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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   *La traison* LI   A   CONTÉ que li vasals a   apresté. (oFr.; *Enéas*, 23-24)
     the treason him has told   that the vassal has prepared
     "He told him about the treason that was planned by the vassal."

b Mes *Lancelot* ne connut   il mie, car   trop   estoit enbrons (oFr.; *Artu*,11,3)
   but Lancelot neg recognized he neg, because too-much was   sullen
   "But he didn't recognise Lancelot, as he was too sullen."

(2) *Tal   serviço* LHE   PODE fazer hûn homen pequenho. (oPort.; Huber 1933)
such service to-him can do   a   man   short
"A short man can do this service for him."

(3) *una fertra* FEI lo reis Salomon ... *Las colones* FEI d'argent e *l'apoail* FEI d'or; *li degrai per unt
     hom i montava* COVRÌ de pur pura. (oPied.; *Sermoni subalpini*, 232)
   a sedan-chair made the king Solomon … The columns made of-silver and the-support made of
   gold; the steps through which man there mounted covered of purple
   "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) *L'uscio* MI   LASCERAI   aperto istanotte (oFlor.; *Novellino*, 38)
the-door to.me will.leave2sg open   tonight
"You will leave the door open for me tonight."

(5) Guiderdone aspetto   avere   da   voi. (oSic.; Scremin 1984-5)
     guerdon   expect1sg to-have from you
"I expect compensation from you."

(6) a *il verme nella pietra* conobbi… (*Novellino*, p. 128, r. 19)
     the worm in the stone I knew

b Quelli vendette l' arme e cavallo; *li danari* si ritenne. (*Novellino*, p. 164, r. 8)
   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)
   Who is the master, among you three? The one came forward and said: Sir, I am

d Autre chose NE POT   *li roi* trouver. (oFr.; *Artu* , 101)
     other thing neg could the king find
   "The king couldn't find anything else."

e Un pou aprés eure de prime fu   Mador venuz a cort. (ibidem, 103)
   a   bit after hour of first   was Mador arrived to court
   "Mador arrived to court a little after the hour of first hour (i.e., 6 AM)."

f Mal cosselh DONET *Pilat* (oProv.; *Venjansa*, 106)
   bad advice gave3sg Pilatus
   "Pilatus gave bad advice."

g Si SAI   eu la meillor razon. (oProv.; *Gaucelm Faidit*, 47)
   so know I   the best   reason

"So I know the best reason."
h Este logar MOSTRO *dios* a Abraam. (oSp.; Fontana 1993:64)
    this place showed God to Abraham
    "God showed Abraham this place."
i Con tanta   paceença SOFRIA *ela* esta enfermidade. (oPort.; Ribeiro 1995, 114)
    with so-much patience suffered she this disease
    'She suffered this disease so patiently.'
j Bon vin FA   *l'uva   negra.* (oMil.; *Bonvesin*, p. 96)
    good wine makes the-grape black (subj)
    "Black grapes make good wine."
k Et   così 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) *Quali denari aveva Baldovino lasciati a loro
     which money had Baldovino left them
(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) Eniier 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 Vs), with a difference:

- Mainland Scandinavian languages have embedded V2 under a fonetically 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 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 difficultà 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 principi (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 nouvele 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 thoroughout its history (less in Old French, only in the second half of the XIV century)

Old Italian V3

- Throughout the whole hystory 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 consegno (oMil.; *Bonvesin*, 163)

     to her for all the times me surrender and me-deliver

     "I surrend 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

     matti. (oFlor.; *Novellino*, 40)

     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 avìa   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 grat forgiveness led me to sin."

    h [La figura piacente] [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

(33) L'aveirs Carlun est il appareillez?   (Roland, 1. 643 Roberts (1993:39a))
           The treasure C. is it made ready?

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.

(34) …mi chevalier u sunt il?   (Ch. II Roberts (1993:42)
           …my knights, where are they?

(35) Des chevaliers que vos diroie?   (Tristan, 1. 3991, Roberts (1993:45c))
           Of the knights what you shall(I) say?

Roberts states that, though possibile, 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:

(36) Et a ces parolles le roy demanda quelz prieres ilz faisoient   (Jehan de Saitré Vance (1989:31) And at these words the king asked what requests they made

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$_i$, suo$_i$ padre l$_i$'ha licenziato LD
                  Gianni $_i$, his$_i$ father has fired him$_i$
                  'Gianni has been fired by his own father'
        b   *GIANNI, suo$_i$ padre ha licenziato   Focus
                  GIANNI$_i$, his$_i$ father has fired t$_i$

Notice that (45b) is possible if *suo padre* «his father» is interpreted as the direct object and G*ianni* 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$_i$, suo$_i$ padre non lo vede mai
                  Mario, his father never sees him
                  'His father never sees Mario'
           B: No, GIANNI$_i$, suo$_i$ padre non lo vede mai
                  no, Gianni, his father never sees him
                  'No, his father never sees Gianni'

(47) a   *A MARIA, Giorgio$_i$, sua$_i$ madre presenterà
                  to Maria, George, his mother will introduce
                  'His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria'
        b   *A MARIA$_i$, Giorgio, sua$_i$ 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$_i$, suo$_i$ 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]

b   [Topic Focus1 Focus2]

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 é!
             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-**al** 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-**al** 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'imbecille
              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'imbecille
             to M., not give more money to that idiot

    (72)a   Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo mai di lui

Giorgio, to the 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 seel, 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   [Focus...]]]]

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

(97)
[Hang. Topic [Scene Sett. [Left disl. [List interpr [[CONTR. CP1 adv/obj, [CONTR.CP2 circ.adv. [INFORM. CP]]]

|_____FRAME_____| |_THEME_____| |_____FOCUS_____|

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:

(98) a   *L Giat, l'ai odu[1]
    The cat, it have-I seen

  b   *Giani, ti ai bel baiè
    Giani, to him have-I already spoken

  c   *De Giani ai bel baié
    Of Giani, have-I already spoken

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?

---

[1] a sentence like this is ambiguous between a HT and a LD. The fact that it is ungrammatical shows that not only the HT is out but also the LD possibility.

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 interrrogative 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?
          John yesterday 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

- Asimmetry 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 tartget 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 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

(oMil.; *Bonvesin*, 179)

when you came to.the world, if you wanted to-think-about-it, nothing there brought2sg,

nothing from-there can2sg take

"When you came into the world, if you think about it, you didn't bring anything, and

nothing you can take away."

(116)et levà _ lo rem et de-me _ sulo col et menà-me _ ço per lo braço , sì ch'*el* me lo scaveçà

(oVen.; *Lio Mazor*, 18)

and raised3sg the oar and hit3sg.me on.the neck and stroke3sg.me down the arm, so that

he to-me.it broke3sg

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

(117)E   così ne   provò _   de'   più   cari   ch'*elli* avea. (oFlor.; *Testi fiorentini*,74)

and so   of-it tested3sg _   of-the most dear that-he had

"So he tested some of the best friends he had."

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

(118)a   Sire niés, don't venez?   (Charroi de Nimes, Roberts (1993:17)
                         Lord nephew, whence come (you)?
           b   Rois, voudroies le faire issi?
                         King, want (you) to do it here? (Tristan 1. 1179 Roberts (1993:18b))

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

(119)a   Bist Du müde?
                   b   Wäre er schon angekommen..
(120)Komme am Sonntag Abend an…
(121)Habe es schon gemacht

Old French also displays three types of V1 (topic drop is not known, but see Old Italian)

(122)Est don't amors infermetés?   (Roberts (1993:15))
                   Is then love infermity?
(123)Fust I li reis, n'I oüssum damage

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
    diceale intra l' altre parole com' elli 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
                                                                (*Novellino*, p. 231, r. 1-5)
(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** elli 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** partisi **e** disse a Platone:…   (*Fiori de Filosafi* p. 124)
        And went and said to P.
    c   Plauto fue uno grande savio, cortese in parlare. **E** scrisse queste sentenze.
(*Fiori de Filosafi* 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)

occurred   to.him of the queen

"He remembered the queen."

(132)TORNÉ-*s-en*,   sì ané a l'autre   so ami (…), sì li   ai   coità so desasi.
(oPied.; *Sermoni Subalpini*, 238)

went3sg-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 BRANCHAI-*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 catched him by his hair and pulled him down into the bilge."

(134)LEVÒ*ssi*   questa femmina e   AIUTO*llo* (oFlor.; *Novellino*, 38)

Raised.herself this   woman   and helped.him

"The woman stood up and helped him."

(135)GRAVA*me* forte   lo balestrire. (oUmbr.; *Jacopone*)

burdens.me heavily the arbalester

"The arbalester burdens me heavily."

(136) PURRIA*mi*   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 [despues]   *mando-lo* 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 sì giusto e guardò sì le mani da..   F F
           was so right and looked so the hands that…
      b   cominciò a tremare sì fortemente … Vita nuova 6
           began to tremble so strongly…

before 'come' (as):

(139) a   sì come appare a chi lo intende Vita nuova 23
           so how appears to who it understands
      b   Sì come elli parlava tra lloro di sì grande maraviglia,
           So how he spoke to then of so great wonder

before the complementizer che*:*

(140)a   sì 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   sì che li chiovi pareano16 lettere
         so that the   looked like 16 letters

così 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
         hence the betrayed friend of good faith me took for the hand and taking-me
   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 whithin 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   e contendendo col maestro, *sì* fece aprire la bocca dello 'nfermo e, col dito estremo, li
and discussing with the master, so made open the mouth of the sick, and with the finger there

    vi puose l veleno   Nov. 153
he put the poison

f   La volpe andando per un bosco sì trovò un mulo: e il mulo sì li mostrò il piede dritto,
The fox going in a wood so found a mule: and the mule so to-her showed the right foot

Sì occurs at the immediate left of the inflected verb:

(145)a   sì s'abacinò degli occhi   F F 105
so himself burnt his eyes

    b   e, parlando spezialmente alli spiriti del viso, sì 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 sì 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 sì separated by the inflected verb by elements other than clitics or negation

Sì 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, sì 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

    verrà   Nov. 118
will come

    b   in questo Pittagora sì cominciò (Fiori e Vita de Filosofi, 104)

    I

    in this P.so. began

    c   Lo mperadore Federigo stando ad assedio a Melano, sì 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

Sì occurs also in embedded contexts:

(147)a   che l ferro, se l'aopere, sì 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, sì 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)e di ciò sì ne fue contenzione   FF 106
and of this so of it was ???

(149)sì 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 ocurrs 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 filosafo   FF 140
              And says a philosopher
       c   Stando lo 'mperadore 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   FF134

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

[CoordP NullTop [coord° e [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 lead 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 sì 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' avessi *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 cosí chiaramente *a ogni cosa* risposto (Bono Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, p. 37, r. 24) and when (I) had so clearly to everything answered

l 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 Latini, *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 Quand' 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 fatt*i* molti miracoli (*Tesoro volg.* p. a258, vv. 3-4) when he had already done+agr many miracles

b E quando il notaio ha lett*a* 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 rifiutat*a* la nobile città di Giadres et ha pres*o* 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)):

(161)a   When past participial agreement is reduced (and finally lost) , OV is reduced (and finally lost) as well (see below)

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

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

(162)a   O ai lis sigaret**is** dismentead**is**
          I have the cigarettes forgotten+agr
   b   O ai dismentead**is** lis sigaret**is**
   c   O ai dismente**a:t** lis sigaretis
   d   *O ai lis sigaretis dismente**a: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)[$_{CP}$ quando [$_{AgrS}$ [$_{SpecAgrS}$ il notaio] [$_{AgrS°}$ ha] [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{Focus°}$ letta$_i$] [$_{AgrOP}$ [$_{SpecAgrO}$ la proposta$_j$] [$_{AgrO}$ t$_i$] …[$_{VP}$ [$_{v°}$ t$_i$] [t$_j$]]]]]

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

(164)[$_{CP}$ che [$_{AgrS}$ [$_{SpecAgrS}$ egli] [$_{AgrS°}$ avea] [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{SpecFocus}$ il maleficio$_j$] [$_{Focus°}$ commesso$_i$] [$_{AgrOP}$ [$_{SpecAgrO}$ t$_j$] [$_{AgrO}$ t$_i$] …[$_{VP}$ [$_{v°}$ t$_i$] [t$_j$]]]]]

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)[$_{CP}$ quando [$_{AgrS}$ [$_{SpecAgrS}$ il notaio] [$_{AgrS°}$ ha] [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{Focus°}$ letta$_i$] [$_{VP}$ [la proposta] [[$_{v°}$ t$_i$]]]]]]

 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 *cosí 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 sì bella deliberanza, e *donatogli*: et
     found the weapons of king M. that he had done so nice disposal, and given-tohim and
         era suo mortale nemico. (*Novellino* p. 268 r. 21)
         was his mortal enemy

     b   Fatto ha chiamare Licomede re, e dettogli che faccia chiamare le donne
         Made has call Licomede 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　　　　Novellino p. 123, 54
　　　　　asked if had more valuable stones
　　b　　qual ti sembra di *più ricca* valuta?　　　　Novellino p. 127,28
　　　　　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　　Sì 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*
c) OVpart.
d) 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 Ø 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 citiziens, 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

    c   Quelli che di sua qualità gli avevano invidia p. 211
           Those that of his qualità will be envious
    d   Quelle armi che vicine lo potevano offendere p. 223
           Those weapons that close could offend him

OVpart.
    (179)a   Con i quali molti sogliono le loro cose descrivere e ornare 173
               With whom many use their things describe and embellish
        b Tanto potette in su tale fondamento edificare ogni edificio 212
           Somuch coudl in such foundation build every building
        c E benché dai Cartaginesi fusse due volte rotto 232
           and although from the C. was twice broken
        d 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

    (180)Se egli avesse osservate le regole sopradette e tenuti sicuri e difesi tutti quelli suoi amici
      195
     If he had observed +agr the rules above-mentioned and kept+agr safe and defended+agr his
friends

Prenominal modified adjectives

    (181)Ed uno de maggiori rimedii e più vivi 187
       And one of the main remedies and more powerful
       Troverà difficultà 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)

    (182)a   E sì come fue detto *già* indietro, (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 46, r.11)
            and so as was said already above

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

    (36)   quelle cose che *già* sono pervenute (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p.64, r. 21)
            those things that already are come

b   *Già* è detto sofficientemente dell' officio e della fine di rettorica; (Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p. 53, r.6)
            Already is told sufficiently of the work and goal of rethorics

(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)
b   quando tutto ebbe dato (Novellino p. 162)
            when all had given

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

the jester it-tohim gave
b   ché la ti dono volentieri   p. Novellino 132
          that it to you give with pleasure

(187)a   … e trasselo di prigione e donolli molto nobilmente Novellino p. 129
          and took-him from prison and gave him very nobly
b   Dissemi che ad Alexandro andava perché li donasse Novellino p. 132-3.
          Told that to Alexandro went because to him gave
c   al quale elli avea donato Novellino p. 130
          to whom he had given

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 doner 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   cosaè 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   cossì 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 relates a number of phenomena, among which V2 and scrambling inside the DP as depending on a single property of the Focus head.

LSRL XXIX

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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 possedù lo reçimento de la soa mente

*and would _ have-been more happy if **he** had possessed the ...of his mind*

c   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

      b   et incontenente _fo aperto lo celo Le miracole de Roma 65
and immediately (it) was open the sky

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 intepreted (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 sì _ 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'intraviegn
             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
     you eat
  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) a   magno
      b   te magni
      c   el magna
      d   magnemo
      e   magnè
      f   i magna
      g   piove
      h   pare

(20) a   a piove!
           It is raining!
      b   a magno sì!
           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