en issi (oFr., Béroul, 63)
now had so the fingers frozen that-he cl-cl went
“He had the fingers so frozen that he left.”

(115)Quand tu veniss al mondo, se tu voliss pensar, negota ge portassi __, negota n poi __ portar
when you came to the world, if you wanted to think about it, nothing there brought 2sg, nothing from there can 2sg take

“When you came into the world, if you think about it, you didn’t bring anything, and nothing you can take away.”

and raised 3sg the oar and hit 3sg me on the neck and stroke 3sg me down the arm, so that he to me it broke 3sg

“And he raised the oar and hit me on the neck, and stroke my arm so that he broke it.”

This shows that contrary to main clauses, V2 in embedded clauses is only possible but not obligatory.

In Old French pro drop is quite frequent in wh-questions but rare in Yes/no questions

I. V1 and The Tobler-Mussafia law

Old French V1

Four classes of V1 in Germanic languages

a) yes/no questions
b) conditionals
c) lively narrative style
d) topic drop

Old French also displays three types of V1 (topic drop is not known, but see Old Italian)
Were here the king, not here had (we) damage
(124)Voit le li rois (Roberts (1993:28c))
Sees him the king

How are to be analyzed cases like (98)? Is there a null Operator as Roberts suggests?
Note the enclitic position of the object clitic (we will come back to this)

Old Italian V1

In Old Italian V1 is extremely frequent, both at the beginning of a sentence as well as after a conjunction (with obligatory enclisis of the clitic pronoun)

(125) L’angelo li parlò e disse così (Novellino, p.138, r. 3)
The angel to-him spoke and said so
(126) Leggesi di Salamone che… (Novellino, p.138, r. 1)
Reads of Salomone that

- Old Italian also has V1 with Null Topics of two types:
  a) Topic drop:
  (127) Uno cavaliere pregava un giorno una donna d’ amore e
       A knight prayed one day a woman of love and
dicéale intra l’ altre parole com’ eilli era gentile e ricco e
told her among other word show he was kind and rich and
bello a dismisura, “e l vostro marito è così laido come voi
handsome overwhelmingly “and the your husband is so ugly as you
sapete”; e quel cotal marito era dopo la parete della camera.
know”, and that husband was behind the wall of the room
   _ Parlò e disse: Eh, messer, per cortesia: acconciate li fatti vostri e non isconciate li
   altrui”.
      Talked and said: “Eh, sir, please: mind your own things and do not dishonour other
people’s
(128) “Iscrivi” disse quel re cortese “ch’ io obligo l’ anima mia a perpetua pregione infino
      “Write” said that kind king “that I oblige my soul to never ending prison until
a tanto che voi pagati siate”._ Morìo. Questi, dopo la morte, andaro al padre suo e
that you payed are.” Died. They, after the death, went to his father and
         domandaro la moneta. (Novellino, p.171, r. 7-11)
asked the money

b) “Continuing Topic” licensed by the particle e with frequent V1 (see below)

(129) a e quando avea forbiti i piedi ed eilli tornava fuori e rinfangavalisi vie più e tornava a
and when had cleaned the feet and he went out again and besmirched them more and
ricalpitare il letto.
went on the bed again
   b E partìsi e disse a Platone:…. (Fiori de Filosafì p. 124)
And went and said to P.
   c Plauto fue uno grande savio, cortese in parlare. E scrisse queste sentenze.
(Fiori de Filosafì p. 104) P. was a great wise man, kind in talking. And wrote these sayings
V1 cases are also frequent in Old High German
(Fuß 2002, 2005)

(130) [So auh in andreu stedi] [dhurah dhen selbun heilegun forasagun
so also in other cities through the same saint prophets
uuard dhera dhrinissa bauhnunc sus araughit:…
was the so shown
(Isidor, 328; Robinson 1997:27)

Given that these examples are not possible in modern German, there must have been a change even inside the Germanic domain.

J. Positioning of the clitics

When there is V1 enclisis is the rule

(131)a Respondio les el que lo non farie. (oSp.; Fontana 1993, 110)
answered them he that it neg would-do
“He answered that he wouldn’t do it.”
b Remanbre li de la reine. (oFr.; Chrétien, Erec et Enide, 28)
ocurred to.him of the queen
“He remembered the queen.”

(132)Torné-s-en, si ané a l’autre so ami (…), si li ai coit à so desasi.
(oPied.; Sermoni Subalpini, 238)
gwent3sg-back.clit.clit, so went to the-other his friend, so to-him has told his trouble
“He went back and went to the other friend and told him his troubles.”

(133)et he li tras la fosina de man et branclai-lo per li caveli et tras-lo en la
sentina... (oVen.; Lio Mazor, 18)
and I to-him snatched the harpoon from hand and sized.him by the hair and pulled.him down into the bilge

“and I snatched the harpoon from his hands and caught him by his hair and pulled him down into the bilge.”

(134)Levossi questa femmina e aiutollo (oFlor.; Novellino, 38)
Raised.herself this woman and helped.him
“The woman stood up and helped him.”

(135)Gravame forte lo balestire. (oUmbr.; Jacopone)
burdens.me heavily the arbalester
“The arbalester burdens me heavily.”

(136)Purriami laudari d’Amori bonamenti. (oSic.; Scremin, 44, Stefano Protonotaro)
could1sg.myself praise of-love kindly
“I could praise Love.”

When the is V2 in Old Italian proclisis is frequence, but there are also some cases of enclisis: how can we explain them?

(137)a [Quelgli il quale andasse per Firenze in die di lavorare], debbialgli essere soddisfatto... (oFlor.; Testi fiorentini, 54)
he the which would-go through Florence in day of working, must.to-him be paid
“Who happens to go through Florence in a working day must be paid....”

b E [después] mand-jo fazer a sus discipulos (oSp.; Fontana 1993, 53)
and afterwards gave.it to-do to his disciples
“And afterwards he asked his disciples to do it.”

Benincà (2004) treats them as “masked” cases of V1 preceded by a LD

Benincà’s proposal: when the V2 position is not occupied by any constituent, the verb itself raises higher to the Topic subfield, triggering enclisis. In other words, enclisis means that the verb has moved higher than its “standard raising path”.

K. CP elements

Sì as a SpecFocus expletive

Different usages for sì:

a) identical to così ‘so’:

modifying an adjective, an adverb or a noun:

(138)a fue si giusto e guardò si le mani da... F F
was so right and looked so the hands that...
b cominciò a tremare si fortemente ... Vita nuova 6
began to tremble so strongly...

before ‘come’ (as):

(139)a si come appare a chi lo intende Vita nuova 23
so how appears to who it understands
b Si come elli parlava tra lloro di si grande maraviglia,
So how he spoke to then of so great wonder
before the complementizer che:

(140)a  si che quasi dal principio del suo anno non apparve a me Vita nuova 6
So that almost from the beginning of his year not appeared to me
b  si che li chiovi pareano16 lettere
so that the looked like 16 letters

cosi appears can be a manner adverb, sì cannot:

(141)E disse così
And said so
E rispose così
And answered so (in this way)

Special uses of sì not found with così

Sì climbing to an operator position inside the main clause

(142)a  e ho sì saputo fare che li sudditi miei m'hanno cacciato Nov. 143
and (I) have so been-able to do that my subjects me have chased away
b  a chi mi sa sì pregare che io lo diparta dagli altri Nov. 167
to whom me knows so pray that I him split from the others
c  Però quando mi tolle sì il valore, che gli spiriti pare fuggan via Vita nuova 121
But when me took so the courage that the spirits seem to run away

Sì as a pro-VP

(143)a  Che è ciò, messer Rinieri, che voi non siete partito di Sardigna?” “Certo” disse
What is this, Sir R., that you not have left Sardinia? Sure, said
messere Rinieri, “sì sono; ma io sono tornato per li scappini delle calze”. Nov. 305
sir R., so am (I), but I am come back because of the laces of my shoes
b  Or se' tu ancor qui? non avestu la torta? Messer, sì ebbi. Or che ne facesti? Nov. 309
Now, are-you still here? Not had-you the pie? Sir, so had. Now what of-it did (you)?

Sì as SpecFocus expletive

(144)a  onde lo ingannato amico di buona fede mi prese per la mano, e traendomi fuori de la
out of the
veduta di queste donne sì mi domandò che io avesse Vita nuova 58
look of these wemen so me asked what I had
b  E parlandomi così, sì mi cessò la forte fantasia entro quello punto ch'io volea
And talking-to me like that, so me stopped the strong phantasy within that point that
I wanted Vita nuova 98
dicere…
to say
c  Poi che detta fue questa canzone, sì venne a me uno, lo quale, … Vita nuova 133
Then that said was this song, so came to-me one, who…
d  E discacciato questo cotale malvagio desiderio, sì si rivolsero tutti li miei pensamenti
And chased away this really bad desire, so themmselves all my thoughts
a la loro gentilissima Beatrice Vita nuova 153
to their very kind B.
e and discussing with the master, so made open the mouth of the sick, and with the
finger there
\( \text{vi puose l veleno} \) Nov. 153
he put the poison
f and the mule so to-her showed the right foot

Si occurs at the immediate left of the inflected verb:

\((145)\a\) si s'abacinò degli occhi F F 105
so himself burnt his eyes
b e, parlando spezialmente alli spiriti del viso, si disse queste parole Vita nuova 8
and speaking in particular to the spirits of the face, so said these words
c e dette queste parole si disparve, e lo mio sonno fue rotto Vita nuova 24
and said these words so disappeared, and the my sleep was broken

*no cases of expletive si separated by the inflected verb by elements other than clitics or negation

\(S\i\) very often occurs after an embedded temporal clause indicating anteriority or simultaneity or a Topic or the subject. It often cooccurs with e at the beginning of the structure

\((146)\a\) E, che avrà cuore nobile et intelligenzia sottile, si li potrà simigliare per lo tempo che And, that will-have heart noble and intelligence subtle, so to-him will be able to look
l ike for the tome that 
\( \text{verrà} \) Nov. 118
will come
b in questo Pittagora si cominciò (Fiori e Vita de Filosofi, 104)
I
in this P.so. began
c Lo mperadore Federigo stando ad assedio a Melano, si li si fuggì un suo astore The emperor F. being in sieg of Milan,so to-him escaped a his hawk
dentro a Melano Nov. 177
inside in Milan

Si occurs also in embedded contexts:

\((147)\a\) che l ferro, se l'aopere, si si logora, se no l'aopere la ruggine il consuma FF 146
that the iron, if you use it, so it ??????, of not use it the rust it destroys
b Leggesi del re Currado, del padre di Curradino, che, quando era garzone, si avea in Reads-one of the king C. of the father of C. that, when he was a boy, so had in
compagnia dodici garzoni di sua etade, che li faceano compagnia. company twelve boys of his age, that ti him payed company

Si occurs only with proclisis

\((148)\a\) di ciò si ne fue contenzione FF 106
and of this so of it was ???
\(149)\a\) si si ne diede questa penitenza F F 108
so to himself of it gave this ????
*no cases of expletive sì with enclisis

=> hyp: Sì is an expletive for the Information Focus position

This explains
  a) its adjacency to the inflected verb
  b) the fact that it occurs after topics(LD), scene setting temporal elements and hanging topics.
  c) the fact that it occurs in embedded contexts (Old Italian is V2 also in embedded contexts, lower than the complementizer)
  d) its semantic poverty typical of expletives
  e) the connection between its operator status and the position it occupies

Alternative to the merge of sì: verb movement triggering enclisis

5. E as a Topic marker

(150) E quelli lievasi FF 118
    And he stood up

E marks the continuation of a Topic

(151)a E scrisse queste sentenze FF 104
    And wrote these sayings
 b E di ce uno filosofo FF 140
    And says a philosopher
 c Stando lo 'imperadore Federigo- e facea dare l'acqua alle mani
    Being the emperor F. and let give the water to the hands
   e, innebriato il pane dell' olore che n' uscia, del mangiare, e quelli lo mordea, e così, and
   il consumò di mangiare, ricevendo il fumo e mordendolo.
 d Sì come elli parlava tra lloro di sì grande maraviglia, et ecco venire subbitamente uno
   gridare in ell' aria, sopra lui Nov. 165

*This type of e never appears after a Topic

Topic e appears with enclisis

(152)a e tenerlo FF 135
    b e bevenne enclisi FF 134

While sì has completely disappeared from the language, modern Italian retains some use of Topic e
Modern Italian are found in interrogative clauses:

(153)E io?
    What about me?
   E adesso?
    Now what?

(154)a E cosa potrebbe fare in un frangente simile? RQ interpretation
    b E viene quando, allora? non echo wh in situ
Why is just the item $e$ used to mark the continuation of a Topic? Is there some link between this usage and the coordination usage?

Coordination takes two identical structural objects as its specifier and its complement

\[
_{\text{Coord}} \text{NullTop}_{\text{Coord}} e _{\text{TopicCP}}
\]

4. OV orders

The low left periphery

3.1 XP-Vpast participle,

Unmarked word order is identical to modern Italian and it is typical of VO languages:

(155) a tenea un savio greco in pregione, (Novellino, p 125, r. 6)
  kept a wise Greek in prison

  b fece menare il destriere al campo (Novellino, p.126, r. 13)
  let the horse to the camp

  c Molto onoroe la donna nel parto (Novellino, p. 234, r. 7)
  A lot honoured the woman in the childbirth

  d Torquato, consolo di Roma, fece per iustizia tagliare la testa al figliuolo (Fiori e vita di filosafi, p. 113, r. 2-3)
  Torquato, consul of Rome, had for justice cut the head to the son

In some cases the unmarked word order is reversed (this might still be interpreted as right dislocation of one argument, in some cases the same is also possible in modern Italian (cf.(10a))

(156) a Mandolli per li detti ambiasciatori tre pietre nobilissime (Novellino, p. 121, r. 10)
  Sent-him through the said ambassadors three stones very precious

  b si trovò il suo corpo in neuna parte magagnato, (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 307, r. 8-9)
  himself found his body in no part hurt

  c ch' elli avesse di me mercede. (Novellino,  p. 318, r. 17)
  that he had of me mercy

In compound tenses the ordering object-past participle is quite frequent: (cf. Egerland (1996))

The same is found with modal verbs and infinitival complements and with causative contructions (All cases are ungrammatical in modern Italian)

(157) a i nimici avessero già il passo pigliato, (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 88, r. 15)
  the enemies had already the pace taken

  b ch'egli avea il maleficio commesso (Fiore di rett., p. 31, r. 12-13)
  that he had the crime committed

  c dice che poi àe molto de ben fatto in guerra et in pace. (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 26, r. 22)
  says that then has a lot of good done in war and in peace

  d il quale da che ebbe tutto Egitto vinto,… (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 83, r. 15)
  whom since he had all Egypt won,…

  e Allora il cavalero, che 'n si alto mestero avea la mente misa, (Brunetto Latini, Tesoretto, v. 1975)
  Then the knight, that in so high work had his mind set
This is not only possible with direct objects but also with all types of internal arguments (including passive subjects):

(158)a Ed essendo dell’unico guernimento già ispogliato, (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 411, r. 1) And being of the only ornament already stripped
b quello che per uso è già dagli antichi servato, (Bono Giamboni, Vegezio, p. 108, r. 25-26) what that usually is already from the ancients kept
c Non crederei che fosse per voi rotto. (Fiore, p. 442, r. 11) (I) not believe that was by you broken
d ch’elli è a fine venuto, (Tristano Ricc., p. 397,r. 17) that he is to end come
e avegna che neuno possa buono advocato essere né perfetto (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 147, r. 1) happens that noone can good advocate be nor perfect
f perciò che quelli cui conviene udire sono già udendo fatigati (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, p. 193, r. 19) for that those that have to hear are already listening tired
g se l’avesi a mente tenuto, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 16, r. 5) if I it-had in mind kept
h Assa’ bene, quando sono di te acompagnata, (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 33, r. 2) Very well, when I am by you accompanied
i E quand’ebbi così chiaramente a ogni cosa risposto (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 37, r. 24) and when (I) had so clearly to everything answered
j comandò questo giovane che fossero tutte quelle genti menate (Novellino, p. 143. r. 24) (he) ordered this young that were all those people led

the same is true for (complex) adverbs and verbal modifiers in general:

(159)a e holla già molte volte letta nella Bibbia (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 15, r. 22) and have-it many times read in the bible
b a quelli che sono già avanti iti, (Tesoro volg. p. c350, r. 2) to those that are already forward gone
c da tutta la gente sarai scarso tenuto (Brunetto Latin, Tesoretto, v. 1561) of all the people will (you) be poorly considered
d Poi lo fece fuori trarre (Novellino, p. 158, rr. 6-7) that (he) him made outside take
e il cavaliere era molto bene costumato, (Novellino, p. 311, r. 3) the knight was so well educated
f Quando ebbero così ordinato (Novellino, p. 349, r. 1) when (they) had so ordered

This ordering is connected to the possibility of past participle agreement with postparticipial objects:

(160)a quando egli avea già fatti molti miracoli (Tesoro volg. p. a258, vv. 3-4) when he had already done+agr many miracles
b E quando il notaio ha letta la proposta dinanzi a' consiglieri, (Tesoro volg. p. d335, v. 17) and when the notare has read+agr the proposal to the counsellors
c c' ha rifiutata la nobile città di Giadres et ha preso li marchi (Novellino, p. 133, r. 3) that has refused+agr the noble city of Giadres and has taken-agr the money

Egerland’s generalizations: (see Egerland (1996)): 

This ordering is connected to the possibility of past participle agreement with postparticipial objects:
When past participial agreement is reduced (and finally lost), OV is reduced (and finally lost) as well (see below).

Past participle agreement is obligatory with the order OV, not with the VO order.

Other Romance languages confirm Egerland’s generalization (15): Friulian

a) O ai lis sigaretis dismenteadis
   I have the cigarettes forgotten+agr

b) O ai dismenteadis lis sigaretis

c) O ai dismentea:t lis sigaretis

d) *O ai lis sigaretis dismentea:t

3.2 Past participle agreement: two proposals

First proposal:

HYP: past participle agreement is derived via spec-head agreement of the past participle and the object in AgrO (Kayne (1991)), then subsequent movement of the past participle to an internal Focus projection (cf. Belletti (2004)):

Past part.+agr Object

\[
(163) \begin{array}{l}
\text{CP quando} \quad \text{[AgrS [SpecAgrS il notaio] [AgrS° ha] [FocusP [Focus° letta] [AgrOP [SpecAgrO la proposta] [AgrO t] \ldots [VP [v° t] [t]]]]]}
\end{array}
\]

OV can be derived as movement of the object to the Spec of FocusP

\[
(164) \begin{array}{l}
\text{CP che} \quad \text{[AgrS [SpecAgrS egli] [AgrS° avea] [FocusP [SpecFocus il maleficio] [Focus° commesso] [AgrOP [SpecAgrO t] [AgrO t] \ldots [VP [v° t] [t]]]]}]
\end{array}
\]

This derives both generalizations in (14) and (15):

Second proposal:

HYP: agreement is derived via “agree”, which is an essential component of movement (decomposed in three operations: match, agree and pied piping)

→ When there is movement, agree is obligatory, being part of the movement operation itself.

Guasti & Rizzi (2002) note that movement and morphological richness are connected and propose the following generalization:

If a feature is checked in the overt syntax, then it is expressed in the morphology.

The derivation in (164) can be maintained: the verb moves to Focus, the Object to SpecFocus. But notice that now AgrOP is not more necessary, as the mechanism of Agree can account for cases like (163) in situ:

\[
(165) \begin{array}{l}
\text{CP quando} \quad \text{[AgrS [SpecAgrS il notaio] [AgrS° ha] [FocusP [Focus° letta] [VP [la proposta] [v° t]]]]}
\end{array}
\]

However: if this is the derivation of past participle agreement with a postparticipial object, why is (165) not allowed in modern Italian as well?
Two solutions:
a) (163) is the correct structure, i.e. agreement with a postparticipial object is always to be analyzed as movement of the object to a position higher than the thematic one in VP (with subsequent movement of the past participle higher than that), although the label of the projection is not necessarily AgrO.

b) Agree applies freely to in situ objects only when there is a movement counterpart (hence, when there is OV). If the movement structure is lost, also “in situ” agree is lost. Modern Italian has lost OV and in situ agreement as well.

4. Parameters as phase independent properties

Suppose further that the “left periphery” of each phase is construed in the same way, namely by merging a “Topic-Focus” field before the highest projection “closing up” the clause (see Belletti (2004) for modern Italian among others).

*Strong version of the proposal:* a parameter corresponds to the “activation” of a given F°, whose features must be checked in the computational component.

The parameter could be set only by referring to the formal properties of a given functional head without taking into account the phase it is merged in.

*Weak version of the proposal:* the activation of a Focus head in another phase “favours” the activation of the same type of head in a distinct phase. Problem: what does “favours” mean? Is this to be intended in probabilistic terms, or maybe as a sort of implication?

I will keep to the strong version, which is more interesting.

Hence: Focus in Old Italian must be filled by the verbal head: the inflected verb fills the Focus° of the high phase, the past participle fills the Focus° of the low phase.

In the high CP-phase it triggers the subject inversion phenomenon typical of V2 contexts (and the others features seen in section 2).

In the vP phase it triggers postparticipial agreement, OV and XPV.

1. This means that the high and the low left periphery should behave alike and leads to a number of expectations concerning the low left periphery:

   A) as there are several left dislocated items in the high left periphery (see 2.B), there could be more than one element above the past participle. (It would be interesting to compare old Italian and other old Romance languages.; as old Italian is peculiar in allowing multiple CP availability, it could be also peculiar in allowing more elements in the topic-focus vP field)

   B) as there exists V1 in the high left periphery, this should be the case also in the low left periphery,

   C) given that V1 triggers enclisis in the high phase, it should do the same in the low one

   D) as there are SpecFocus expletives in the high phase, there could be cases of SpecFocus expletives also in the low phase

2. Moreover: if the strong feature of Focus is phase-independent we should find similar phenomena in the DP as well.
3. Diachronic prediction: V2 and OV are lost together

Apparent problem: is V2 always connected to OV? Obviously not. V2 is a complex phenomenon that always involves the left periphery but not always the same FP. Therefore, we leave the question of a parallel between the two (three) phases in other languages open, each requiring a precise analysis of which FP is involved in V2 and OV.

5. First prediction: the analogy of the high and the low phase

A. V3 cases in the low phase

(166)a ed ha'mi la cosa molte volte ridetta (Bono Giamboni, Trattato, p.131)
and has the thing many times retold
b E quand'ebbi così chiaramente a ogni cosa risposto (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 37, r. 24)
and when had so clearly to everything answered

In general chiaramente (which in Old Italiani is only a manner adverb) occurs after the past participle (cf. Cinque (1999))

(167) Tullio dice, che 'l fatto è contato chiaramente, (Tesoro volg. p. 138, r. 6-7)
Tullio says that the deed is told clearly

B. V1 cases in the low left periphery

(168)a ciò che savi avevano detto intorno alla retorica (Brun. Latini, Rett. P.7 r.19)
What that the wise had said about the rhetorics
b …fue isbandito della terra (Brun. Latini, Rett. P.7 r.9)
…was banned from the earth
c poi che Tullio ae advisati li mali ((Brun. Latini, Rett. P.12 r.7)
since T. has seen the evils

Cases of V1 in the low phase are “normal” cases of VO

C. Enclisis after the past participle

In general it is not possible to leave the clitic inside the low phase (obligatory clitic climbing) However, absolute participial clauses of non-unaccusative verbs have been analyzed by Belletti (1990) as truncated structures corresponding to AspP in modern Italian. Hence, we can use those cases as a test for our hypothesis:

(169)a trovò l’ arme del re Meliadus, che lli avea fatta si bella deliberanza, e donatogli: et
found the weapons of king M. that he had done so nice disposal, and given-to him and
era suo mortale nemico. (Novellino p. 268 r. 21)
was his mortal enemy

b Fatto ha chiamare Licomedre re, e dettogli che faccia chiamare le donne
Made has call Licomedre king, and told-him that make call the women
(Armannino,Fioritap. 546)

As expected, in these cases enclisis is the rule
D. SpecFocus expletive

Some cases seem to suggest that this exists also within the low phase:

(170)a  a chi mi sa sì pregare che io lo diparta dagli altri (Novellino p. 167)  
to whom me knows sì pray that I take him from others  
b  Però quando mi tolle sì il valore, che gli spiriti pare fuggan via (Vita nuova p. 121)  
But when to me took sì the value, that the spirits seem to fly away

However, these cases could be interpreted as sì climbing from the lower clause.

6. Second Prediction: Focus in the DP phase

Adjectives in prenominal position can be modified (contrary to modern Italian):

(171)a  domandò se avesse più care pietre  
asked if had more valuable stones  
b  qual ti sembra di più ricca valuta?  
which to you seem of more rich value?  
c  Democrito fue molto grande filosofo. Fiori e vita di filosafi, p. 106, r. 2  
Democrito was very great philosopher

Adjectives and PPs can occur to the left of the noun head

(172)a  la quale guardava al figliuolo piccolo del morto fratello, (Bono Giamboni, Orosio, p. 148, r. 7)  
whom looked at the young child of the dead brother  
b  e dagli usati uomini (Bono Giamboni, Vegezio, p. 167, r. )  
and from the experienced men  
c  il ben usato cavaliere disidera battaglia (Bono Giamboni, Vegezio, p. 70, r. 6)  
the well behaved knight wants battle  
d  quando vi dissi del cavallo cosa così meravigliosa Novellino p. 120 r. 14  
when I you told of the horse thing so wonderful  
e  Si come quando ordino di ritrarre dell’antiche scritte le cose che.. (Brun. Latini Rett. P 11 r.18)  
So as when (I) order to draw of the ancient writings the things that

Even parts of adjectival heads can be found to the left of the head noun:

(173)a  e di gentile aspetto molto, (Dante, Vita nuova, cap. 8, par. 1, v. 11)  
and of kind appearance very  
b  e ciò non è propia natura di cavallo (Novellino, p. 128, r. 67)  
and this not is own nature of horse

If we hypothesize that scrambling is also activated in the DP phase, we account for these differences with respect to Italian in a straightforward way

Speculation: if in the DP as well the head noun moves to Focus, we could explain why there are so many cases of postnominal possessives in Old Italian, and why in so many cases determinerless nouns are found (N would be moving to D through Focus).

(174)a  esser figliolo di pastore (Novellino p 128)  
to be son of shepherd  
b  a nostra magione (Novellino p 128)
to our home
c che uomo vecchio dicesse così grande villania (Novellino p. 129)
that man old said so big rudeness
d con moltitudine di gente in assedio (Novellino p. 130)
with lot of people in siege
e donami cavallo e somiere e dispendio …(Novellino p. 131)
give me horse and helmet and money
f mandò per maestri (Novellino p. 127)
sent for masters

7. Third prediction: the loss of the medieval system

Old Italian had the following properties:
a) Vfl.S
b) Informational Focus in CP
c) SpecFocus expletive sì
d) OVpart.
e) past participle agreement with post participial objects
e) prenominal (modified) adjectives and PPs

We predict that they are all lost together. The situation is much more complex: some adverbs still trigger subject inversion for a quite long period. All these properties still appear in the XIV century except for one, namely expletive sì. This can be interpreted as the first sign of weakening of “strong Focus”. Moreover, SpecFocus is more often occupied by some adverbs

Machiavelli, “Il principe”

Subject inversion
(175) Spenti adunque questi capi, e ridotti i partigiani loro amici suoi, aveva il duca gittato assai
Blown off then this bosses, and reduced their partisan friends, had the duke thrown very
buoni fondamenti alla potenza sua 221
good foundations to his power

Informational Focus in CP
(176) Perché de’ signori spogliati ne ammazzò quanti ne poté aggiungere, e pochissimi si salvarono;
Because of rich people killed as many as he could reach, and very few were saved,
i gentiluomini romani si 0 aveva guadagnati, e nel collegio aveva grandissima parte p. 224
the roman nobles had he gained, and in the assembly had big share

(177) Più facilmente si tiene una città usa a vivere libera con il mezzo dei suoi cittadini, che in altro
More easily is kept a city used to live free with the means of its citziens, that in other
modo 204
way

Frequent with some low adverbs like mai and sempre, very frequent in relative clauses

(178)a Sempre si trova dei malcontenti p. 202
Always is found some dissatisfied
b Mai si troverà ingannato da lui p. 243
never will find himself betrayed by him

Quelli che di sua qualità gli avevano invidia p. 211
Those that of his qualità will be envious

Quelle armi che vicine lo potevano offendere p. 223
Those weapons that close could offend him

OVpart.

Con i quali molti sogliono le loro cose descrivere e ornare 173
With whom many use their things describe and embellish

Tanto potette in su tale fondamento edificare ogni edificio 212
So much could in such foundation build every building

E benché dai Cartaginesi fusse due volte rotto 232
and although from the C. was twice broken

Che senza l’una e l’altra fu da lui conseguito 233
that without the one and the other was by him achieved

Past participle agreement with postparticipial objects

Se egli avesse osservate le regole sopradette e tenuti sicuri e difesi tutti quelli suoi amici
If he had observed +agr the rules above-mentioned and kept+agr safe and defended+agr his friends

Prenominal modified adjectives

Ed uno de maggiori rimedii e più vivi 187
And one of the main remedies and more powerful

Troverà difficoltà grande 202
Will find difficulty great

Renaissance Italian is a mixed language, both for scrambling and for V2 (as expected).
For statistics see Egerland (1996).

8. Questions left open

1. Where are the movement positions?

In general adverbials have the same distribution they have in modern Italian (modulo the V2 requirement)

E sì come fu detto già indietro, (Brunetto Latini, Retorica, p. 46, r.11)
and so as was said already above

sopra cosa la quale era già pervenuta all' anima, (Brunetto Latini, Retorica, p. 65, r. 4)
on thing which was already come to the soul

molto ho già udito predicare dell'opere loro- (Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 56, r. 19)
a lot have already heard talk of their deed

quelle cose che già sono pervenute (Brunetto Latini, Retorica, p.64, r. 21)
those things that already are come
b  Già è detto sufficientemente dell' officio e della fine di rettorica; (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 53, r.6)  
Already is told sufficiently of the work and goal of rhetorics

(183)a  Ed essendo *dell' unico guernimento* già ispogliato, (Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, p. 411, r. 1)  
and being of the only ornament already stripped

b  quello che per uso è già *dagli antichi* servato, (Bono Giamboni, *Vegezio*, p. 108, r. 25-26)  
what that for use is already by the ancients kept

Some elements occur higher than the adverb *già*, others occur lower

However: *già* might have been moved to Focus itself

2. Not all XPs move to Focus or Topic in the low phase. QPs are moved for independent reasons (and probably to different projections)

Tutto-movement

About 80% of the examples displays *tutto* before the past participle:

(184)a  Quelli rispuose ch'avea *tutto* donato (*Novellino*, p. 167, r. 2)  
He answered that had everything given

b  Quelli lile fece tutto donare a gentil genti *Novellino* p.166

Or in CP:

(185)a  Qual ragione ci mostri, che a colui che per sua bontà aveva guadagnato non desti e a colui che avea perduto è per sua colpa e follia, tutto donasti? (*Novellino* p. 148)  
when all had given

b  quando tutto ebbe dato  (*Novellino* p. 162)

3. Differences between the high and the low phase

- E. Old Italian also has Topic drop:

- F. “Continuing Topic” licensed by the particle *e*

- G. Pro drop is only found in V2 contexts, otherwise a (weak?) pronoun is realized

If there are cases of Topic drop, continuing Topic and pro drop licenced by V to Focus in the high phase we should find them in the low phase as well

Are there null topics/objects inside the low phase?

It is hard to distinguish between a null object in argumental position and low null topics, but:

A. apparently the verb “donare” has two thematic grids: one with direct object and one without

(186)a  il giullare lile donò *Novellino* p. 131
Moreover, Egerland (1996) there are cases of null objects in coordinated clauses:

(188) tanto lo stropicciò e con acqua calda lavò… (Egerland (1996: 288)
So much him brushed and with hot water washed …

(189) molto la vide e ricevette   Egerland (1996):285)
Much her saw and received

There other languages that display similar phenomena

Old French
Old French also has (optional) post participial agreement with direct objects:

(190)a El chief li a embatue l’espee  (Foulet (1982):102)
   b Por ce, le jor de Pentecouste…en a la duchoise menees les dames en sa chambre

(191) Si li a rendu sa promesse

Foulet notes that cases of non agreement are also found «quand le régime précède le verbe».
However, he does not provide cases of DP-past participle –agr, but only a case of relative clause and an object clitic.

Old French also allows OV

(192)a Quand je vostre fille avrai prise (Foulet (316/7)
   b Ne sui pas si yvres que je ma fille donner doie a chevalier qui vit de proie
   c Par foi n’eusse point de garde que vous a moi n’avenissiez
   d Quar molt en fusse baus et cointes se je a li parlé eüsse

(Ledgeway (2005):5) notes that on a par with V2 of the “Italian type” Old Neapolitan also displays scrambling:

(193) Iniuriosa cosaē a gentile homo, e specialemente ad homo cavallaruso,
  offensive thing it-is to gentle man, and especially to man chivalrous
  fare minaze (58.18-9)
  to-make threats ["It is offensive to make threats to a gentleman, and especially a chivalrous
  man"]
(194) non so'in exercicio de vattaglia cossi expierti (89.39)
  not they-are in exercise of battle so expert ['they are not so skilled in fighting
  battles']
9. Conclusion

Two hypothesis:

a) Old Italian XP Vpart. can be accounted for in terms of a low “left periphery” of the vP phase
b) some of the properties of functional heads are phase-independent
c) movement and in situ agree are related

This allows us to relate a number of phenomena, among which V2 and scrambling inside the DP as depending on a single property of the Focus head.

LSRL XXIX

Paola Benincà and Cecilia Poletto
University of Padua
beninca@maldura.unipd.it poletto@maldura.unipd.it

From the loss of V2 to the rise of subject clitics: a view on minimal diachronic change

- Haiman’s (1974) generalization: the Romance languages that were V2 have developed subject clitics
- Northern Italian dialects are in between French and Italian

A. The claim

a) subject clitics are expletive heads for the X°s to which the inflected verb does not move anymore
b) subject clitics are needed for maintaining the pro drop property
c) Northern Italian varieties display two pro drop systems, both are different from the standard Italian and Spanish one

B. The split inside Old Romance

Asymmetric V2 and pro drop languages

French
(1) a  Si errerent _ tant en tele maniere qu’il vindrent en la praerie de Wincestre (Artu 16,66)
      So wandered (they) much in such a way that they came in the prairie of Winchester
   b  mes toutevoies s’en reconforterent _ au plus biau qu’il porent (Artu 2, 8)
      but nevertheless (they) consoled themselves as best that they could

Northern Italian
(2) a  E così ne provò _ de più cari ch’elli avea Schaffini (1954):74:90,r,30)
      And so tested (he) some of the dearest that he had       Benincà (1996):12
   b  e seria _ stado plu biado s’elo avesse possedû lo reçimento de la soa mente
and would have been more happy if he had possessed the ... of his mind

Or te mostrerai _ Dominidè que tu lo veras Serm Sub I 116
Now to you (I) will show God that you him will see

Benincà (1983): pro drop is licensed by the inflected V in C°

Symmetric V2 and pro drop languages

Spanish

(3) et desque _ llegaron assu padre a Cananea
and when (they) arrived at the father's home in Cananea

Southern Italian

(4) a et li Romani fece incontenente quelo ke _ li dixe Le Miracole de Roma, 25
and the Romans made immediately what that (they) them told

-C. The development of French and Northern Italian

The Renaissance Period

Middle French

Pro drop distribution (cf. Roberts (1993))
- first and second person plural pro are possible in all contexts
- any pro is possible in main clauses when V is in C°
- any pro is possible in +wh embedded clauses and embedded V2
- in non wh, non V2 embedded contexts only first and second person plural pro are possible

-first and second person plural Agr can license and identify pro under any condition

- for the other persons C° is still the pro licenser

C° can license pro - when it contains the inflected V (V2)
- when it is marked [+ wh]

V1 cases are interpreted (contra Roberts (1993)) as V in C

Renaissance Northern Italian

Renaissance Veneto (XVI century): Poletto (1995) (same in Milanese and Bergamasco)

The system is very similar to Middle French with a difference in the first person singular

-first singular and first and second person plural Agr can license and identify pro under any condition

(5) a Ve suplico... (Calmo, 72)
(I) you pray,
b Havemo buo notitia che... (Calmo, 129)... 
(We) have had news that...

c Dirè a Ser Zuan che ... (Ruz. 107) 
(You+pl.) will-say to Sir Z. that...

-for the other persons C° must be the pro licenser
C° can license pro -when it contains the inflected V (V2)
-when it is marked [+ wh]

(6) a El m’ha lagò le cavale... (Ruz 78)
He to-me has left the horses...

b El me par... (Calmo 111)
It to-me seems

c un passo i no farè (Ruz. 74)
A step I not will-do

d Te no vissi mà (Ruz 91)
You not saw never

(7) e si _ andò in là (Ruz 78)
and so (he) went on

(8) a si _ no resta altro
if (it) not remains anything else

b com fa l’orsa quando _ se guz gi ongi (Ruz. 105)
as does the bear when (she) herself sharpens her claws

c che tuta la zente co _li vede, se ghe inchina (Calmo 75)
that all the people when (she) them sees, bows

d si _ farae megio... (Ruz 102)
whether (they) would-do better

(9) ...che l sarave cossa giusta (Calmo 111)
...that it would-be thing right

**Renaissance Bolognese and Polesano**

Novella del Re di Cipro (XVI century)

(10) a A digh dunca
I say then

b T m insegn
You me teach

c Al vegnia
He came

d La s lamintava
She complained

e A v pusì mo pinsar vu
You can so imagine

f che i j diseven ...
that they to-him said

g cha possa imparar
that+I can learn

h cha intend ...
that+I understand
i l’intravieg
it happened

A subject pronoun is always present: no cases of pro drop
Subject pronouns on the complementizer
Always a subject pronoun:
-a is in C° (?)
-third person pronouns are weak pronouns, not heads as their modern counterpart

(11) a Una zentildona de Guascogna andò pelegrinando....
A lady from Guascogna went in a pilgrimage
b La non truvava luogh
She not found place...
c la i andò dinanz e si i diss
She went in front of-him and so to him said

Therefore: the inflected verb never licenses pro, neither in C° nor in Agr°
it identifies pro in first sg. and (first) and second pl., as the subject clitic is invariable

1. Modern French

French is not a pro drop language

Subject Clitics are weak pronouns (see Cardinaletti and Starke (1997))

N.B. no systematic morphological change from Middle to modern French in the agreement paradigm
Hence: loss of pro drop is not connected to a morphological process

modern Bolognese and Polesano

two types of subject clitics: some in C°, some in I°

tests to distinguish the two types:

-position with respect to preverbal negation

(12) a A no vegno Loreo
SCL not come
‘I do not come’
b No la vien not SCL comes

-repetition in coordinated structures

(13) a A canto co ti e balo co lu Loreo
SCL sing with you and dance with him
‘I sing with you and dance with him’
(14) a *La magna patate e beve vin Venice
SCL eats potatoes and drinks coffee
b  *Ti magni patate e bevi vin  
   SCL eat potatoes and drink wine

-obligatory clustering with the complementizer

(15)  a  Ara ch’a vegno  Loreo (Veneto)  
    look that+SCL come  
    ‘Look, I am coming’
  b  *Ara che a vegno
  c  No so sa vegno  
    not know if+SCL come  
    ‘I do not know whether I will come’
  d  *No so se a vegno

(16)  a  Ara che el vien  Loreo (Veneto)  
    look that+SCL comes  
    ‘Look, he is coming’
  b  Ara ch’el vien

the subject clitic licenses pro for all persons:

(17)  a  a magno  modern Polesano  
    I eat
  b  a te magni
  c  el magna
    he eats
  d  a magnemo
    we eat
  e  a magnè
    you eat
  f  i magna
    they eat
  g  a piove
    it rains
  h  a pare
    it seems

(18)  a  a magn  Bolognese
  b  t magnet
  c  al magna
  d  a magnen
  e  a magnè
  f  i magnan
  g  al piov
  h  al per

-C° clitics only licenses pro, but do not identify it;
-Agr° clitics license and identify pro;
-Both C° and Agr are occupied by a subject clitic which renders the head able to license pro;
-C° can still contain a strong feature;
First person singular, first person plural and second person plural are identified by the inflected verb in Agr;

3. Modern Padovano

The subject clitic or the inflected verb licenses pro depending on the person

(19)  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>magno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>te magni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>el magna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>magnemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>magnè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>i magna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>piove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>pare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(20)  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a piove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>a magno si!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-It is raining!  
-Sure, I eat!

-The inflected verb in Agr licenses and identifies pro for first person singular, first person plural and second person plural;
-Second singular and third person singular and plural are licensed by the inflected verb and identified by the subject clitic;
-C° clitics are discourse markers;
-C° is not involved in pro licensing or identifying;

**General Consequences**

-the pro drop property is not directly related to morphology: (contra Jaeggli and Safir (1989), Roberts (1993)).

-Loss of pro drop occurs without any morphological change:
-Padovano and Polesano have exactly the same morphology but different pro drop conditions
-first singular and plural and second plural distinctive morphology can
  1. do nothing at all (French)
  2. licence pro (Paduan)
  3. identify pro but not license it (Bolognese and Polesano)

-a head can be marked as strong by move or merge: subject clitics are a merge strategy that substitutes for a move strategy