

## Acknowledgements

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## Introduction

In this book I investigate the Old Italian (OI) variety spoken in Florence and its surroundings on the basis of texts which range from the beginning of the XIII century to the year 1350. In some cases I will restrict my analysis the XIII century for purely linguistic reasons. At least for some phenomena, like quantifier placement and negative concord, the beginning of the XIV century represents a turning point where the grammar starts to change.

The reason why I use the definition “Old Italian” instead of “Old Florentine”, though this is exactly the variety I take into account, is that the term has become standard since the “Italant” project which ended with the publication of the *Grammatica dell’italiano antico* (Old Italian Grammar) edited by Lorenzo Renzi and Giampaolo Salvi. I refer to Renzi (1997) for a justification of this choice and simply follow it here.

The empirical field of investigation on OI at the basis of my research is the same set of texts used in the Italant project and includes all the Florentine texts available from the period mentioned above. The data base is the one powered by the OVI (Opera del Vocabolario Italiano) research center available at the following website: <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/ovi>.

However, the online corpus of this project is only tagged on the basis of lexical items and punctuation elements and there is no other corpus with syntactic tagging available for OI. Therefore, I was able to do some research on quantifiers and negation searching for the lexical items involved, but other phenomena studied in detail in this work, as OV orders or the position of the elements inside the DP were not searchable. Hence, I had to resort to reading the texts and finding all the relevant examples manually. This has brought me to restrict the number of texts I could investigate in detail, and I only took some texts which I think are representative of the period: the texts I investigated in detail are a) *il Novellino* b) *Testi fiorenti del Dugento* c) *Bono Giamboni ‘s“Il libro dei vizi e delle virtudi”* and d) *Dante’s “Vita nuova”*, all in the same editions used in the OVI corpus. Other texts are also occasionally used for examples, but have not been systematically investigated throughout. In essence, the lack of a syntactically annotated corpus has forced me to adopt a mixed methodology: in the cases where it was possible to extract all the examples from the online corpus on the basis of a lexical research (as it is the case for instance with quantifiers, negation or interrogative clauses) I investigated the whole corpus available on the web, although there was often a lot of noise in the data, as a lot of irrelevant examples could not be

filtered out. As for null topics, subject inversion, OV orders or DP internal PP preposing, which were not possible to search in the corpus, I used the old methodology of reading the texts, and extracting the examples manually; given that for time reasons it was not possible to read the whole corpus I selected some of the authors and read the same editions used by the Italtant project.

This means that in several cases it was virtually impossible to produce percentages, or that they were not reliable, as the corpus contains few examples of the structure investigated. Therefore, I decided to provide percentages only in those cases where there was a sufficient amount of data. On the other hand, the sheer existence of some structures, which are impossible in Modern Italian, is significant for syntactic research, and I think that a qualitative research is also justified, also in view of the fact that this is the first enterprise which tries to provide a systematic theoretical picture of the whole sentence structure of this language. I think this should not be read as a disadvantage but as a preliminary search for future research on this language and that several phenomena noted here will have to be investigated in further detail in the future. Hence, this book should be seen as a first probing into an up to now uncharted territory. Given that rather limited theoretical work done on OI, and the fact that it has primarily concentrated only on the V2 phenomenon and its correlates, I will provide only a first approximation of further interesting phenomena that have not been systematically investigated up to now. Thus, The aim of the book is not to say the last word on the phenomena handled here, but rather to provide a first overview of interesting phenomena and a unitary analysis for them, which will then have to be further refined by additional studies and to present the first approximation for an analysis of some of the basic properties that have changed over time.

The first chapter summarizes the debate on the disputed “verb second property” of Old Romance and provides an overview of the problems one encounters in assuming that OI is a V2 language. As I will show, it is immediately self-evident that OI is not a language like, say modern German, as it allows for a fair amount of V1 structures, and also of V3, and actually V\* cases. Moreover, there is no neat asymmetry between main and embedded clauses, at least not a *prima facie* visible one. However, OI is indeed different from Modern Italian with respect to verb movement. In the first chapter I adopt Benincà (2006) theory of the split left periphery and add some considerations and more empirical support to her claim that the inflected verb actually systematically reaches the C-domain in OI, while it does not in Modern Italian, but that it is not confined into one single position in CP, unless the freezing criterion (see Rizzi (2001)) forces it to. Several phenomena including a) null topics b) the distribution

of the particle *sì*, c) the distribution of the particle *e* d) the distribution of subject pronouns with respect to pro drop and e) subject inversion with respect to adverbs can be explained by Benincà's theory in addition to the properties she already systematically discusses (which are pro drop, enclisis or proclisis of object clitics, verb first and verb third cases as well as non-contrastive focus).

The second chapter deals with an entirely new phenomenon, namely OV orders,<sup>1</sup> which are actually rather common in OI, though the language cannot be considered OV in the sense that the unmarked word order is the same found in strict OV languages like Japanese, or even in non-strict OV languages like German. I will put forth the hypothesis that the scrambling phenomenon yielding OV is due to the fact that OI has an active left periphery not only at the CP level, but also at the vP level, which allows for movements of any XP contained in the vP to its edge where Focus and Topic positions have similar properties to those of Focus and Topic in the CP. The existence of a low left periphery has been first proposed by Belletti (2004) for postverbal subjects in Modern Italian, here the idea is extended to OI and exploited to show that all phases are parallel. I will show that scrambling has exactly the same properties that movements to the left periphery of the CP have in Italian, namely a) movement is insensitive to the type of XP moved b) there can be more than one element moved to the left periphery c) the elements in the left periphery are not ordered d) the movement seems optional, as all pragmatic-related movements do. The pattern of past participle agreement with the direct object also shows that OV cases are to be interpreted as movement.

In the third chapter I will provide evidence that the internal structure of the DP also includes a left periphery (a hypothesis already put forth by Giusti (2006) for Modern Italian) and that elements internal to the DP can access it as they do in the CP and in the vP. This provides us with a unitary view on left peripheries that work in the same way in all phases and leads me to conclude that the properties of Focus and Topic projections are set independently from the phase they are in; i.e. each phase has an "external layer" which always displays the same properties.

Chapter four shows that the phenomenon of scrambling is not only restricted to auxiliary+past participle constructions, but is also systematically found with the same left peripheral characteristics in constructions where the auxiliary is a modal, an aspectual, a perception or even a causative verb. The fact that scrambling is allowed with causatives is a strong indication that it does not target the CP layer, but the lower vP phase, as it is well known that in Italian causatives the structure embedded by the causative verb is very small (see Guasti

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<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon was first noticed by Egerland (1996) in a theoretical perspective, though it has been known among traditional linguists, who attribute it to the influence of Latin. See chapter 7 on this.

(1993)). This in turn shows that all these constructions do not embed a CP, but a much smaller structural portion and thus provide evidence for Cinque's (2006) analysis of modal, aspectual and perception verbs as monoclausal.

The fifth and the sixth chapter are devoted to the position of quantifiers: in the fifth chapter I analyze in detail the distribution of the quantifier *tutto* 'everything/all', which displays a very clear distributional pattern, as it is always located in front of the past participle when it is bare while it follows the same distribution of definite DPs when it is paired to an NP, (i.e. it can either be pre or postparticipial). Moreover, the quantifier followed by a relative clause has a third distributional pattern, as it is invariably located after the past participle. Other non-negative quantifiers also share this split in the distributional pattern, which supports the idea that a) the internal structure of bare quantifiers is different from the structure of quantified expression, b) quantifiers followed by a relative clause occupy a different position.

I propose that the internal structure of a bare quantifier contains other projections, not simply a Q and an N, or an N and D. Hence, bare QPs are not simply an NP/DP with a Q on top. These additional projections can contain a lexically null or over element like the classifier-projection, which contains a null or lexically realized *cosa/e* 'thing/s'.

The sixth chapter deals with the distribution of one single n-word, namely 'nothing', which has various forms in OI: *niente, neiente, neente, neuna cosa*. 'Nothing' displays a clear distributional pattern, which can shed light on a problem noted for all Old Romance languages by Martins (2001), namely the fact that Old Romance languages seem to oscillate between a strict and a non-strict negative concord pattern (I am using here Zeijlstra's (2004) terminology). I will show that the element 'nothing' needs to be in the same phase as the negative marker in order to allow for negative concord. Hence, the cases of postverbal 'nothing' without negative concord are to be attributed to the fact that the n-word is too low in the vP phase (i.e. in its argumental position) to agree with the negative marker. When 'nothing' moves either to the edge of the vP phase or higher up in the functional space of low adverbs, it becomes visible to the agreement process underlying negative concord.

Furthermore, the form of the word 'nothing' changes according to its position: the classifier-like element *cosa* is realized only in preverbal position (or when the element is focused). I will show that the form of the n-word actually depends on the licensing conditions of an existential projection which contains a null or lexically realized indefinite in the internal structure of the n-word.

The conclusion one can reach from a detailed investigation of quantifiers in OI is that a) bare and non-bare quantifiers have different internal structures (much like wh-items in recent

analysis like Grewendorf (2012)) b) the distribution of the quantifier is related to its position in the clause, and this is so because of the licensing condition of null projections inside the structure of the quantifier.

Chapter 7 concludes the work and contains some very general observations on how optionality is analyzed.

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## Chapter 1

### The Old Italian Left Periphery

#### 1. V2 as V to Focus

Any work on the syntax of an Old Romance language cannot even start without mentioning the only well-studied phenomenon on OI, namely verb second. Since Benincà (1984), it is known that there exists a clear parallel between the syntax of Modern Germanic languages and then one of Old Romance. The major argument found in the literature in favour of this analysis (see Roberts (1993) a.o.) is that Old Romance allows for subject inversion between the auxiliary and the past participle, a phenomenon which is banned in all Modern Romance languages (except the Rhaetoromance dialects that have retained V2 (see Poletto (2000))). However, subject inversion is not the only correlate of V2 in Italian, as we will see. In Benincà's (2006)<sup>1</sup> system, the fact that the inflected verb moves to the lowest head in the CP domain also allows for an explanation of the following phenomena: a) asymmetric pro drop (see also Adams, Vance (1993) for Old French (1990), b) the distribution of enclisis and proclisis of clitics,<sup>2</sup> c) the distribution of sentential particles like *sí*<sup>3</sup> (and *or* in other Italian varieties like the Old Piemontese of the Sermones Subalpini), d) the possibility to prepose a direct object without a resumptive clitic, e) the V3 phenomenon.

V3 instances, which are very frequent in OI since the very first attestation, the Placiti Cassinesi, have been a constant feature of Italian throughout its history and have been a point of debate, because they should not be allowed (or very limited) in a V2 language, where V2 means exactly that the verb must be located immediately after the first constituent of the clause. Hence, the so-called V2 linear restriction is systematically violated in OI, which does not only allow for (limited) cases of V3, like, say, Modern German, but displays the same type of “recursive” topic also found in Modern Italian (see Rizzi (1997) and Benincà and Poletto (2004)). Several authors have actually proposed that OI (or more generally Old Romance) is not a V2 language because it does not respect the V2 linear restriction and because subject inversion could be explained otherwise. The main

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<sup>1</sup> From now on, I will consistently refer to Benincà's work as Benincà (2006) because this is the most recent publication, but the framework has been developed in a series of previous articles starting with (1984) and (2001).

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of enclisis and proclisis was first independently noted by the two linguists Adolf Tobler and Adolfo Mussafia at the end of the XIX century. The Tobler-Mussafia law states that enclisis is found when the verb comes in first position of the clause while proclisis is the rule when (at least) a constituent precedes the verb. As we will see below, there are exceptions to this rule in the sense that enclisis is sometimes found also when there are constituents preceding the verb.

<sup>3</sup> For an alternative analysis which sees *sí* as a Focus head see Ledgeway (2008).

objection made by the line of thought that sees Old Romance as non-V2 is that subject inversion is not sufficient evidence that the inflected verb moves to C, because a) there exist postverbal subjects in vP, (which are also possible in Modern Italian), b) even in those cases where we control for vP internal subjects by means of using a compound tense, it could be the case that the past participle actually moves less in OI than it does in Modern Italian, hence even cases with the order Aux-Subject-Past Participle could be cases of vP internal subjects.

However, we will see that, if by V2 we mean that the verb systematically reaches the C-domain in main clauses (and also in at least a subset of embedded clauses), OI can indeed be considered as a V2 language. In this chapter I will first summarize Benincà's proposal, which I adopt here, and revise all the evidence for V to C considering the phenomena listed above from (a) to (e). I will then provide additional evidence which shows that OI indeed has subject inversion of the "Germanic type" as the subject does not only occur before the past participle, but also before adverbs that are generally located in the functional space higher than the vP. I will also show that OI is a language similar to Icelandic in being more liberal with embedded V2 than languages like German or Dutch.

## 2 The analysis of V2: Benincà's (2006) and the V2 correlates

In what follows I will show that Benincà's (2006) analysis of the left periphery of OI accounts for all the phenomena which distinguish old from Modern Italian. She claims that the left periphery of the clause is split in the following way:<sup>4</sup>

- (1) [Force C°[Relwh C°]/<sub>{Frame}</sub> [ScSett][HT] C°]{<sub>TOPIC</sub>[LD] [LI] C°}{<sub>FOCUS</sub>[I Focus][II Focus]/[Interrwh] C°}[Fin C° ] }

The structure in (1) contains three fields, the lowest one is the field where Focus is realized and includes projections dedicated to contrastive and new information Focus as well as wh-movement. All the movements to this field have the features of operator movement.<sup>5</sup>

The second field includes different types of Topics (LD stands for left Dislocation while LI is List Interpretation) and in OI it is entirely similar to Modern Italian in allowing for more than one XP to be topicalized and it is accessible both in main and in embedded clauses.

<sup>4</sup> This is already proposed for Modern Italian in Benincà and Poletto (2004).

<sup>5</sup> In the following chapters I will refer to this type of movement as operator/focus movement.

The third field includes Hanging Topics and other scene setting elements, and is the most external one. Contrary to the analysis of Rizzi (1997), in Benincà's system there are no Topics lower than Focus.

OI also has to property of attracting the inflected verb to a Focus head, and the head targeted is the one whose specifier contains an XP. One might speculate that the reason for this is that these positions are criterial in OI in the sense of Rizzi (1991), (2002) and (2007), i.e. they are positions in which the inflected verb and the moved XP share a feature in a Spec-head configuration which is then frozen in place. However, when no specifier is occupied, no freezing effect ensues and the inflected verb raises further to the Topic field, where it can also license null Topics (as we will see below). Hence, in this system V2 is not related to one single position in the CP layer as in the standard analysis on Germanic languages and it is not even V2 in the sense that there can only be one element in front of the verb, as Topic positions are still accessible although the inflected verb and a focussed XP already occupy the Focus field. In what follows I will examine all the phenomena related to the left periphery and show that the system accounts for all of them. Some of the phenomena are already extensively discussed in Benincà (2006), others are only hinted at there and developed here in more detail.

### *2.1 Subject inversion*

As is well known, OI shows some (but not all) of the typical correlates traditionally associated with the V2 property, namely subject inversion between the auxiliary and the past participle (not to be confused with so called "free subject inversion", which is still possible in Modern Italian (MI) and occurs after the past participle). This property has been lost during the Renaissance period (see chapter 2) and is not found in MI.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Modern Italian still allows for formulae like the following, which are however not part of the usual spoken language:

- (i) Vuoi tu sposare il qui presente Mario Rossi?  
'Will you marry the here present Mario Rossi?'

Inversion of the Germanic type is also found in some rhetorical questions, where, at least for some speakers sentences like the following are part of the competence (see Poletto (2000) for a discussion of these cases):

- (ii) E cosa avrebbe Gianni potuto fare, in quel frangente?  
and what would.have.3sg G. can.PstPrt do.inf in that situation  
'And what on earth could he have done in that situation?'

In what follows I report some cases of subject inversion where the subject occurs between the auxiliary and the past participle showing that inversion is possible with all type of subjects, definite DPs, pronouns bare quantifiers and quantified expressions:

- (2) a. quali denari avea Baldovino lasciati loro  
 which coins had.3sg B. left to.them  
 ‘...which money B. had left them’ (*Eredità Baldovino* 437)
- b. ...primieramente avea ella fatta a llui ingiuria  
 ...first had.3sg she done to him insult  
 ‘She insulted him first’ (*Rettorica* 116)
- c. E a voi Virtudi debba ricordare come v’è l’uomo da Dio raccomandato  
 and to you virtues must.1sg remind.inf how to.you is the man by God recommended  
 ‘I must remind you, Virtues, that the mankind was entrusted to you by God’ (*VeV* 69)
- d. E per questi intendimenti ha catuno trovata sua legge  
 and by these meanings has each.one found his law  
 ‘Through these meanings each one has found his law’ (*VeV* 75)
- e. che pariano tutte le battaglie de la nostra Fede racquietate?  
 that seem.3pl all the battles of the our faith ended  
 ‘that all the battles of our Faith appear to have ended’ (*VeV* 74)
- (3) a. Dacch’ebbe la Filosofia posto fine al suo consiglio  
 since had.3sg the philosophy put end to.the his advice  
 ‘Since Philosophy put an end to its advice’ (*VeV* 29)
- b. E così non potevano li Vizi venire a capo di loro intendimento  
 and so not could.3pl the vices come to end of their intention  
 ‘And so the Vices were not able to reach their goal’ (*VeV* 46)
- c. E fue il cibo sano per lo corpo e saporito alla bocca  
 and was the meal healthy for the body and savory to.the mouth  
 ‘The meal was healthy for the body and savory to the mouth’ (*VeV* 41)
- d. De la qual cosa fue Satanasso molto dolente  
 of the which thing was Satan very sorrowful  
 ‘Of which thing Satan was very sorrowful’ (*VeV* 68)
- e. Sì che vincessero le sue Resie la Fede di Dio

- so that won.3pl the his heresies the faith of God  
 ‘So that his Heresies could win over God’s Faith’ (VeV 68)
- f. E credettero tutte le genti questa Fede  
 and believed.3pl all the people this faith  
 ‘And all the people believed in this Faith’ (VeV 71)
- g. E perciò sono le sue armi nere  
 and for.this.reason are the his weapons black  
 ‘And for this reasons his weapons are black’ (VeV 71)
- h. E però è così bella e sono le sue armi così bianche,  
 and for.this.reason is so beautiful and are the its weapons so white  
 perché fue legge data da Dio  
 because was law given by God  
 ‘It is so beautiful and its weapons are so white because it is a law given by God’  
 (VeV 72)

The cases in (2) show that the subject can be found on the right of an auxiliary verb but on the left of a past participle, those in (3) show that the inverted subject is located before verbal modifiers (like *por fine* ‘put an end’ in (3a), before all other arguments (contrary to the cases of free inversion in MI) and before adjectival predicates (a sequence which is completely ungrammatical in MI). Examples of this type are analyzed by Benincà as movement of the inflected verb to a C° position, as also assumed for Germanic V2.

However, as noted in Kaiser (2002) and Rinke (2007) for Old French and Old Portuguese,<sup>7</sup> it could also be the case that these cases of inversion are to be treated as vP internal subjects, as we do not know how far the past participle raises in OI. That this is not the case is shown by the following examples, where the inverted subject occurs in front of a low adverb, located higher than the subject position in vP, as proposed by Cinque (1999):<sup>8</sup>

- (4) a. Affano non sofers’io mai neiente in voi amar  
 worry not suffered.1sg I never nothing in you loving  
 ‘I never suffered while loving you’ (C. *Davanzati* XVII, 235)
- b. nel quale luogo essendo egli ancora alla battaglia inteso

<sup>7</sup> See also recent work by Vance et alii (2010) where it is shown that Old French was indeed V2.

<sup>8</sup> Notice that the low adverb *bene* ‘well’ can also have an aspectual function (as in modern French) in addition to its normal function as a manner adverb. In both cases the adverb occurs after the subject.

- in.the which place being he still to.the battle engaged  
 ‘where he was still engaged in battle’ (*Pagani* 170)
- c. So io ancora, o Romani, che...  
 know.1sg I still o Romans that  
 ‘Romans, I still know that...’ (*Pagani* 281)
- d. Però è egli bene, che l’uomo si parta corporalmente del mondo  
 for.this.reason is it good that the man refl separates bodily from.the world  
 ‘For this reason it is a good thing that the human being leaves the physical world’  
 (*Tesoro* c502)
- e. Cotesto farò io bene  
 this will.do.1sg I well  
 ‘I will do this well’ (*Nov.* LXXVII, 305)
- f. Ma tanto dico io bene, che allora è bello morire quando ti diletta del vivere  
 but so say.1sg I well that then is nice die.inf when you enjoy.2sg of.the living  
 ‘So I rather say, that then it is better to die when you are still enjoying life’  
 (*Tesoro* c353)
- g. o vuoi tu sempre alla tua vita stare infermo  
 or want.2sg you always to.the your life stay.inf sick  
 ‘or you want to be sick during all your life’ (*FSI* 204c)

One could think that given that all examples above are pronouns, there is a distinction with respect to non pronominal DPs, which never occur in this order. Given that OI is actually Old Florentine, one might think that the change in the pronominal system which eventually led to subject clitics was already starting. However, there are also examples of inversion of DPs which still occur in front of the adverb, and this is also true of QPs (as in (5d):

- (5) a. perchè stessero i Romani sempre poscia securi  
 for were.3pl the Romans always after safe  
 ‘So that the Romans could be safe for the future’ (*Pagani* 269)
- b. Adunque senza gramatica non potrebbe alcuno bene dire...  
 so without grammar not could.3sg anyone well speak.inf  
 ‘Without grammar one could not speak well...’ (*Rettorica* 48)

Notice that some of the examples above are not main but embedded clauses. In languages like German and Dutch subject inversion is generally excluded from all embedded contexts except those selected by bridge verbs. OI rather seems to be a language like Icelandic, or at least much more tolerant than German and Dutch, as preposing of an XP seems possible in temporal, if-clauses, purpose clauses, relative clauses, or complement clauses that are not selected by bridge verbs:

- (6) a. Quando da loro si partì  
 when from them refl parted.3sg  
 ‘When he left them’ (*VeV 16*)
- b. Quando di tribulazioni da lui è visitato e tormentato  
 when of tribulations by him is visited and tormented  
 ‘when he is visited and tormented by him with tribulations’ (*VeV 19*)
- c. Ed estima le così presenti che nel detto modo debbiano andare  
 and considers the things present that in.the said way must.3pl go.inf  
 ‘And he thinks that the present things should proceed in the aforementioned way’  
 (*VeV 57*)
- d. Se di me guerire avessi avuto talento  
 if of me heal.inf had.1sg had talent  
 ‘if I could heal me by myself’ (*VeV 7*)
- e. Se pazientemente le sostenesse  
 if patiently them sustained.3sg  
 ‘if he sustained them patiently’ (*VeV 18*)
- f. Se dirittamente si fa la cosa  
 if right one does the thing  
 ‘If one does the thing right’ (*VeV 60*)

Notice that it is possible to find more than one Topic also in embedded clauses, not only in main clauses:

- (7) a. Quando per l’amor di Dio colui ch’è bisognoso d’alcuna cosa soveniamo  
 when for the love of God that that is needy of any thing help.1pl  
 ‘When we help the needy for God’s sake’ (*VeV 65*)
- b. E io vi dico e prometto che, se queste pene e fatiche in pace



and I you say.1sg and promise.1sg that if these punishments and pains in peace  
 porterete, e non vi lamenterete di me, che dopo la vostra morte  
 will.bear.2pl and not you will.complain.2pl of me that after the your death  
 io vi darò luogo che sarà...<sup>9</sup>

I you will.give.1sg place that will.be.3sg

‘I tell and promise you that if you will bear quietly these punishments and pains, and  
 do not complain, after your death I will give you a place that...’ (*VeV* 17)

This shows that the structural accessibility of the left periphery through all types of XPs has not  
 changed from Old to Modern Italian. The only feature that has changed is the verb movement span,  
 which, according to Benincà, reaches the left periphery in OI but not in Modern Italian and that this  
 was possible in main as well as in embedded clauses.

Being OI a pro drop language, we do not always find subject inversion also in embedded clauses  
 any time another constituent is preposed to the left periphery. However, cases of subject inversion  
 in all these types of embedded clauses are actually found in the corpus (see also the examples in (4)  
 and (5)):

- (8) a. E quando fur le genti ammonite di ben fare dall’una parte  
 and when were.3pl the people warned of well do.inf from.the one side  
 e dall’altra, che dovesser esser prodi e valentri,  
 and from.the other that should.3pl be.inf brave and strong  
 sì cominciò una battaglia sì pericolosa e grande...  
 refl began.3sg a battle so perilous and great  
 ‘And when the people of both sides had been warned to be brave and strong, a  
 perilous and great battle began’ (*VeV* 86)
- b. Et qui cade una quistione, ché potrebbe alcuno dicere...  
 and here falls a question since could.3sg one say.inf  
 ‘And here a question arises, since one could say...’ (*Rettorica* 22)

This means that OI shares the property of subject inversion with Modern Germanic V2 languages,  
 but extends this possibility to embedded clauses as it is the case in a subset of Germanic languages

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<sup>9</sup> Notice incidentally that this example also is one of those cases of complementizer doubling analyzed by Paoli (2003),  
 (2007) as realizing a Topic head.

like Icelandic, or Yiddish. According to Benincà, embedded interrogatives are the only clause type that displays a sharp asymmetry between main and embedded contexts, as inversion is never found in embedded clauses. This prediction is confirmed by Munaro (2010:1.2.1), who notes that contrary to main clauses, in embedded interrogatives subject inversion between the auxiliary and the past participle is never found.

## 2.2 Constituents in first position

Another typical property of V2 is that any constituent can be moved in front of the inflected verb and satisfy the V2 requirement, i.e. the XP movement feeding V2 is unselective with respect to the XP targeted, it only has to be a phrasal constituent (as we will see clitics are not allowed in first position). In OI virtually any type of constituent can be found in front of the inflected verb, even those that in MI can only occupy this position if contrastively marked or cannot be fronted at all<sup>10</sup>, like the predicate under the copula or the adverb *anche* ‘also’:

- (9) a. Però sempre stanno con l’animo allegro  
so always stay.3pl with the mind merry  
‘Thus they are always happy’ (VeV 25)
- b. Già abiam veduto di sopra della prima cosa che...  
already have.1pl seen of over of.the first thing that...  
‘We have already examined before the first thing that...’ (FR 101)
- c. Perché sempre porta la’nsegna nera de’ demoni  
because always carries the banner black of.the demons  
‘Because he always carries the demons’ black banner’ (VeV 71)
- d. Non sai tu che mia usanza è d’andare la notte...  
not know.2sg you that my habit is of go.inf the night  
‘Do not you know that it is my habit to go during the night...’ (VeV 7)
- e. Anche dovresti avere a memoria  
also should.2sg have to memory  
‘You also should remember’ (VeV 95)

<sup>10</sup> Actually, adverbs like *sempre* and *mai* can be found in preverbal position in some Southern Italian dialects, and are still found in preverbal position in Machiavelli’s work, which does not display V2 anymore. This probably indicates that *sempre* and *mai* are special with respect to other low adverbs and can be raised to a position higher than TP.

- f. Per lo polso, che ti trovo buono, secondo c'hanno li uomini sani,  
 by the pulse that to.you find.1sg good as that have.3pl the men healthy  
 certamente conosco che non hai male...  
 for.sure know.1g that not have.2sg bad  
 'By your pulse, that is good as that of healthy men, I know for sure that you are not  
 ill'  
 (VeV 7)

OI also allows for fronting of the direct object of the verb (or part of it) which is clearly not contrasted with any other element, and not resumed by a clitic, as it should be in Modern Italian in order for these cases to be grammatical:

- (10) a. Il prossimo tuo non ucciderai e nol fedirai  
 the neighbor your not will.kill.2sg and not-him will.hurt.2sg  
 'You shall not kill nor hurt your neighbor' (VeV 37)
- b. De la cosa del prossimo tuo non farai furto  
 of the thing of.the neighbor your not will.do.2sg theft  
 'You shall not steal your neighbor's possessions' (VeV 37)
- c. Falsa testimonianza contra 'l prossimo tuo non porterai  
 false evidence against the neighbor your not will.bring.2sg  
 'You shall not perjure against your neighbor' (VeV 37)
- d. queste tre cose in uno uomo ragunate ha sì per bene Dio onnipotente  
 these three things in one man gathered has so for well God almighty  
 'God almighty has gathered these three things in one man' (VeV 84)
- e. I superbi abbatte Idio e falli cadere e a li umili dà grazia  
 the proud overthrows God and makes-them fall.inf and to the humble gives grace  
 e falli montare  
 and makes-them rise.inf  
 'God overthrows the proud and make them fall, and gives grace to the humble and  
 makes them rise' (VeV 98)

Benincà proposes that this difference is to be reduced to the V2 property of OI, as the direct object raises to the lowest field in the CP in a non contrastive Focus position (FocusII in structure (1)), a function that is typically realized in the vP area in Modern Italian.

The same is true if the object is modified by a relative clause can be found in first position (notice that these can also be cases of embedded clauses):

- (11) a. Per la quale l'uomo il ben che puote fare non incomincia  
 for the which the man the good that can.3sg do.inf not starts  
 o quello che ha cominciato non compie  
 or that that has started.3sg not completes  
 'For which a human being does not start the good thing that he can do or does not complete  
 the one he has started' (VeV 51)
- b. Chi il ben potrebbe fare non incomincia o lo incominciato non compie  
 who the good could.3sg do.inf not starts or the started not completes  
 'Who could do a good thing and does not start it or does not complete the started  
 one' (VeV 52)

A strong argument in favor of the idea that OI allows for non contrastive Focus movement are clear cases of new information focus, i.e. answers to questions, which in Modern Italian have to be realized in the vP internal position after the past participle (see Belletti (2008) for a recent discussion on this). In OI this is not the case, as shown by the following examples:

- (12) a. "Qual è il maestro, di voi tre?". L'uno si fece avanti e disse: "Messere, io sono"  
 which is the master of you three the one refl made.3sg forward and said.3sg sir I am  
 ' "Who is the master among you three?" One took a step forward and said:  
 " Sir, I am the master" ' (Nov. XIX, 174)
- b. Leggesi che Platone nato, dormendo ne la culla, api vennero  
 reads-one that P. born sleeping in the cradle bees came.3pl  
 e recavano e poneano mele a le labra del fanciullo  
 and took.3pl and put.3pl honey to the lips of.the baby  
 'One reads that when Plato was born, bees came to the cradle and put honey on the  
 baby's lips' (FSI 122)

Notice that in (12b) we have a case of an ergative subject, which in Modern Italian would have to be postverbal.

As noted by Benincà and Poletto (2004) and by Cruschina (2011) Modern Sicilian has maintained this option, while this is not the case in several other Modern Italian dialects.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.3 *Pro drop*

According to Benincà,<sup>12</sup> another phenomenon that is related to V to C is the licensing of pro drop. It is evident that null subjects are submitted to different requirements in OI with respect to MI, at least for two reasons: a) first of all, cases of coreference between a matrix subject and an embedded subject pronoun that are not allowed in Modern Italian are clearly possible in OI:

- (13) E così ne provò \_ de' più cari k'elli avea  
 and so of-it tested.3sg \_ of.the most dear that he had.3sg  
 'So he tested some of the dearest he had' (*Disc. Cler.* 74)

In cases like (13), Modern Italian requires disjoint reference of the pro in the main clause and *elli* in the embedded clause, while it is clear from the text that the interpretation of this example has to be of coreference, like it would be in a non pro drop language like, for instance English or French. That the pro drop system is different from the Modern one is also attested by the fact that OI has expletive subjects, though not systematically, while Modern Italian does not:

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<sup>11</sup> As already noted by Franco (2009), another phenomenon which is clearly related to the V2 pattern is the so-called "stylistic fronting" (see also Fischer (2004) for Old Catalan) that is also possible in OI as in other Romance languages (see Fischer and Alexiadou (2001)). Past participles and infinitival forms can occur in first position:

- (i) a. Figliolo mio, fatte sono le battaglie tra Vizi e Virtu  
 son my done are the battles between vices and virtues  
 'My son, Vices and Virtues fight battles' (*VeV* 100)  
 b. Se andare vi vuoi  
 if go.inf there want.2sg  
 'If you want to go there' (*VeV* 28)

Franco (2009) proposes that movement of the non-finite verbal form in front of the auxiliary or modal verb is not a canonical case of verb second but targets a different position, namely the ModP position proposed by Rizzi (2002). Therefore, I will leave this type of movement aside and concentrate on more canonical cases of V2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Benincà (1984) for OI and Roberts (1993) for Old French.

- (14) Ma s'egli avien ca pur al campo saglia  
 but if it happens that also to.the field goes.up  
 'But if it happens that he goes up to the field' (*Pallamidesse* 474)

The distribution of pro drop has been studied in detail by several authors for Old French (see among others Adams (1987) Roberts (1993) and Vance (1997)). The proposal by all these authors is fundamentally the same (although the technical implementation differ): pro drop is triggered by the fact that the inflected verb is in the C position and c-commands the SpecIP (or, in more Modern terms, SpecT) position. This predicts that main clauses will allow for pro, while embedded clauses do not.

No detailed statistical study on the distribution of pro drop in embedded contexts has ever been made on Old French, though the observations made in Benincà (1984) seem to be correct, as embedded clauses clearly have more realized subjects than main clauses.

- (15) a. Pentomi ch'i ho fatto l'uomo  
 repent.me that I have.1sg made the man  
 'I repent the fact that I have created the human race' (*VeV* 94)
- b. Nel mal che tu hai non t'avrebbe lasciato cadere  
 in.the evil that you have.2sg not you would.have.3sg left fall.inf  
 'He would not have let you fall in your evil' (*VeV* 16)
- c. Quando Idio, cui tu ami...  
 when God who you love.2sg  
 'When God, whom you love...' (*VeV* 43)
- d. Secondo che tu vedi ch'è tra lo steccato ch'è in mezzo a loro  
 depending that you see.2sg that is between the fence that is in between to them  
 'Depending on the side of the fence that is between them' (*VeV* 44)
- e. Quand'elli non vuole ch'a quello ch'è elli altri possa venire  
 when he not wants that to that that is he other can.3sg come.inf  
 'When he does not want that someone else reaches him' (*VeV* 49)
- f. In quella stagione ch'elli ebbe luce da tenebre scevrate  
 in that season that he had.3sg light from darkness separated  
 'When he separated light from darkness' (*VeV* 66)
- g. E nel tornare ch'ella fece

- and in.the return that she did.3sg  
 ‘When she came back’ (*VeV* 74)
- h. Come tu dicesti di sopra  
 as you said.2sg of above  
 ‘As you said above’ (*VeV* 24)
- j. Questa che tu vedi  
 this that you see.2sg  
 ‘This one that you see’ (*VeV* 44)

It seems to be the case that the licensing of null subjects differs according to several factors, not only clause type. The person of the subject is definitely a relevant factor, at least in some clause types: for instance, main interrogative clauses, a context where the verb clearly raises to C very often display a second singular person pronoun:

- (16) a. Sa’ tu qua’ sono le credenze...?  
 know.2sg you which are the beliefs  
 ‘Do you know which are the beliefs?’ (*VeV* 35)
- b. E sai tu quanti sono i comandamenti...?  
 and know.2sg you how.many are the commandments  
 ‘Do you know how many are the commandments?’ (*VeV* 36)
- c. Vuo’ tu diventare nostro fedele, e giurar le nostre comandamenta?  
 want.2sg you become.inf our faithful and swear.inf the our rules  
 ‘Do you want to become our follower and swear on our rules?’ (*VeV* 38)
- d. E tu Satanas inimico di Dio rimarra’ti tu mai di trovar novità  
 and you Satan enemy of God will.remain.2sg you never of find.inf novelty  
 per torre a Dio l’anime delli uomini...?  
 to take.inf from God the souls of.the men  
 ‘And you, Satan, God’s enemy, will you ever stop searching for new ways to take men’s souls from God?’ (*VeV* 81)
- e. Credi tu bene i detti sacramenti...?  
 believe.2sg you well the said sacraments  
 ‘Do you believe truly in the mentioned sacraments?’ (*VeV* 37)

- (17) a. Cui mi saprestù contare...?<sup>13</sup>  
 who to.me would.be.able.to.2sg-you tell.inf  
 ‘About whom would you be able to tell me?’ (VeV 21)
- b. Perché mi facesti tu venire in questo misero mondo...?  
 why me did.2sg you come.inf in this miserable world  
 ‘Why did you put me in this miserable world?’ (VeV 3)
- c. Come ti contien tu nel servizio e nella grazia di Dio?  
 how refl stay.2sg you in.the service and in.the grace of God  
 ‘How are you doing in the service and grace of God?’ (VeV 32)
- d. Onde credi tu che nascan tanti dolori di capo?  
 from.where believe.2sg you that are.born many pains of head  
 ‘What source do you think many headaches have?’ (VeV 42)

However, the presence of the pronoun is not mandatory, as the following cases (all starting with the particle *e*) attest:

- (18) a. E credi le credenze...?  
 and believe.2sg the beliefs  
 ‘Do you believe in the beliefs?’ (VeV 37)
- b. E chi fa contra le dette comandamenta, credi che pecchi mortalmente?  
 and who acts against the said rules think.2sg that sins mortally  
 ‘Do you think that who breaks those rules commits a mortal sin?’ (VeV 37)
- c. E credi che si perda chi...?  
 and believe.2sg that refl is.lost who  
 ‘Do you consider lost who...?’ (VeV 37)
- d. E credi, chi fa contra le dette comandamenta, che commetta peccato?  
 and believe.2sg who acts against the said rules that commits sin  
 ‘Do you think that who breaks those rules commits a sin?’ (VeV 37)

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<sup>13</sup> Notice that here the pronoun is clustered with the inflected verb and part of the inflectional ending has been deleted. The phenomenon is not very widespread, but one should keep in mind that this is Old Florentine and that Modern Florentine has subject clitics and (in its more conservative version) also displays subject clitic inversion of the typical Northern Italian type (see Poletto (2000), Manzini and Savoia (2005)).



Any statistical study of this phenomenon should keep main interrogatives apart from other main clauses, because the second person singular is generally also the addressee of the question, not only the subject. Moreover, Munaro (2010) notices that in general the presence of a lexical subject in main interrogatives is related to the presence of an object clitic. Hence, there are also other factors interfering in the realization of a subject pronoun.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, embedded clauses also allow for null subjects in OI (the null pronoun is indicated here by a  $\emptyset$ ):

- (19) a. Pensando che  $\emptyset$  se sarà compagno di Dio nelle passioni,  
 thinking that if will.be.3sg companion of God in.the pains  
 sarà suo compagno nelle consolazioni  
 will.be.3sg his companion in.the consolations  
 ‘Thinking that if he will be God’s companion in pains, he will also be his companion in consolations’ (VeV 20)
- b. Per duri pianti ch’  $\emptyset$  avea fatti  
 through hard weepings that had.3sg done  
 ‘For the many tears he had shed’ (VeV 6)
- c. Per vedere e per pensare che sopra queste vicende  $\emptyset$  avessero a fare  
 to see.inf and to think.inf what over these facts had.3pl to do.inf  
 ‘To see and think what they should do about these facts’ (VeV 85)
- d. Poscia che la Filosofia ebbe parlato come di sopra  $\emptyset$  avete inteso  
 after that the philosophy had.3sg spoken like of above had.2pl understood  
 ‘After Philosophy spoke as you understood above’ (VeV 20)
- e. Sicché in picciol tempo tutta Italia  $\emptyset$  conquistò  
 So in little time all Italy conquered  
 ‘So he conquered all Italy very quickly’ (VeV 82)
- f. Acciò che questo regno beato di paradiso  $\emptyset$  m’aiutino a conquistare  
 so that this kingdom blessed of paradise me help.3pl to conquer  
 ‘So that they help me to conquer this blessed kingdom of heavens’ (VeV 28)

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<sup>14</sup> Another hint I will not pursue here (but see Poletto (1993) and (2006a) for a discussion) is the fact that the first and second person plural seem to have a system on their own and to allow for more pro drop than other persons, as already noticed by Roberts (1993) also for the evolution of French.

However, if V2 is not an exclusively main phenomenon in OI, this is precisely the picture we expect to find: pro drop is allowed also in embedded clauses when V to C applies (see Vanelli (1987) for a detailed discussion on the further diachronic development of pro drop in different types of embedded contexts).<sup>15</sup>

Hence, although pro drop is most probably connected to V2, this does not seem to be the strongest empirical argument to support the idea that OI was V2, as there is no clear sharp asymmetry between main and embedded clauses.

#### 2.4 Verb third sequences

Another well discussed phenomenon has to do with OI does not display any linear V2 restriction typical of V2 languages, as V3 cases are frequently attested.<sup>16</sup>

- (20) a. Et dall' altra parte Aiaces era uno cavaliere franco  
and on.the other side A. was a knight courageous  
'On the other hand Ajax was a brave warrior' (*Rettorica* 94)
- b. E la reina Artemidora di Alicarnasso, che in adiuto di Serses  
and the queen A. of A. who in help of Serses  
era venuta, francamente si mescolò nella battaglia  
was come courageously herself mingled.3sg in.the battle  
'And the queen Artemidora of Halicarnassus, who came to help Xerxes, bravely  
threw herself into the battle' (*Pagani* 92)
- c. E per volontà de le Virtudi tutta questa roba tra' poveri dispense  
and for will of the virtues all this stuff among poor dispensed  
'And according to the will of the Virtues dispensed all these goods among the poors'  
(*VeV* 99)

<sup>15</sup> It might be the case that OI also has a sort of asymmetrical pro drop in the sense that some pronouns (like the second person singular) are more frequently realized than others. This is a very complex question that touches upon the internal layering of the features which compose the category of "Person" and I will not enter this topic here. For a detailed discussion on the way asymmetrical pro drop has given rise to the phenomenon of subject clitics in the Northern Italian dialects see Poletto (1993) and (2006a).

<sup>16</sup> Cases of V4, V5 and so forth are also attested, this is expected under the hypothesis that there are several topic projections located higher than FocusP (cf. Benincà 1995, 2006). Here I will use the label V3 meaning more generally non-V2, i.e. V\*.

Benincà's proposal to explain this apparent violation of the V2 constraint is that in OI the verb moves to the head of an operator projection labeled as FocusP in (14) and located in the lower portion of the CP layer, leaving the higher Topic positions available for other XPs yielding cases of V3.<sup>17</sup>

As the target of verb movement in OI is a projection inside the Focus field, higher positions can only be occupied by Topic yielding V3, V4 etc. As no more than one Focus can be realized due to minimality reasons, this means that all elements preceding the Focus (which is adjacent to the inflected verb) must be topics of some sort. Hence, the V2 constraint in OI which forces verb movement to the C domain is to be interpreted as a constraint applying to the Focus field.

Concluding, we can state that the complex left periphery proposed by Benincà (2006) and illustrated in (1) explains all the phenomena discussed above:

- a) It explains why direct objects can be left without a resumptive pronoun though they are not contrastively focalized: the Focus field also contains an InformationFocus projection.
- b) it explains why pro drop is different in OI with respect to the modern system: it is licensed through c-command of the inflected verb that has raised to Focus. It further explains why pro drop is indeed possible also in embedded clauses, because Movement to Focus is not restricted to main clauses (as for instance movement to Force is, given that Force is already occupied in embedded clauses as contains the selectional features provided by the matrix verb).
- c) The system also straightforwardly explains why we observe so many cases of V3, V4, etc.: the Topic positions can also be occupied, as V2 targets the lower Focus field.

## 2.5 *Verb first*

Another interesting peculiarity of OI is that it makes extensive use of V1 constructions (cf. (21)), which were much more widespread also in Old Germanic languages with respect to their Modern counterpart (see Fuss (2005)). Again, this is not the typical behavior of a V2 language. However, Benincà accounts for these cases in the following way: she proposes that the V1 phenomenon in OI is due to the raising of the inflected verb to a Topic position, which also accounts for the so called "Tobler-Mussafia law", which states that when the verb is in first position enclisis is the rule.

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<sup>17</sup> A number of other phenomena are connected to V2, as null topics and past participle fronting. They are left aside here because the purpose of this section is to illustrate the similarities between the CP left periphery and the low left periphery. See below for a discussion of these phenomena.

- (21) a. Avemo detto che è rettorica  
 have.1pl told what is rhetorics  
 ‘We have told what rhetorics is’ (*Rettorica* 5)
- b. Leggesi di Salamone che...  
 reads-one of S. that  
 ‘One reads of Solomon that...’ (*Nov.* VI, 138)

The traditional account of the Tobler-Mussafia law is a phonological one: as the clitic is a weak element, it cannot start the sentence. Notice however, that starting a sentence with a clitic is not banned in any Modern Romance language, and that it cannot be the case that clitics in Modern Romance are phonologically “stronger” (whatever this might mean) than Old Romance clitics, rather the opposite, as in several cases we see further phonological erosion. One might hypothesize that the first position in the clause is always an accented position in OI while it is not in Modern Italian. However, Benincà shows that a syntactic account of the Tobler-Mussafia law can also explain apparent exceptions where we find enclisis although the verb is not in absolute first position in the clause.<sup>18</sup> The typical contexts where enclisis is found in OI are the following:

- a) after the conjunction particle *e* ‘and’<sup>19</sup>

- (22) a. E vavisi per una via molto stretta e per una piccola porta vi s’entra  
 and goes-there-one by a street very narrow and through a small door there one enters  
 ‘One goes there through a very narrow street and enters there through a small door’  
 (*VeV* 23)
- b. Li quali dovesser combattere con le Virtudi e discacciarle  
 the which should.3pl fight.inf with the virtues and expel.inf-them  
 dall’uomo e da la femina  
 from.the man and from the woman  
 ‘Which should fight against the Virtues and expel them from the man and the

<sup>18</sup> Notice that these exceptions are not expected in a purely phonological account.

<sup>19</sup> This is true of main clauses but there are also some sporadic cases of enclisis in embedded clauses, but notice that in this case the complementizers *se* ‘if’ is not realized, and the verb has probably moved to the position of *se* triggering enclisis. In general if-clauses present proclisis and not enclisis when they are not coordinated:

- (i) Acciò che, se ti guardassi d’esser avaro...  
 so that if you kept.2sg of be.inf greedy  
 ‘So that, if you avoided being greedy...’ (*VeV* 58)

woman' (VeV 67)

- c. Credo che se avesse belli vestimenti e curasses**i** la persona...  
think.1sg that if had.3sg nice garments and cared-one the figure  
'I think that if she dressed well and cared about her figure...' (VeV 38)

b) after the conjunction *ma* 'but':

- (23) a. ma ingegn**si** di farla  
but thinks.up-refl of do.inf-it  
'but finds a way to do it' (VeV 47)
- b. Ma conoscerà'**la** meglio per innanzi  
but will.know.2sg-it better for before  
'But you will know it better than before' (VeV 39)
- c. ma hann**o**la duramente comperata  
but have.3pl-it hardly obtained  
'but they hardly obtained it' (VeV 96)

c) In absolute first position of an utterance:

- (24) Recherott**i** a memoria li anni miei ne l'amaritudine dell'anima mia  
will.take.1sg-to.you to memory the years my in the bitterness of.the soul my  
'I will tell you by heart about the years of my soul's bitterness' (VeV 58)

d) Before an imperative if there is no focussed item in front of the imperative:

- (25) a. Ciò bene che può fare co le mani tue, senza dimora il fa  
that good that can.2sg do.inf with the hands your without wait it do.imp  
'Do without waiting the good that you can do with your hands' (VeV 59)
- b. dillo al tuo buono amico  
tell-it to.the your good friend  
'Tell it to your good friend' (Tesoro c268)

e) The presence of an embedded if-clause in first position triggers enclisis of the verb and not proclisis. This shows that in these cases the if-clause does not occupy the SpecFocus position but a higher one.<sup>20</sup>

(26) Se tu sai il fine tuo e la cagione per che da Dio fosti fatto,  
 if you know.2sg the goal your and the reason why by God were.2sg made  
 dommi gran meraviglia che...  
 give.1sg great wonder that  
 ‘If you know your goal and the reason why God made you, I greatly wonder that...’  
 (VeV 12)

f) Enclisis is also found with yes/no questions, which is a rather interesting fact, as it seems to indicate that there is no null operator in CP or the null operator somehow does not count:<sup>21</sup>

(27) a. Avetela nella giustizia?  
 have.2pl-it in.the justice  
 ‘Do you have it in justice?’ (VeV 96)

b. Facestilo tu per dare di me esempio alle genti?  
 did.2sg-it you to do.inf of me example to.the people  
 ‘Did you do that to make an example of me for the people?’ (VeV 4)

Benincà notices that there are cases of enclisis also when the verb is not in first position. This is not explained if we adopt a phonological theory of enclisis, but she proposes that enclisis is due to the further movement of the verb to the Topic domain, a movement that is only possible when all the Spec positions in the Focus field are empty. Hence, all cases in which a position in the Focus field is occupied trigger proclisis because the verb remains in the Focus layer, while the V1 cases or the V2 (or V3) cases where the only elements preceding the verb are Topics have enclisis:

(28) Tutte le nazioni che più s' approssimano al Cielo per troppo caldo  
 all the nations that more refl are.near to.the heaven for too.much heat

<sup>20</sup> See Munaro (2010) for independent evidence that this is the case.

<sup>21</sup> Yes/no questions are also special because they allow for a moved XP in front of the inflected verb, as they do in Modern Sicilian (see Cruschina (2011):

(i) Color che pietosamente voglior vivere in Cristo, bisogno fa che siano perseguitati e molestati?

disseccate dicesi che sono più savie  
 dried says-one that are more wise  
 ‘One says that all the places that are nearer to Heaven and are dried for the  
 excessive heat are wiser’ (*Vegezio* 8)

In what follows I will take into account some more phenomena that have not be thoroughly investigated in Benincà (2006) but which can be described in the terms of the complex left periphery as in Benincà’s system.

### 3. Topic and Operator particles

In this section I will examine the distribution of some sentential particles that mark Topic or Focus values. This usage is typical of the medieval stage and is not found after the XIV century, the particles are thus either reanalyzed in a different way or completely disappear from the language.

#### 3.1 Null shift topics

OI allows for null topics that in Modern Italian are not possible. The first type of null topic is a subtype of so-called shift topics (see Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) on this type of Topic), which occurs when a) there is a change in the Topic of the clause, and b) another element already previously mentioned in the discourse is resumed as the new Topic, and c) the null topic can then be coreferent with the null subject. Frascarelli (2007) shows on the basis of corpus data that in this case Modern Italian always realizes a full subject pronoun in the Topic position in order to signal the change in the topic. Otherwise, the pro subject of the following sentence is interpreted as coreferent to the preceding topic.

This is not the case in OI, where there is no full pronoun resuming a DP previously mentioned in the discourse and nonetheless, the null subject changes its reference:

- (29) E [la gente d’oltremare]<sub>i</sub> vuol gran male [a’ Romani]<sub>j</sub> perché Ø<sub>i</sub> fur già segnoreggiati  
 and the people of overseas wants great evil to.the Romans since were already dominated  
 da loro, e Ø<sub>j</sub> fecero loro dura e aspra signoria

by them and did.3pl them hard and harsh rule

‘The people from overseas hates the Romans because they have been ruled by those, and the Romans ruled in a hard and harsh way’ (*VeV* 100)

I provide here the entire context in order to show that the null subject of the first embedded clause is coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause, *la gente d’oltremare* while the second is coreferent with the dative *a Romani*, an interpretation which is excluded in Modern Italian unless a full pronoun appears signaling the change of topic. Following the work by Frascarelli mentioned above, I will interpret this as a case of Topic that binds the pro subject. The difference between Modern and Old Italian is thus that in OI it is possible to license a null topic in the left periphery of the clause containing the pro subject, while in Modern Italian the Topic has to be phonetically realized. According to Benincà, null topics are licensed by movement of the verb to the relevant Topic position, a movement which is clearly not possible in Modern Italian. Further cases of this type are the following ones, where the verb appears in first position and licenses a null subject that is interpreted as coreferent with a DP occurring in the previous context that is not the Topic of the previous clause:

- (30) a. (Uno cavaliere pregava un giorno una donna d’amore e diceale intra l’altre parole com’elli era gentile e ricco e bello a dismisura, “e ‘l vostro marito è così laido come voi sapete”; e quel cotal marito era dopo la parete della camera.)  
Ø Parlò e disse: “Eh, messer, per cortesia: acconciate li fatti vostri  
spoke.3sg and said.3sg sir for courtesy grace.imp the facts your  
e non isconciate li altrui”.  
and not disgrace.imp the others  
‘(Once a knight was courting a lady and telling her how he was noble, rich and measurelessly handsome, “and you husband is ugly as you know”. And that husband was behind the wall of the room). He spoke and said: “Sir, please grace your facts and do not disgrace the others’ ones’ (*Nov.* XLVII, 231)
- b. (“Iscrivi” disse quel re cortese “ch’io obligo l’anima mia a perpetua pregione infino a tanto che voi pagati siate”.)  
Ø Morìo. Questi, dopo la morte, andaro al padre suo e domandaro la moneta.  
died.3sg these after the death went.3pl to.the father his and asked.3pl the money  
“(“Write” said that noble king “that I order my soul to be in prison for ever till you



will be paid".) He died. These, after his death, went to his father and asked the money' (*Nov. XVIII, 171*)

The presence of a null topic licensed by verb movement brings the change in line with the loss of other V2 related phenomena.

Hence, the layered left periphery proposed by Benincà plus verb movement to Topic also explains these rather bizarre cases of apparent violations of the requirements which allow to interpret the topic coreferent with a null subject. OI can license null topics through verb movement while Modern Italian cannot. Further cases of null Topics licensed by a sentential particle are discussed in the next section.

### 3.2 *E* as a Topic marker

As in Modern Italian, in Old Italian the particle *e* is the conjunction head, which can conjoin sentences or phrases provided they are of the same type. However, in OI the particle *e* occurs in a number of contexts, where it clearly does not have this function:

(31) Da che m'hai chiesto consiglio in ciò, che di che vuoi  
from that to.me have.2sg asked advice in that that say.2sg that want.2sg  
lo regno di cielo conquistare, e io ti consiglierò...  
the kingdom of heaven conquer and I you will.counsel.1sg  
'Since when you asked my advice for the goal you say, you want to conquer the kingdom of heavens and I will advise you' (*VeV 26*)

(32) (Nella fossa che la Frode avea fatta e caddevi entro col capo dinanzi, insieme con esso la Superbia,)  
e cadde ella di sotto, e l' cavallo le cadde addosso e fue sì grande lo stoscio per la fossa...  
and fell.3sg she of under and the horse her fell.3sg on and was so big the fall for the pit  
'(In the pit that Deception had made and fell in it with the head forward, and Pride with it,) and she fell below and the horse fell on her and the fall in the pit was so great...' (*VeV 97*)

Cases like (31) are particularly interesting because the conjunction occurs at the beginning of a main clause and after an embedded clause, which clearly cannot be interpreted as coordination, as coordination of a main and an embedded clause are ungrammatical. Further cases of this type are the following:

- (33) e quando avea forbiti i piedi **ed** egli tornava fuori  
 and when had.3sg cleaned the feet and he came.back.3sg outside  
 e rinfangavali sie più e tornava a ricalpitare il letto  
 and got.mudded.3sg-them-refl way more and came.back to step.on.inf the bed  
 ‘When he had cleaned his feet, he went back outside, covered them with mud, came back and went up onto the bed’ (*FSI* 124)

Also example (33) cannot be interpreted as a conjunction, as the first sentence is an adverbial embedded clause, while the second is the main clause. The occurrence of *e* in these cases is not a real conjunction and must be due to some other reason. If *e* were the conjunction particle, OI would have the peculiar property of conjoining embedded with main clauses, which is in general not an option in the most well studied Romance and Germanic languages:

- (34) Stando lo ‘mperadore Federigo **e** faceva dare l’acqua alle mani  
 Being the emperor F. and let.3sg give.inf the water to.the hands  
 ‘While the emperor F. was standing there, he commanded to bring water for the people to clean their hands’ (*Nov.* XIX, 173)

Although punctuation is not a very reliable test in older stages of languages, it is interesting to note that *e* can occur at the very beginning of a sentence preceded by a full stop:

- (35) a. Plauto fue uno grande savio, cortese in parlare. **E** scrisse queste sentenze  
 P. was a great wise kind in talking. And wrote.3sg these sayings  
 ‘P. was a great wise man, who spoke very kindly. He wrote these sayings.’ (*FSI* 142)
- b. Scipio Africano fue consolo di Roma e fue tagliato di corpo a la madre e  
 S. A. was consul of Rome and was cut of body from the mother and  
 per ciò fue chiamato Cesare. **E** dice uno filosafo che quelli che nascono in  
 therefore was called C. And says a philosopher that those that are.born in

quel modo son più avventurati

that way are more lucky

‘S. A. was consul in Rome, he was born with a caesarean cut and for this reason he was named Caesar. Philosophers say that people who are born like this have luck’

(FSI 140)

A further argument showing that in the cases above *e* is not a conjunction but a different sort of marker is its translation into MI: the second *e* in (36) is perfectly grammatical also in MI, while the first is completely excluded. Notice that the form of the two elements is also different, while the real conjunction is *e*, the other element has the form of the Latin conjunction *et*. This is generally not the case, as both elements have the form *e* in the majority of the texts.

- (36) quando entrò nella chiesa, et uno parlò e disse  
when entered.3sg in.the church and one spoke.3sg and said.3sg  
‘when he entered in the church, one spoke and said’ (Nov. XXV, 189)

If *et* is not a conjunction here, what is it then? In Poletto (2005) I proposed that it is a Topic marker. Here I would like to further refine this idea and claim that it is a marker located in the head of the HT projection and licensing a null Hanging Topic, and more precisely the one referring back to the whole previous context.<sup>22</sup> The effect of this null Hanging Topic is a sort of “continuation of the same discourse configuration” (henceforth CDC). Put it bluntly, we can say that *e* is a continuity marker signalling the fact that the sentence has to be added to the established universe of discourse without further modifications of the scenario.

This hypothesis explains why in these cases it always occurs sentence initially: although OI tolerates several Topics in front of Focus, nonetheless, *e* is always the first element, which can be followed by Topics, but never preceded. If it is a particle licensing a null Hanging Topic, this is exactly what we expect, as Hanging Topics are the highest type of Topics there can be (see Benincà and Poletto (2004) for arguments distinguishing Hanging Topics and Scene Setting elements which occupy a “Frame field” on top of Left Dislocated Topics).

The second phenomenon this analysis explains is the fact that *e* always triggers enclisis (if it is immediately followed by the verb).

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<sup>22</sup> Notice that there are other languages where sentential particles mark exactly the continuation of a Topic. This is for instance the case of Chinese, where the particle *ne* indicates the continuation of the same discourse configuration (see Li (2006)).

- (37) a. e tenerlo  
and kept.3pl-him  
'they kept him' (*FSI* 135)
- b. e bevenne  
and drank.3sg-of.it  
'He drank of it' (*FSI* 134)

Given the analysis of enclisis discussed above, it is clear that in these cases the verb has moved to the Topic position, as there is no XP in the FocusP, hence, enclisis is the rule.

The idea that *e* can be a Hanging Topic marker of the CDC type also explains the fact noted above, namely that *e* can occur in front of both main and embedded clauses (giving the impression of a strange coordination structure between a main and an embedded infinitival or gerundive clause as in (38)):

- (38) quando entrò nella chiesa, et uno parlò e disse  
when got.3sg into.the church, and one spoke and said  
'when he entered the church, one of them spoke and said...' (*Nov.* XXV, 189)

Moreover, the CDC particle *e* can cooccur with the conjunction head *e* (thus giving the impression of "conjunction doubling").

- (39) e, innebriato il pane dell'odore che n'uscita, del mangiare, e quelli  
and put the bread in.the smoke that of.it came.out of.the food, and he  
lo mordea, e così, il consumò di mangiare, ricevendo il fumo e mordendolo  
it bit.3sg and so, it finished.3sg of eat.inf getting the smoke and biting-it  
'He was putting the bread close to the smell which came out of the meat and then he  
ate the bread up biting it' (*Nov.* VIII, 147)

In the example above, the first *e* is the conjunction element followed by an embedded clause, while the second is the Hanging Topic marker.

We can conclude that *e* is not only the conjunction marker, but can also serve as a particle marking a continuity (CDC) Topic. However, it is a striking fact that the element is one and the same for

both cases. Obviously, I would not like to overload the lexical entries of OI and postulate that there are two homophonous *e* elements in the lexicon, but I will rather put forth the idea that there is a link between the two in the sense that there is only one lexical item *e*, which can be used either as a conjunction or as a CDC marker due to its categorial properties. The structure I assume for coordination is the one proposed by Kayne (1994) which has by now become standard:

(40) [CoordP XP [coord° e [XP]]

The conjunction head has two properties: a) its specifier and its complement must be of the same category, and b) it can take whole CPs as specifier and complement. What I propose for the particle is the following structure:

(41) [TopicP ContextCP [Topic° e [[CP ]]]

The Topic marker *e* has a specifier and a complement of the same type: in the specifier there is the whole previous context, which is a CP, in the complement position there is also a whole CP. From the structural point of view, the only difference between (40) and (41) is in the labels. Thus, *e* maintains the property of taking a specifier and a complement which are of the same category in all its usages. From this point of view, the fact that the coordination head is used also as CDC Topic marker is not surprising at all. Some authors have already proposed that HTs can be a whole independent clause with partial deletion of the lexical material inside it (see Garzonio (2005) on this). According to this analysis, the fact that *e* can function as a Topic marker is not a mere coincidence but depends on its original formal property, namely the necessity of taking a specifier and a complement which must have the same categorial status, not only on its semantics or on some other independent mechanism which “creates” new particles.

One further interesting case, in which *e* licenses a null topic, but not a CDC one is represented by examples like the following:

(42) a. Ma mandò il suo figliolo Gesù Cristo di cielo in terra, e prese carne mortale,  
 but sent.3sg the his son Jesus Christ from heaven in earth and took flesh mortal  
 e fecesi uomo, e fece nel mondo nuova legge...  
 and made.3sg-refl man and made.3sg in.the world new law  
 ‘But he sent his son Jesus Christ from heaven to the earth, and he took mortal flesh

and became a man, and brought a new law to the world' (*VeV* 95)

b. E lo valletto presentò lo presente e tro[vò] Merlino a cenare:

and the valet showed the present and found M to have.dinner.inf

ed era in mezzo di Biagio e di Labegues

and was in between of B. and of L.

'The valet showed the present and found Merlin while he was having dinner between B. and L.' (*Merlino* 41)

In both cases the interpretation of the null subject following the *e* is not the subject of the preceding clause, as it is normally the case, but the object. In line with the cases of null shift topics seen (29) and (30), we can interpret also these cases as null subjects coreferent with a null topic, which in this case is not licensed by the verb, but by the particle. At this point one might ask whether the particle *e*, given that it does not depend on verb movement, can still license null topics in Modern Italian. As a matter of fact, *e* can still be a Topic marker in Modern Italian but only in those contexts in which an operator has already activated the CP layer. I provide here only a couple of examples of Modern Italian (see Poletto (2009) for a more detailed discussion):

(43) a. E io?

and I

'What about me?'

b. E adesso?

and now

'Now what?'

(44) a. E cosa potrebbe fare in un frangente simile?

and what could.3sg do.inf in a case similar

'What the hell could he do in such a situation?'

(45) E che vestito che ti sei comprato!

and what dress that yourself are bought

'What a dress you bought!'

The difference in the distribution of the sentence particle *e* also indicates that the main difference between Old and Modern Italian lies in the obligatory activation of the CP in OI, which allows for a more widespread use of the particle, while in Modern Italian, the particle is parasitic on the presence of an operator in the CP. Hence, the basic difference still amounts to the same characteristic: in OI the left periphery of the clause must always be occupied by the verb, in Modern Italian this is not the case.

### 3.3 The particle *sì*

Another sentential particle found in OI is the element *sì* meaning ‘so’. It has several usages in OI, some of which overlap with the adverbial form *così*, also meaning ‘so’.<sup>23</sup> In what follows I will describe the distribution of *sì* and compare it with the one of *così*, showing that they partially overlap, and then concentrate on the CP usage which I intend to analyze in detail since it is relevant to show that OI is indeed a V2 language in the sense that the CP layer cannot be empty.

In a similar way to *così* ‘so’ *sì* can modify an adjective, an adverb or a noun:

- (46) a. fue **sì** giusto e guardò **sì** le mani da...  
 was so right and looked.3sg so the hands that  
 ‘he was so right, and looked down at his hands so that...’ (FSI 110)
- b. cominciò a tremare **sì** fortemente...  
 began.3sg to tremble so strongly  
 ‘He began to tremble so strongly that...’ (VN 8)
- (47) a. quando io vi dissi del cavallo cosa **così** meravigliosa  
 when I you told.3sg of.the horse thing so marvelous  
 ‘when I told you such an incredible thing about the horse’ (Nov. II, 129)
- b. onde picciolo guiderdone diedi a llui di **così** ricco insegnamento  
 so small reward gave.1sg to him of so rich teaching  
 ‘I gave him such a poor reward for such a precious advice’ (Nov. VII, 145)

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<sup>23</sup> I do not know whether there is an etymological link between the two forms. Although *sì* looks like a short form of *così*, it is usually said to be derived from ‘sic’. Anyhow, *sì* has to be distinguished from the reflexive clitic *si*, which has a different etymological source. I will not pursue this question here.

However, differently from *sì*, *così* can be a manner adverb, *sì* cannot:

- (48) Allora il lapidaro si rallegrò e prese l'una pietra  
then the stoneworker refl cheered.up.3sg and took.3sg the one stone  
e miselasi in mano e disse **così**  
and put.3sg-it-refl in hand and said.3sg so  
'then the stone worker cheered up, took a stone in his hand and said' (*Nov. I*, 124)

On the other hand, *sì* can occur in the CP before elements like *come* 'as' forming the sequence 'so as':

- (49) a. **sì** come appare a chi lo intende  
so how appears to whom it understands  
'So as it appears to whom can understand it' (*VN 23*)  
b. **Sì** come elli parlava tra lloro di **sì** grande meraviglia  
so how he spoke.3sg among them of so great wonder  
'So as he spoke to them about such a wonder' (*Nov. XVII*, 165)

It can also occur in front of the complementizer *che*:<sup>24</sup>

- (50) a. **sì** che quasi dal principio del suo anno nono apparve a me  
so that almost from.the beginning of his year ninth appeared.3sg to me  
'So that it appeared to me almost at the beginning of the ninth year' (*VN 6*)  
b. **sì** che li chiovi pareano lettere  
so that the nails looked.3pl letters  
'so that the nails looked like letters' (*Nov. XCIV*, 337)

When used as a CP operator, it can even climb into the main clause to a position located in front of the past participle, which is presumably an operator position:

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<sup>24</sup> Cases like this show that OI *sí* is still a specifier, as it cooccurs with a complementizer and has not yet undergone the change becoming a Focus head as proposed by Ledgeway for Old Neapolitan. It might be the case that also in OI the particle becomes a head occupying Focus<sup>o</sup> blocking V to C, and thus favoring the loss of V2, however I have no direct evidence for this in the corpus investigated, therefore I will leave the problem of the further development of *sí* open.



- (51) a. e ho sì saputo fare che li sudditi miei m'hanno cacciato  
 and have.1sg so been.able do.inf that the subjects my me have.3pl chased.away  
 'I have been so skilled that my subjects sent me away' (*Nov.* VII, 143)
- b. a chi mi sa sì pregare che io lo diparta dagli altri  
 to whom me knows so pray.inf that I him take.away.1sg from.the others  
 'who can pray me in such a way that I take him away from the others'  
 (*Nov.* XVIII, 167)

The manner adverb *così* can also climb to the left of the inflected verb in V2 contexts, as any other adverb, but it never occurs in front of *come* or *che*:

- (52) E Guiglielmo, vedendo che **così** era sorpreso, parlò e disse  
 and G. seeing that so was surprised spoke.3sg and said.3sg  
 'And G., seeing him so surprised, spoke and told him...' (*Nov.* XLII, 225)

We can conclude that *sì* has access to the CP layer in various contexts, while *così* can only be contrastively focalized, as other low adverbs. The type of examples where *sì* is used as a particle are the following one:

- (53) a. traendomi fuori de la veduta di queste donne sì mi domandò...  
 taking.me out of the sight of these women so me asked.3sg  
 'taking me out of sight of those women, he asked me...' (*VN* 58)
- b. E parlandomi così, sì mi cessò la forte fantasia  
 and talking-me so, so me stopped the strong fantasy  
 '(while he was) talking to me like that, I stopped to dream' (*VN* 98)
- c. Poi che detta fue questa canzone, sì venne a me uno  
 after that said was this song so came.3sg to me one  
 'After this song was sang, a man came to me...' (*VN* 133)
- d. La volpe andando per un bosco sì trovò un mulo: e il mulo sì li  
 the fox going through a wood so found.3sg a mule and the mule so her  
 mostrò il piede dritto  
 showed the foot right

‘while the fox was going through the wood, she met a mule, who showed her his right foot’ (*Nov. XCIV, 337*)

In all these cases *sì* does not seem to mean ‘in this way’. In Poletto (2005), following Benincà’s (1995) intuition, I analyzed *sì* as an expletive located in SpecFocus. The structural arguments showing that *sì* is in SpecFocus are still valid (and will be presented below). However, in line with Poletto (2009) I propose here that *sì* is not an expletive, but has a meaning, though not exactly the one of ‘in this way’. It is rather an element indicating the relation between the clause and the context. Put it roughly, *sì* signals that the sentence is totally new information but has to be set against the preceding context. In a sense it is similar to *e*, though *e* licenses a Hanging Topic which is linked to the preceding context though *e* does not highlight the sentence as new information. Both elements are prosecutive, in the sense that they refer to the previous context, though *sì* adds something more: it adds the sentence to the context signaling its relevance as totally new. As *e*, *sì* never occurs at the very beginning of a whole text, where there is no context yet to make reference to. This shows that the element is in itself not an expletive pronoun. If it were, it could also occur at the beginning of a text, as expletive *es* in German, which indeed occurs at the very beginning of a whole text. The second argument in favor of this idea is that other elements with a similar function (like for instance *or* ‘now’ in addition to *sì*) can be found, while we do not expect to find languages that have several expletives for the same context.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it seems that the interpretation of *sì* as a marker which defines the relation between the proposition and the preceding context is more adequate than an explanation which analyzes *sì* as a CP expletive. Moreover, if *sì* were a real expletive, no V1 would be allowed in OI, (except those cases in which there is a null operator in SpecFocus), as it is the case in Modern German, and the verb would never be in first position with enclisis. The last piece of evidence that *sì* is not a CP expletive is the fact that it can occur in embedded clauses:

- (54) a.      che ‘l ferro, se l’aopere, **sì** si logora,    se no l’aopere la ruginè il consuma  
                 that the iron if it use.2sg so refl wears.out. if not it use.2sg the rust it destroys

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<sup>25</sup> The corpus also contains cases with *or*, although I did not make a complete investigation on the distribution of this particle, which seems to be less frequent than in Old French, it seems also to occur immediately before the inflected verb:

- (i)      Or pensa    e    considera    bene le vilissime cose del mondo  
                 now think.imp and consider.imp well the vilest things of.the world  
                 ‘Now think about the vilest things in the world’ (*VeV 23*)

- ‘that the iron wears out if you use it, if you do not, it gets rusty’ (*FSI* 146)
- b. Leggesi del re Currado, del padre di Curradino, che, quando era garzone,  
 reads-one of.the king C. of.the father of C., that, when was boy  
*sì* avea in compagnia dodici garzoni di sua etade  
 so had.3sg in company twelve boys of his age  
 ‘One reads that the King Currado, the father of Curradino, had twelve boys with him,  
 when he was a boy’ (*Nov.* XLVIII, 232)

This is expected if we assume with Benincà (2006) that the CP layer can be activated in embedded clauses as well, but it is not if we consider *sì* as an expletive, as CP expletives like German *es* never occur in embedded contexts.

*Sì* is clearly located in the Focus field in OI, as it always occurs at the immediate left of the inflected verb:

- (55) a. *sì* s’abacinò delle occhi  
 so himself burnt.3sg of.the eyes  
 ‘His eyes were dazzled’ (*FSI* 106)
- b. e, parlando spezialmente alli spiriti del viso, *sì* disse queste parole  
 and speaking particularly to.the spirits of.the face, so said.3sg these words  
 ‘and speaking particularly to the spirits of the face, he said these words’ (*VN* 8)

In the OI data base of the OVI enterprise there are no cases of *sì* separated by the inflected verb by elements other than clitics or negation, which shows that *sì* is very low in the structure of the CP. Moreover, *sì* very often occurs after an embedded temporal clause indicating either anteriority or simultaneity or after a TopicXP or the subject (which is probably a special type of Topic). This is expected under this analysis, given that Topic and embedded clauses are higher than Focus in the CP layer.

It also often co-occurs in combination with *e* and the combination is always *e* preceding *sì*:

- (56) **E**, che avrà cuore nobile et intelligenza sottile, *sì* li potrà  
 and that will.have.3sg heart noble and intelligence subtle so him can.3sg  
 simigliare per lo tempo che verrà  
 look.alike.inf for the time that will.come.3sg

‘and who will have a noble heart and a subtle intelligence, and will look like him in the future’ (*Nov.* 118)

The strongest piece of evidence that *sì* is located in the Focus field is the fact that it occurs only with proclisis.

(57) e di ciò **sì ne** fue  
and of this so of.it was  
‘and so it was of this’ (*FSI* 107)

(58) **sì si** ne diede questa penitenza  
so himself of.it gave.3sg this penance  
‘He gave himself this penance’ (*FSI* 108)

*Sì* is also found when the first element is constituted by an embedded clause, this is possible with all type of embedded clauses, temporal gerundive, concessive, etc.:

(59) Imperò che cui egli riceve per figliuolo, **sì il** gastiga e  
because that who he takes for son so him punishes and  
gastigando **sì l** flagella e tormenta  
punishing so him flails and torments  
‘Because he punishes his own son by flailing and tormenting him’ (*VeV* 19)

(60) a. E dacché l’ebbe guernite **sì si** ricolse in su le navi...  
and after them had.3sg warned so refl embarked.3sg in on the ships  
‘After he warned them he embarked onto the ships’ (*VeV* 89)

b. Racquistata e rivinta la Fede Cristiana [...] **sì no**  
acquired.back and taken.back the faith christian so not  
le parve aver fatto nulla  
her seemed.3sg have.inf done nothing  
‘Having won back [...] the Christian Faith appeared not having done anything’  
(*VeV* 89)

c. E dacché fu fatta la detta carità, **sì si** raccolsero le Virtù

- and after was made the said mercy so refl collected.3pl the virtues  
‘After this mercy was done, the Virtues gathered’ (*VeV* 100)
- d. Quando la Filosofia ebbe così detto,  
when the philosophy had.3sg so said  
sì ci apparecchiammo e montammo a cavallo  
so ourselves prepared.1pl and mounted to horse  
‘After Philosophy spoke in this way, we got ready and mounted on horse’ (*VeV* 101)
- e. Quando ha contate molte tribulazioni e angosce ch’avea sofferte  
when has counted many tribulations and pains that had.3sg suffered  
in questo mondo, in terra e in acqua, sì torna alle pene della sua carne  
in this world in ground and in water so comes.back to.the pains of.the his flesh  
‘When he has counted many tribulations and pains he suffered in this world, both on  
the ground and the water, he comes back to the pains of his flesh’ (*VeV* 19)
- f. Parlato la Filosofia così [...] sì mi sforzai di difendere il mio errore  
spoken the philosophy so so me strove of defend.inf the my mistake  
‘Having Philosophy spoken so, I tried to win my mistake’ (*VeV* 21)
- g. E sappiendo che non si può conquistare se non per mano delle Virtudi,  
and knowing that not one can win.inf if not by hand of.the virtues  
sì viene a te e a l’altre per farsi vostro fedele  
so comes to you and to the others to do.inf.refl your follower  
‘Knowing that victory is possible only with the hand of Virtues, he comes to you in  
order to become your follower’ (*VeV* 34)

Similarly to what has been proposed for *e*, which only occurs with enclisis, when it is immediately followed by the inflected verb, we can exploit the Tobler Mussafia law as a test to determine the position of *sì*, which behaves as foci do, and not as higher topic elements.

An alternative analysis that views *sì* as a head located in the Focus<sup>o</sup> position has been proposed by Ledgeway (2008) for Old Neapolitan. Clearly, this must be the diachronic path that OI (i.e. Old Florentine) has followed after the medieval period, as the Head Preference Principle (HPP) formulated by van Gelderen (2011) requires. The HPP states that any language tends to minimize structure and to analyze ambiguous elements that can be either heads or XPs as heads. This accounts for the diachronic drift from XP to head that we observe in a lot of different cases of grammaticalization and reanalysis, while we never find cases of the opposite (i.e. a head becoming

a specifier). Hence, any XP which can be reanalysed as a head, will be reanalyzed as such, given enough time. However, the element *sì* in OI is still a Specifier and not a Focus head. This is clearly shown by the fact that we find subject inversion in constructions where *sì* occurs in front of the verb:

- (61)            Poscia che Dio ebbe    Adamo ed Eva [...] tratti di    paradiso [...]  
                   after    that God had.3sg A.    and E.            taken from paradise  
                   sì chiamò                Dio Adamo ed Eva  
                   so summoned.3sg God A.    and E.  
                   ‘After God expelled Adam and Eve from the Eden, he summoned them’ (VeV 16)

If *sì* were a head, the verb would be blocked in the TP and no inversion would be possible, at least not in front of the direct object. Hence, OI still lags behind with respect to Old Neapolitan.

Summing up: the hypothesis that *sì* is a prosecutive operator setting the clause against the context explains:

- a. Why it can occur in embedded clauses,
- b. Why it can be substituted by other similar elements like *or*,
- c. Why it is never found at the beginning of a whole text.

The fact that *sì* is an Operator located in the Focus field explains:<sup>26</sup>

- a. its adjacency to the inflected verb,
- b. the fact that it occurs after topics(LD), scene setting temporal elements and hanging topics,
- c. the fact that it only triggers proclisis,
- d. the fact that after *sì* we can find subject inversion.

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<sup>26</sup> That *sì* is an operator is shown by the cases in OI in which *sì* is in SpecCP followed by a complementizer:

- (i)    a.    sì che quasi dal    principio del suo anno nono apparve    a me  
                   so that almost from.the beginning of his    year ninth appeared.3sg to me  
                   ‘So that it appeared to me almost at the beginning of the ninth year’ (VN 6)
- b.    sì che li    chiovi pareano    lettere  
                   so that the nails    looked.3pl letters  
                   ‘so that the nails looked like letters’ (Nov. XCIV, 337)

Hence, Benincà's model also accounts for the distribution of sentential particles like *e* and *sí* and ties the possibility to license null Topics to the V2 phenomenon.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that OI is indeed a V2 language in the sense that the inflected verb is forced to raise to the C domain. This explains why

- a) OI displays subject inversion of the “Germanic type”, i.e. the subject is in SpecT and the auxiliary is in C.
- b) In OI it is possible to have Information Focus in the CP left periphery, while this is not the case in Modern Italian.
- c) It is possible to prepose the direct object without a resumptive clitic and without contrastive Focus.
- d) In OI we find cases of null topics that are not possible in Modern Italian, as the verb licenses.
- e) We find a different pro drop system in OI with respect to Modern Italian (though this needs to be further investigated as other factors other than V to C might influence pro).
- f) The distribution of enclisis and proclisis depends on the elements located in front of the verb and not on the verbal form per se as in Modern Italian.

Nevertheless OI is different from typical V2 languages like German, Dutch and mainland Scandinavian for the following reasons:

- a) It seems clear that V2 is not restricted to main clauses, XP fronting, subject inversion and pro drop, as well as some cases of enclisis can also be found in embedded clauses. Nevertheless, I will assume that V2 is mandatory in main contexts, while this is not the case in embedded contexts. In other words, OI is rather a language like Icelandic and not like German.
- b) The second major difference with respect to the standard V2 pattern is that in OI the verb can clearly raise to different positions in the CP layer: when V1 occurs, the verb raises higher than Focus to a Topic position, thus licensing null Topics and triggering enclisis.

There is no empirical evidence that the inflected verb raises up to Force, as it probably does in the Germanic languages (see Poletto (2002) for a contrastive analysis of Rhaetoromance, Old Italian and German).

- c) The third distinction with respect to languages like German is the reason why the verb moves to the C domain. In OI this is clearly related to the fact that this language requires that the Focus field be occupied, and V2 is restricted to this subfield. This is not the case in languages like German, where Topics also satisfy V2, and this is probably related to the fact that in Germanic V2 the reason why the inflected verb moves is that the C layer is endowed with a subject agreement (or a tense) feature, as proposed by Platzack (1986) Tomaselli (1990) a.o. Notice that Germanic varieties can display inflected complementizers which have a clear verbal inflectional ending (see Zwart (1997)) like the *-n* of the plural in West Flemish (see Haegeman (1992), van Koppen & Haegeman (2012)) or the *-st* of the second person (see Bayer (1984)). This is never the case in any known OI variety, neither Florentine, nor others.

In the next chapters I will investigate further properties of OI assuming that OI is a language where a complex left periphery is accessible to both Topic and Focus movement and that the inflected verb has to raise up to Focus when SpecFocus is occupied and raises to Topic when SpecFocus is empty. This makes it fundamentally different from V2 languages like German where the movement of the verb seems to always target the position in the CP, (presumably the highest one, i.e. SpecForce) but still allows to explain the distinction between Old and Modern Italian.



## Chapter 2

### Scrambling in vP

#### 1. Introduction

In this chapter I will describe and analyze in detail the central phenomenon of this work, namely OV instances that cannot be analyzed as V2 where the direct object has been fronted. I will show that OI is not an OV language in the standard sense of the term, but OV cases are instances of movement to left peripheral positions located at the edge of the low vP phase, whose existence has been independently proposed by Belletti (2004) and Grewendorf (2005) for modern Italian and German respectively.<sup>1</sup>

I will substantiate my claim by showing that the OV cases found in OI display the typical properties of CP left peripheral positions in Italian (both modern and old), namely:

- a) insensitivity to the type of XP moved, which can be virtually any object, adjunct PP, verb modifier or adverb;
- b) more than one constituent can be fronted (as already noted in chapter 1 considering V3 and V\* cases);
- c) no fixed order of the XP moved is observed, when they are more than one;
- d) apparent optionality of the OV order, which might give rise to the idea that OI has a “transitional grammar from the VO of Latin to the coherent VO or modern Romance.”<sup>2</sup>

In section 2 I will show that OI has the typical properties of a VO language and not those known from typical OV languages. In section 3 I will illustrate the first three properties mentioned above on the basis of examples selected manually from the texts of the OVI data base. Section 4 deals with the distribution of the OV orders<sup>3</sup> with respect to VO: as they change with respect to the type of text selected, I will show that, though the phenomenon of scrambling is attested in all types of texts, the amount of scrambling varies notably from one text to the other, depending on the style of the author. This is in line with the main hypothesis I will put forth, namely that OV cases are movement to a low left periphery conditioned by information structure conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> According to an antisymmetric perspective all OV languages have to be analyzed as underlyingly VO with leftward movement of the object. However, in the case of OI this movement is not obligatory, and, as I will show it has all the features of information-structure driven movements.

<sup>2</sup> In the next chapters I will extensively argue against an application of the double base hypothesis to OI, showing that a more detailed analysis can spare us the burden of two grammars in competition. This does not mean that the double base hypothesis is wrong in itself, but that it is simply unnecessary in the case at issue.

<sup>3</sup> From now on I will refer to these OV cases as scrambling. In the course of the chapter it will become clear why I have adopted this definition.

## 2. OI is a VO language

Before considering the phenomenon of OV I will show that OI displays indeed the typical features of a VO language from the typological point of view. First of all, the order of the arguments is direct object indirect object (in the form of a PP), as shown in (1) or direct object PP like in modern Italian, as shown in (2):

- (1) a. senti che 'l medico avea dato commiato alla nepote  
heard.3sg that the doctor had.3sg given leave to.the niece  
'He heard that the doctor had allowed the niece to leave' (*Nov. XLIX*, 234)
- b. si avea dato il suo amore a uno il quale n'era assai ben degno  
so had.3sg given the her love to one who of.it was very much worthy  
'She had given her love to a man who was worthy of it' (*De Amore* 255)
- c. Torquato, consolo di Roma, fece per iustizia tagliare  
Torquato consul of Rome had.3sg for justice cut.inf  
la testa al figliuolo  
the head to-the son  
'T., consul in Rome, had someone cut the head off to his son in order to do justice' (*FSI* 113)
- (2) a. tenea un savio greco in pregione  
kept.3sg a wise Greek in prison  
'He kept a wise Greek man in prison' (*Nov. II*, 125)
- b. fece menare il destriere al campo  
let.3sg lead.inf the horse to-the field  
'He had the horse lead to the field' (*Nov. II*, 126)
- c. molto onoroe la donna nel parto  
a lot honoured.3sg the woman in-the childbirth  
'He prized the woman during the birth' (*Nov. XLIX*, 234)

However, cases of the opposite order are indeed possible in OI, and indeed very frequent:

- (3) a. Virtù per la quale si muove l'uomo a rendere a Dio la sua ragion  
virtue for the which himself moves the man to render to god the his reason  
'By this Virtue the man can explain his opinion to God' (*VeV* 62)
- b. Aven dato a Bonaiuto f. Iachopo.(...) soldi 38 di fiorini piccioli  
have.1pl given to B. son I. coins 38 of florins small  
'We have given to B. son of. I. 38 florins' (*BB.Qu.Pag.* 557)
- c. Ave(n) dato a s(er) Gianbono medesimo tre fiorini d'oro diciotto dì  
have.1pl given to sir G. himself three florins of gold 18 day  
di giugno  
of June  
'We have given 3 golden florins to sir G on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June'. (*Penit.* 19)
- d. abbiendo dato a Roma finissimi re  
having given to Rome great kings  
'Having given great kings to Rome' (*Pagani* 340)

Other PPs also display the same behavior:

- (4) a. Acciò che voi siate partefici co li buoni angeli della gloria e de la beatitudine  
so that you are.2pl part with the good angels of.the glory and of the bliss  
'So that you take part of the glory and bliss with the good angels' (*VeV* 17)
- b. Perché meritano nell'altro mondo molte pene eternali  
because deserve in.the other world many pains eternal  
'Because they deserve to be punished after death' (*VeV* 20)
- c. Perch'ella sola ha in questo mondo il sovrano bene a godimento  
because she only has in this world the greatest good to enjoy  
'Because she is the only one who can enjoy the greatest good in this world' (*VeV* 39)
- d. E fece delle sue genti cinque schiere  
and made of.the his peole five ranks  
'and divided his people into five ranks' (*VeV* 48)

In the following section I will interpret these cases as scrambling on a part with the OV examples. The second typical property of a VO language is that auxiliaries precede past participles: in OI auxiliaries, as well as modals, aspectual and causative verbs, are all located before the non-finite form of the verb, as shown by the following examples:

- (5) a. Nel mal che tu hai non t'avrebbe lasciato  
 in.the sickness that you have.2sg not you would.have.3sg left  
 'She would not leave you suffering' (*VeV* 16)
- b. Da che m'hai chiesto consiglio in ciò  
 since that me have.2sg asked advice in this  
 'Since you have asked me for advice' (*VeV* 16)
- c. La quale non potea avere luogo in voi  
 the which not could.3sg have place in you  
 'which could not take place inside you' (*VeV* 17)

This attests that OI does not meet this criterion for OV languages. However, as shown by Franco (2009), Old Italian has some exceptions to this rule, as there are cases where the non-finite form of the verb precedes the auxiliary. (Franco (2009): 117)

- (6) almeno quello che **detto** è \_\_\_ non è inutile a sapere  
 at.least which that said is not is useless to know.inf  
 'At least what is said isn't useless to know' (*FR* 83)

In order to explain this phenomenon, Franco proposes that OI is a V2 language with stylistic fronting, where the infinitival form of the main verb or the past participle can be moved to the left of the auxiliary. If we admit that in OI the inflected verb is located in the lowest position inside the CP layer, the phenomenon of past participle/infinitive preposing must be interpreted as XP movement to the CP layer. This is exactly the analysis proposed by Franco (2009), who shows that OI has similar features to Icelandic (and Old mainland Scandinavian languages) in the sense that the past participle of the infinitival form can only be fronted if SpecT does not contain the lexical subject, which has either been extracted, as in subject relatives, or is in postverbal position inside the vP. I will not report all the arguments that Franco brings in favor of an analysis of past participle/infinitive fronting as movement to the CP area (and more precisely to the ModP position proposed by Rizzi (2002) and simply adopt her view. For the purpose of this work it is sufficient to factor out these cases, as they are to be analyzed as movement of the non-finite form to the C domain.

Notice that there is a rather strong argument in favor of assuming that these are not real counterexamples to the generalization that OI is VO. The argument is provided by cases like the following:

- (7)            quello che scritto si truova delli stati mondani  
                  what that written is found of the state worldly  
                  ‘What has been written about the worldly states’ (*MVillani* b301)

In (7) the past participle precedes the auxiliary, but the PP object is located on the right side of the auxiliary. This clearly shows that such cases of past participle/infinitive preposing are by no means real verb final constructions as it would be in OV languages, because the auxiliary should be found as the last element on the very right edge of the clause, and not before a PP.<sup>4</sup> Hence, we can conclude that also this property of OV languages is not met by OI, despite some apparent counterexamples where the past participle/infinitive precedes an auxiliary.

Another typical property of VO languages is that they have prepositions and not postpositions, which is generally true also of OI, as the above example already shows, see also the following ones:

- (8)    a.        ma per lo suo senno fue in sì alto stato  
                  but for the his mind was in so high esteem  
                  ‘but he was highly considered for his cleverness’ (*Rettorica* 10)
- b.        e con la detta gente vegnendo per la cittade  
                  and with the mentioned people coming through the city  
                  ‘and with the aforementioned people he was coming through the city’ (*Pagani* 210)

OI is also a typical VO language also in the nominal domain, as complements generally follow the head noun (but see chapter 5 for some interesting cases of fronting):

- (9)            e a Seleuco, figliuolo d’Antioco, ee data la signoria dell’ oste  
                  and to S. son of A. is given the control of the army  
                  ‘and the control of the army is given to S., son of A.’ (*Pagani* 181)

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<sup>4</sup> This structure is probably to be analyzed as movement of the VP layer including the past participle to the CP layer (see Franco (2008)) with prior scrambling of the PP itself out of the VP to a position analogous to the ones we are dealing with here in cases of OV orders.

Moreover, also relative clauses generally follow the head noun and never precede it, as it is the case in OV languages:

- (10)           ciò è retorica quella scienza per la quale noi sapemo ornatamente  
it is rhetoric that science for the which we know.1pl beautifully  
dire e dittare  
say.inf and dictate.inf  
'Rhetoric is that science according to which we speak and write beautifully'  
(*Rettorica* 4)

OI also has sentence initial complementizers like VO languages and no cases of sentence final ones:

- (11)           perciò che esso non ne trattò così del tutto apertamente  
so that he not of.it dealt.3sg so of.the all openly  
'so that he did not deal with it completely openly' (*Rettorica* 4)

On this empirical basis, I conclude that OI is already a VO language like modern Italian and is not OV like Latin. The problem we now face is that OI still presents several cases of OV which cannot be reduced to the V2 property analyzed in chapter 1, and which need to be structurally analyzed.

### 3. Scrambling in OI

In this section I will show that OI displays a well attested scrambling phenomenon, which can target any constituent in the vP area. The properties of the phenomenon are undoubtedly similar to those of the CP left periphery examined in chapter 1.

#### 3.1. *The elements that can be scrambled*

Once we factor out the cases of XP V ordering triggered by V2, hence all cases in which a simple inflected verb is found after an object, which might be analyzed as movement of the object to SpecC and of the inflected verb to C°, a number of residual cases still remain without explanation.

The clearest structurally unambiguous cases are those in which the object is located between an auxiliary verb and the past participle. Examples like those in (13) cannot be analyzed as movement of the object to the CP left periphery, which is in this case occupied by the subject preceding the auxiliary verb:<sup>5</sup>

- (12) a. i nemici avessero già il passo pigliato  
the enemies had.subj.3pl already the pass taken  
‘the enemies had already occupied the pass.’ (*Pagani* 88)
- b. ch’egli avea il maleficio commesso  
that he had.3sg the crime committed  
‘that he committed the crime’ (*FR* 31)
- (13) a. dice che poi àe molto de ben fatto in guerra et in pace  
says that then has a lot of good done in war and in peace  
‘he says that he has done much good in war and peace’ (*Rettorica* 26)
- b. il quale da che ebbe tutto Egitto vinto...  
whom since had.3sg all Egypt won...  
‘since he submitted all Egypt...’ (*Pagani* 83)
- c. Da che veggono i loro nemici schierati  
since see.3pl the their enemies ranked  
‘since they see their enemies deployed’ (*VeV* 56)

Some of these sentences might be instances of V2, where the inflected verb is in CP, while others might be cases in which the inflected verb has stopped in TP. However, the direct object preceding the past participle cannot be analyzed other than being located inside the IP space. Notice that there does not seem to be any restriction concerning the type of object that can be found in preparticipial position, it can be a definite element but also a quantified DP, as cases like (14c,d) show.<sup>6</sup>

A revealing feature of the OV construction is that not only direct objects, but any type of internal argument can be found to the left of the past participle.

Cases of OV with indirect PP objects are well documented:

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<sup>5</sup> Given that OV cases with a simple verb can always be ambiguous between V2 and scrambling I will restrict the data to cases of compound tenses.

<sup>6</sup> As for bare quantifiers, see chapter 4.

- (14) a. se l'avessi a mente tenuto  
if it-had.subj.1sg in mind kept  
'If I had kept it in mind' (*VeV* 16)
- b. ch'elli è a fine venuto  
that he is to end come  
'that he has died' (*Tristano* 397)
- c. E quand'ebbi così chiaramente a ogni cosa risposto  
and when had.1sg so clearly to everything answered  
'and when I answered to everything so clearly' (*VeV* 37)

Any other PP complement can also occupy the preparticipial position:

- (15) a. Non crederei che fosse per voi rotto.  
not would-believe.1sg that was.3sg by you broken  
'I would not believe that it was broken by you.' (*Fiore* CXX, 442)
- b. Se non è prima da Dio concesso  
if not is before from God allowed  
'If this is not allowed by God in advance' (*VeV* 79)
- c. quando sono di te accompagnata  
when am by you accompanied  
'When I am accompanied by you' (*VeV* 33)
- (16) a. Ingannare è inganno per frode commesso  
cheat.inf is cheating by fraud committed  
'Cheating is to cheat when you commit a fraud' (*VeV* 53)
- b. E catuna è dal suo prelato nominata  
and each is by.the his bishop nominated  
'and each of them is nominated by its bishop' (*VeV* 75)
- c. E non ne sarete da me meritati  
and not of.it will.be.2pl by me deserved  
'and you will not be rewarded by me' (*VeV* 17)
- d. Il quale fue dallo spirito santo formato  
the which was by.the saint spirit formed  
'which was created by the Holy Ghost' (*VeV* 36)



- e. E hallo in sette parti diviso  
And has.it in seven parts split  
'and he split it in seven parts' (*VeV 45*)
- f. Si spera fermamente d'esser da Dio guiderdonato  
himself hopes firmly of be.inf by God rewarded  
'He firmly hopes to be rewarded by God.' (*VeV 91*)

Notice that the examples above can contain either the auxiliary 'be' or 'have', so the structure is not restricted to transitive verbs or apparently through the thematic grid of the verb or through auxiliary selection.

Also passive subjects can be found in preparticipial position<sup>7</sup>:

- (17) comandò questo giovane che fossero tutte quelle genti menate  
ordered.3sg this young that were.3pl all those people led  
'this youth ordered to lead all those people before him' (*Nov. VII, 143*)

Even predicates of compular clauses can be found in preparticipial position:

- (18) Sono sozzissime armi divenute  
are.3pl filthy weapons become  
'They have become horrible weapons' (*VeV 73*)

The preparticipial position can also host locative pronouns:

- (19) a. Da ch'è volontà delle Virtudi che sono qui raunate  
since is will of.the Virtues that are here gathered  
'Since this is the will of the Virtues who are gathered here' (*VeV 66*)
- b. E tutta quest'altra buona gente ch'è qui raunata per vostro comandamento  
and all this other good people who is here gathered for your order  
'and all the other good people who are gathered here because you ordered it'  
(*VeV 69*)

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<sup>7</sup> Evidently, as this is a subject, it could be located in the subject position with the auxiliary verb in C. This ambiguity cannot be solved unless cases are found where the subject is followed or preceded by an adverb marking its position either in SpecT or in the vP periphery. I searched for cases like these and did not find any. Therefore, cases like (17) remain ambiguous.

The same is true for verbal modifiers like locative prepositions (like in (20)), secondary adjectival predicates (cf. (21)) or even low adverbs (22):

- (20) a. a quelli che sono già avanti iti  
to those that are.3pl already forward gone  
'to those who have already gone forward' (*Tesoro* c350)
- b. Poi lo fece fuori trarre  
that him made.3sg outside take.inf  
'then he had him taken out' (*Nov. XIII*, 158)
- c. E quando furono insieme congiunte...  
and when were.3pl together joined  
'and where they were put together...' (*VeV* 91)
- (21) a. da tutta la gente sarai scarso tenuto  
by all the people will-be.2sg poorly considered  
'you will be poorly considered by everyone' (*Tesoretto* 230)
- b. Ma è vilissimamente vestita  
but is very.badly dressed  
'but she is really badly dressed' (*VeV* 38)
- (22) a. il cavaliere era molto bene costumato  
the knight was very well educated  
'the knight was much educated.' (*Nov. LXXX*, 311)
- b. Quand' ebbero così ordinato  
when had.3pl so ordered  
'after they ordered so' (*Nov. XCIX*, 349)
- c. Quando di lui fue bene innamorato  
when of him was well fallen.in.love  
'when he had really fallen in love with him' (*VeV* 40)

Notice that low adverbs can also occur on the right side of the past participle, thereby showing that the preparticipial one is not their dedicated position, but that it is an instance of the same OV phenomenon we are investigating here.

- (23) a. et elli in sua difesa dice ch'`a fatto bene...  
 and he in his defense says that has done well...  
 'in his defense he says that he acted well' (*Rettorica* 136)
- b. sia fatto cos`i  
 be.subj.3sg done so  
 'Do it this way' (*Tesoro* a42)

Notice that these data could be analyzed as lack of past participle movement in front of low adverbs, which would distinguish OI from modern Italian because OI would have no past participle movement in contrast to modern Italian. There are various arguments which lead me not to take this view. First of all, if this is so, we would have to provide two different explanations of OVpart. and PPVpart. orders with respect to low adverbsVpart. This is probably not correct, given that both are impossible in modern Italian and have been lost during the same period of time, which suggests a direct link between the two phenomena. Secondly, it seems that the past participle in OI moves more and not less than in modern Italian because the past participle agreement pattern is more widespread and possible even with postverbal objects, as will be discussed at length in section 6. Thirdly, if we take a general view that syntactic change goes in the direction of less movement, as proposed by Clark and Roberts (1993), and Roberts and Roussou (2003) among others, we would not expect modern Italian to suddenly start moving the past participle higher than before, but rather the opposite. Therefore, I will assume that the reason why low adverbs can be found on the left of the past participle in OI while they cannot in modern Italian is tied to the possibility of OV orders and not to the fact that the past participle moves less in OI.

One more empirical observation to be tied to this constellation of phenomena is that Ovpart. or PPVpart. is also possible when the predicate consists of an auxiliary form followed by a noun, like *aver paura* 'be afraid' (literally 'have fear'):

- (24) a. Avegna che avesse da lo 'ncominciamento paura  
 happens that had.3sg from the beginning fear  
 'it happens that he was afraid from the start' (*VeV* 87)
- b. Salamone, facendo in altro luogo menzione di questa Prudenzia  
 Salomon doing in other place mention of this Prudence  
 'Salomon, mentioning prudence in another place' (*VeV* 58)
- c. Son vie che paiono all'uomo diritte

are.3pl ways that seem.3pl to.the man straight  
'they are ways that look straight to man' (*VeV* 58)

- d. Sicurtà è virtù per la quale si fa del malificio vendetta  
safety is virtue for the which one does of.the evil revenge  
'Safety is that virtue according to which one revenges of the evil...'  
(*VeV* 63)

This shows that the phenomenon is rather general in the low portion of the IP and does not only concern cases with past participle (see chapter 4 for a general overview of OV with infinitival verbs selected by modals, causative and aspectual verbs). Moreover, this means that cases where the predicate is construed by a light verb followed by a noun, there is no incorporation of the predicative noun, which remains inside the vP layer, while the inflected light verb raises to T.

More generally, the scrambling phenomenon does not always result in the verb being in sentence final position, as it would be the case in a real OV language, because one XP might have been moved, while the other remains in situ:

- (25) Perché la Fede Cristiana ha di Roma fatto suo capo  
because the Faith Christian has of Rome done its head  
'Because Christian Faith has elected Rom to its capital' (*VeV* 100)

Examples of this type are expected if we adopt the idea that the vP layer has a left periphery which is at least partially similar to the one of the CP area, and where the same type of movements to Focus and Topic positions are allowed. Therefore, these V2-like cases where an element is fronted just before the past participle leaving the rest of the arguments and adjuncts below are to be analyzed as left peripheral movements. Furthermore, this type of movement is not constrained by clause type: examples of scrambling in front of the past participle can be found in virtually any type of clause, even embedded ones like interrogatives, where the V2 requirement is blocked or relative clauses:<sup>8</sup>

- (26) a. E quand'ebber questa schiera fatta così grossa  
and when had.3pl this rank made so big  
'And when the rank was really big' (*VeV* 76)  
b. le dette Risie, che i demoni hanno nel mondo seminate

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<sup>8</sup> Notice that these cases cannot be analyzed as V2, as proposed by an anonymous reviewer, as the scrambled item is lower than the inflected auxiliary.

- the said heresies that the demons have.3pl in.the world spread  
 ‘the heresies mentioned above that the demons have spread in the world’ (*VeV* 69)
- c. dimmi qual è quel Vizio che ha già le sue genti schierate?  
 tell.me which is that vice that has already the its people lined.up  
 ‘tell me which vice has already lined up its people’ (*VeV* 47)
- d. se l’avessi a mente tenuto  
 if it-had.subj.1sg in mind kept  
 ‘if I had kept it in mind’ (*VeV* 16)

The examples in (26) show that scrambling can be found in temporal, relative, complement and *if*-clauses, so we can assume that scrambling is not sensitive to sentence type, which is a phenomenon generally related to the left periphery of the clause, and not to the lower layer we are dealing with here. This provides further evidence for keeping these cases apart from the V2 phenomenon, which is indeed sensitive to clause type.

### 3.2 Multiple Scrambling

In addition to cases of simple OV order, it is possible to have more than one XP moved to the left of the past participle.

- (27) a. Come se ciascuno fosse di morte a vita suscitato  
 as if everybody was.sbj.3sg from death to life come.back  
 ‘As if everybody had come back from death to life’ (*VeV* 84)
- b. Vedemmo che fue tutta in quattro parti divisa  
 saw.1pl that was all in four parts split  
 ‘We saw that the whole was split into four parts’ (*VeV* 56)
- c. d’esser da Dio del ben guiderdonato  
 of be.inf by God of.the good rewarded  
 ‘to be rewarded of the good by God’ (*VeV* 63)

There is apparently no restriction on the items that can be moved forward, as there are cases of two arguments or combinations of an adverb and a PP or DP:

- (28) a. e quando m'ebbe di Religione e delle sue parti così mostrato  
and when me had.3sg of Religion and of.the its parts so shown  
'and when she had told me about Religion and about its parts in this way' (*VeV* 63)
- b. e questo è Idio in cui sono tutti i beni perfettamente raunati  
and this is God in whom are.3pl all the goods perfectly gathered  
'and this is God, in whom all the good is perfectly concentrated' (*VeV* 39)
- (29) a. perché non sono bene tutte le cose che nuocere possono considerate<sup>9</sup>  
because not are.3pl good all the things that do.harm.inf can.3sg considered  
'because not all the things that can be dangerous haven been well considered'  
(*VeV* 59)
- b. ed ha'mi la cosa molte volte ridetta  
and has.me the thing many times repeated  
'and he has repeated this to me many times' (*TVV* 131)
- c. E quand' ebbi così chiaramente a ogni cosa risposto<sup>10</sup>  
and when had.1sg so clearly to everything answered  
'After I had answered everything so clearly' (*VeV* 37)

Moreover, the order of the preparticipial items is not fixed: there are cases of minimal pairs where the same adverb occurs either before or after a complement PP:

- (30) a. i nimici avessero già il passo pigliato  
the enemies had.subj.3pl already the pass taken  
'the enemies had already occupied the pass.' (*Pagani* 88)
- b. quello che per uso è già dagli antichi servato  
what that for use is already from-the ancients kept  
'what is kept by the ancient peoples through its use' (*Vegezio* 108)

<sup>9</sup> Notice that this is a case where XP modified by a relative clause is preposed, a rather rare case, which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 6.

<sup>10</sup> Notice that an adverb like *chiaramente* is generally located on the right of the past particles, so the cases above are really to be considered as scrambling and not the basic position of the adverb, as shown by the following example:

- (i) Tullio dice, che 'l fatto è contato *chiaramente*  
Tullio says that the deed is told clearly  
'Tullio says that the deed is clearly told' (*Tesoro* 138)

- (31) Ed essendo dell' unico guernimento già ispogliato  
 and being of-the only ornament already stripped  
 ‘and as he had already been stripped of his only ornament’ (*Pagani* 411)
- (32) a. e questo aviene perché non sono bene tutte le cose  
 and this happens because not are well all the things  
 che nuocere possono considerate  
 that harm.inf can.3pl considered  
 ‘and this happens because not all things that might harm us have been considered  
 well’ (*VeV* 59)
- b. Che il medico non possa lo ‘nfermo ben curare  
 that the doctor not can.3sg the invalid well cure.inf  
 ‘that the doctor cannot cure the invalid well’ (*VeV* 8)

In these examples the adverbs *già* or *bene* can either be located in front or after a DP or a PP complement. From these examples we can draw two conclusions: first of all, there is evidently no fixed order of the preparticipial elements, and second adverbs are also scrambled like DPs and PPs. As we will see further on, this is also a typical feature of the CP left periphery, where the order of the dislocated constituents is apparently free, unless very subtle pragmatic distinctions are drawn.

#### 4. Optionality of Scrambling

The optionality character of scrambling has long been noticed by philologists, who interpret it as a residue of a more conservative grammar mimicking Latin order.

All the texts I have investigated<sup>11</sup> present cases of scrambling, though the percentage of the phenomenon is clearly very different depending on the type of text. In order to show this, I have selected two texts, the first fifty pages of Bono Giamboni’s “Libro dei Vizi e delle Virtudi” and the first two texts of the “Documenti fiorentini” (edited by Schiaffini (1926)).<sup>12</sup> The choice of these texts is not random, as they represent to two stylistic “poles” of OI, because, although in both texts the

<sup>11</sup> See the OVI online data base for a complete list.

<sup>12</sup> A reviewer notes that these limitations seem arbitrary, but given that there exists no syntactically tagged corpus for OI, and all these data have been gathered by reading texts, one has to take a sample to count the instances, otherwise such a work would be practically extremely time consuming. The situation is evidently different in other more well studied languages like Old English or Old French, but the only data base for OI can only be searched for lexical items.

phenomenon is attested, in Bono Giamboni’s prose it is far more frequent than in the “Documenti fiorentini”. All the other texts examined have a distribution which ranges in between the ones of these two texts. In order to evaluate the percentage of occurrence of scrambling, I have proceeded as follows: I selected all the relevant contexts, namely all sentences containing a past participle and an XP located in the low IP area. All cases of simple verbs have been excluded, even those where the ordering of the objects clearly presented scrambling of the arguments, because some of these scrambling cases between arguments are also possible in modern Italian. Therefore, only clear cases of XP preposing in front of the past participle have been counted, although not only of direct objects, but also of indirect objects, PPs or verbal modifiers. The results are represented in the following figure:<sup>13</sup>

Type of structure	Bono Giamboni	Doc. fiorentini
OV	41%	14%
VO	59%	86%

Such a distribution could be interpreted as an argument in favor of the idea that OI, like other languages that have changed the original OV order into VO (English and Icelandic, as well as all other Romance languages that evolved from Latin, which was an OV language) go through a stage in which the speakers have competence on two grammars, a VO and an OV one. This type of analysis is generally known as “the double base hypothesis”, and is probably an inevitable assumption we are forced to make in at least some instances of diachronic change.

However, the interpretation of the phenomenon I propose is that there is actually no optionality in the application of movement. The apparent effect of optionality is provided by the fact that OV and VO orders depend on semantic and pragmatic values of the clause, which changes according to the Topic/Focus distribution of objects and low modifiers. In essence I propose that OV corresponds to a pragmatically marked word order, where the preposed element is either a Topic or a Focus. Therefore, there is no need to resort to such a mechanism as two grammars, because the complex system of OI can be explained within one single system.

Notice that similar considerations have already been made by Cinque (1990) for modern Italian, which, having Topic and Focus positions in the CP left periphery, can *prima facie* look like a non-configurational language with apparently no fixed word order. He shows that, if we take into account left peripheral orders even modern standard Italian allows for any possible order, including

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<sup>13</sup> The percentages are calculated counting all the relevant examples, i.e. compound tenses or modal plus infinitives, in which a direct object, a PP or an adverb present in the clause could occur either in front or after the non finite verbal form.



those that are extremely infrequent like OVS or OSV. However, if we link those orders to special pragmatic conditions, the picture of the basic word order in Italian is far more regular, and Italian is a well-behaved VO language. This point could actually be made for all Romance languages, and nowadays it is standardly assumed that left dislocation and Focus have a syntactic reflex in this language family.

Much more recently Belletti (2004) has put forth a cartographic perspective concerning the low IP area, which according to her analysis of modern Italian postverbal subjects, contains a low (informational) Focus and several Topic positions in a way which looks very much parallel to the CP left periphery. If this perspective is adopted, there is no need to assume that the residues of OV in an otherwise VO language are due to “a relic grammar”, a sort of syntactic borrowing from a more prestigious grammar as Latin, and only used when high style is required or that more generally the speakers of OI had competence over two grammars which freely alternate without apparent reason.

A similar view is proposed by Polo (2007) for late Latin: she shows that the first cases of VO orders in Latin are restricted to topical objects like the following one:

- (33) Adcognosco, inquit, Cappadocem  
know.1sg said.3sg Cappadocian.acc  
‘I recognize him, she said, the Cappadocian

On the basis of textual considerations, Polo is able to show that in this context the XP *Cappadocem* is clearly topical. She also makes a quantitative analysis of “The Cena Trimalchionis” by Petronius which shows that in this text VO starts out with definite topical objects and that VO cannot be related to the loss of the case system, as 100% of the VO orders found in the text still preserve their accusative case marking. What looks like a first “intrusion” of a Romance grammar into Latin is actually straightforwardly explained by assuming a single grammar in which Topics are VO while non topical objects are OV. Polo does not provide an analysis in terms of an anti-symmetric framework, as she works with a head final parameter where Latin has underlyingly OV order in the VP. However, one could adopt a Kaynian framework where OV is derived by movement of the object higher than the verb, and VO can either be the basic word order or any order where the verb has simply raised higher than the object. In this case, the line of research to be pursued to explain VO topics in Latin on the basis of Belletti’s (2004) low left periphery would require as a first step, movement of the object to the vP peripheral Topic position, and then remnant movement of the VP to a Ground position in front of the Topic position occupied by the object. Whatever the details of

the analysis will turn out to be in the end, Polo's work on Latin clearly establishes that VO in an OV language starts out with definite and topical XPs, while quantifiers (and indefinites) remain OV. Therefore, Latin also shows that reordering of the arguments in the low IP area is sensitive to the informational value of a given XP:<sup>14</sup> topics can escape the basic word order of the language in question giving the impression of optionality, because movement to a topic position depends on the pragmatic/semantic value the speaker intends to express.<sup>15</sup>

Latin and Old Italian represent the initial and the final stage of reordering of the basic word order, but in both cases we see that reordering starts out (and is preserved) by means of an apparently optional rule of scrambling, which is actually an obligatory process marking the informational value of the constituent in question.<sup>16</sup>

I will now turn to examine what the syntactic properties of this scrambling rule actually are and provide empirical arguments that it is indeed a movement rule and not an alternation between two basic word orders.

## 5. What is scrambling?

In the above description of the scrambling phenomenon I have more or less implicitly assumed that it is to be analyzed as movement of one or more XP(s) to the left of the past participle. In this section I will present arguments in favor of the claim that OV cases are indeed instances of movement of the object to a vP peripheral position and not the consequence of the fact that OI speakers have two grammars at their disposal, or that they "borrow" a prestigious Latin grammar when they need to.

Consider now the following cases of scrambling, where part of the XP has been subextracted from its original position leaving the rest in place:

(34)           avegna che neuno possa           buono avvocato essere   né perfetto

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<sup>14</sup> This is actually well known from a language like German since Lenerz (1977), where the different orders between accusative and dative objects are shown to depend on pragmatic distinctions which can at least partly be subsumed under the labels of topic or focus.

<sup>15</sup> Similar considerations are made by Federica Cognola (2010) in her work on Mocheno, a German dialect spoken in the Italian Alps which seems to oscillate between VO and OV order.

<sup>16</sup> The reason why marking a topic results in VO in Latin and OV in OI is probably due to an additional mechanism that moves the remnant VP to a GroundP position in Latin but not in Italian. I will not explore this line of research here any further, and refer to Poletto and Pollock (2004) for a detailed analysis of remnant movement to GroundP in Italian dialects.

happens that noone can.subj.3sg good advocate be.inf nor perfect  
 ‘even if no one can be a good nor perfect lawyer’ (*Rettorica* 147)

Although these cases are relatively rare, as they require that part of the object DP has been extracted out of a coordinated structure including [buono avvocato né perfetto] ‘neither good nor perfect lawyer’. Given that part of the complex DP is on the right side of the infinitival verb, we are forced to conclude that part of the DP has been preposed out of a postverbal position.

The second argument in favor of the idea that OV orders are derived via movement in OI is the distribution of past participle agreement with object DPs. Egerland (1996) examines cases of direct object scrambling and notices that the OV order is diachronically related to the possibility of past participle agreement with post-participial objects, when post-participial agreement is lost, the OV order is lost as well:

- (35) a. quando egli avea già fatti molti miracoli  
 when he had.3sg already done+agr many miracles+agr  
 ‘when he already performed many miracles’ (*Tesoro* a258)
- b. E quando il notaio ha letta la proposta dinanzi a’ consiglieri  
 and when the notary has read+agr the proposal+agr before to.the counselors  
 ‘and when the notary read the proposal to the counselors’ (*Tesoro* d335)
- c. c’ ha rifiutata la nobile città di Giadres et ha  
 that has refused+agr the noble city+agr of Giadres and has  
 preso li marchi  
 taken-agr the money+agr  
 ‘that has refused the noble city of G and has taken the coins’ (*Nov.* III, 133)

Moreover, he shows that if the order is VO, past participial agreement is optional (as is shown by the lack of agreement in *preso* in (35c)) while it is obligatory when the order is OV.

Although Egerland does not formulate it in these terms, we can restate his observations as the following empirical generalization:

- (36) Past participle agreement is obligatory with the OV order, not with the VO order<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For data supporting this generalizations, see Egerland (1996) and section 6.

The question of past participle agreement in Romance is indeed a very complex one; I will base my analysis here on a simplification of the implicational scale that Loporcaro ((1998):7)<sup>18</sup> establishes on the basis of descriptions coming from several modern Romance languages and dialects. A simplification of Loporcaro’s implicational scale is reported here:<sup>19</sup>

- (37) a. past participle agreement with a postparticipial DP implies agreement with a preparticipial DP;  
 b. agreement with a preparticipial DP implies agreement with a relative pronoun;  
 c. agreement with a relative pronoun implies agreement with a clitic;  
 d. agreement with a first and second person implies agreement with a third person clitic.

Loporcaro correctly points out that the “received” assumption that past participle agreement is only possible with preposed objects is plainly wrong. He provides several examples from descriptive grammars and from his own field work with modern Italian dialects that contradict this statement, thereby showing that past participle agreement is actually possible also when the object is in postparticipial position. I will only quote one example here, namely modern Friulian, which still retains this property in a restricted set of contexts:<sup>20</sup>

- (38) a. O ai lis sigaretis dismenteadis  
 I have the cigarettes.agr forgotten.agr  
 b. O ai dismenteadis lis sigaretis  
 I have forgotten.agr the cigarettes.agr  
 ‘I have forgotten the cigarettes’

Notice however that there is indeed a difference in Friulian, as well as in OI, between pre- and postparticipial objects, namely the one observed by Egerland. Since Friulian is a living language, we can test whether past participle agreement is indeed only optional with postparticipial objects and obligatory with preposed objects:

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<sup>18</sup> My translation.

<sup>19</sup> Loporcaro presents a much more detailed implicational scale including different types of clitics whose agreement pattern can differ with respect to the person of the clitic, the function and its morphology as well as the type of auxiliary and the thematic grid of the main verb. Given that the purpose of this chapter is to provide evidence for a movement account and not give an extensive analysis of all agreement patterns in Romance (for which I refer the reader to Loporcaro’s extensive work), I will limit myself to this simplified implicational scale.

<sup>20</sup> The example does not come from Loporcaro’s work but from my own field work. Thanks to Laura Vanelli for helping me with these data.

- (39) a. O ai dismenteat lis sigaretis  
 I have forgotten.sg the cigarettes.pl
- b. \*O ai lis sigaretis dismenteat  
 I have the cigarettes.pl forgotten.sg

Only three of the four logical possibilities are attested: the sequence OV (39b) without agreement is not possible (see Paoli (1997) for a detailed analysis of this phenomenon in modern Friulian). This confirms that Egerland's generalization is correct. Although Loporcaro is right in pointing out that there is no direct connection between preposing and agreement, it seems that agreement with a preparticipial object is mandatory, when possible, while agreement with a postparticipial object is not. I am not going to propose a new analysis for all the cases of past participle agreement in Romance, but I will only draw a parallel between Egerland's generalization and a wider one proposed by Guasti and Rizzi (2002), reported below in (40):

- (40) If a feature is checked in the overt syntax, then it is expressed in the morphology<sup>21</sup>

Guasti and Rizzi (2002) formulate (40) on the basis of cases of subject agreement, and show that preverbal subjects always imply the fullest agreement pattern possible in the language in question, while postverbal subjects can but need not do so. They also explicitly state that the generalization should be valid for other cases as well. On the basis of Egerland's generalization and on the distribution of agreement in Friulian, I assume that past participle agreement is such an additional case.

Furthermore, Guasti and Rizzi argue that what (40) actually states is that movement implies the fullest possible agreement pattern. So, generalization (40) captures all cases in which a preverbal subject displays stronger agreement with respect to a postverbal subject: when the subject moves to SpecT, thus checking the phi-features in overt syntax, morphology reflects this process, hence the fullest agreement pattern is always selected. This is not always the case for postverbal subjects, where there is no overt checking of the feature in the syntax. Thus, postverbal subjects differ cross-linguistically as they can either have full agreement, a reduced form of it, or no agreement at all. Given Egerland's generalization, confirmed by the Friulian data above, this is also true for objects,

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<sup>21</sup> The generalization has to be interpreted in the following way: whenever a language has strong morphology, this has to be used when the DP precedes the verbal head, it is clearly vacuous with respect to languages that do not have any morphology at all.

when the object is checking a given feature in overt syntax, hence, it is in preparticipial position, this is obligatorily reflected in the past participle agreement morphology.

Hence, if obligatory agreement is an indication that the agreeing DP has moved, OV cases have to be considered as instances of movement. Before formally analyzing optional past participle agreement with postparticipial objects, I will discuss a third argument in favor of the idea that OV is indeed movement, an argument which can shed light on the actual syntactic configuration we are dealing with.

The third argument is precisely that scrambling and V2 have similar properties in OI. As V2 is inevitably analyzed as movement of one (or more) XP(s) to the CP left periphery, then scrambling also has to be analyzed as such too.

Moreover, as I anticipated in the introduction, the similarities between V2 and OV are even more striking: a) first of all we have seen in chapter 1 that OI has the peculiar property of admitting more than one XP in front of the inflected verb, violating the linear requirement for V2. The same is true for OV cases, as there can be more than one displaced constituent in front of the past participle, as shown in section 3.2.

b) the second similarity is that the apparent optionality of OV is exactly reproduced in the CP left periphery, as OI also has cases of verb first without any XP preposing (see chapter 1 section 3). This would be identical to the cases in which no XP has been scrambled in front of the past participle.

c) the third similarity between V2 and OV is that they are both insensitive to the type of preposed XP. As shown in section 2, any type of constituent merged on the right of the past participle can be scrambled in front of it: direct and indirect objects, complement and adjunct PPs, verbal modifiers and adverbs. This is also a typical feature of V2, which accepts any type of moved constituent, as is well known.

d) the last feature that V2 and OV have in common is that whenever more than one XP is preposed, there is no fixed word order between them. We have considered cases where the same adverb can be located either to the right or to the left of another XP, both of them being in preparticipial position. The same type of freedom has been noted in chapter 1, and is actually a common feature of the left periphery of modern Italian as well: different types of Topics in the CP left periphery are not ordered according to their argumental, adjunct or adverbial status. If we follow the same line taken in Benincà and Poletto (2004) and in more recent work by Frascarelli (2007), (2009), Topics are ordered according to their function at the interface with pragmatic structure and not with respect to their thematic function. This gives the effect of possible reordering between arguments, but if we keep the type of pragmatic function constant, there should be no reordering. As it is extremely

difficult to pinpoint the actual functions of the different Topics, I will not try to do it here on the basis of a dead language. What OI shows us is that the CP left periphery and scrambling have several features in common, which supports the idea that OV cases are to be interpreted not only as movement, but as movement to the vP left periphery, a structural layer whose existence has already been proposed by several authors (a.o. see Belletti (2004) and Grewendorf (2005)).

Notice that the texts even provide us with minimal pairs like the following one, which are two sentences four lines apart in the same text by Bono Giamboni:

- (41) a. Delle dette cose esser da Dio meritato  
of the said things be,inf by God rewarded  
‘To be rewarded by God for the aforementioned matters’ (VeV 84)
- b. Da lui esser de le dette cose meritato  
by him be,inf of the said things rewarded  
‘To be rewarded by him for the aforementioned matters’ (VeV 84)

In (41a) the first sentence has the PP ‘delle dette cose’ in SpecC and the PP ‘da Dio’ in the vP left periphery, (41b) has the reversed order, ‘da lui’ (still referring to God) is sitting in SpecC and ‘de le dette cose’ in the vP left periphery. These examples show how difficult it can be to analyze the distribution of topics across the two left peripheries, and I will not attempt to go beyond the work that has already been done (see again the work by Frascarelli quoted above) in trying to label the various topic projections, and will only make the null assumption that the vP left periphery has the same general structural layering of the CP left periphery.<sup>22</sup> According to Benincà and Poletto (2004), which I assume here (see also chapter 1 section 2), the CP left periphery of modern and Old Italian is made up by three layers: the highest one contains projections like Hanging Topics and Scene Setting adverbs, the middle one contains a series of Topics including familiarity, pair listed Topics (and probably also the ShiftTopic projection singled out by Frascarelli) and a lower one, containing what Benincà and Poletto dub as contrastive and informational Focus. I will not enter the debate on whether the Information Focus projection is actually some type of Theme (hence a lower Topic) because the data of OI do not allow us any further insight on this, I only assume that this set of projections has the syntactic property of containing elements (like contrastive Focus, Wh-items and the lower Information Focus) that are A’-moved. Therefore, I will refer to this as Operator layer, a definition which does not make appeal to pragmatic notions.

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<sup>22</sup> There is probably at least one major difference between the CP and the vP left peripheries: the highest portion of the CP left periphery is occupied by Hanging Topics and scene setting adverbs, which are most probably merged in that position directly. There is probably no such layer in the low phase.

If the CP layer has a three-partite structure, the vP layer probably lacks the highest one, which in the CP contains elements related to the previous discourse.<sup>23</sup> However, the vP still keeps at least a series of Topic projections followed by operator moved XPs:

(42) [vP [Topic1 [Topic2 [Topic 3 ...[Operator ...VP ]]]]

This structure still contains a high degree of indeterminacy as we still do not know where it is located with respect to the VP: are there any functional projections located between the VP and the Operator position? Moreover, Belletti assumes on the basis of data concerning the position of the adverb *bene* ‘well’ and the postverbal subject that the vP left periphery is located lower than all adverbs. However, judgments on adverbs are not really clear-cut (as Belletti herself observes) and the fact that *bene* is preferably located higher than the postverbal subject might be an indication that it is also moved into the vP left periphery, but is actually generated lower. For instance Cognola (2010), in analyzing Mocheno (a German dialect spoken in a Trentino valley which displays both VO and OV) shows that the vP left periphery is in between the adverbs ‘already’ (*schoa* in Mochena) and ‘well’ (*schia* in Mocheno), but not lower than the adverb ‘well’, hence between the projection encoding Tense anterior and VoiceP. Therefore, I will assume that the dots between Operator and VP in (42) have to be filled by some aspectual projections, one of them containing the adverb ‘well’ (according to Cinque’s hierarchy).<sup>24</sup> Structure (42) is also underdetermined with respect to a) the number of Topic projections, (but so is the CP left periphery at the present state of research) and b) the exact number and type of projections found between the lowest OperatorP and the VP, i.e. the exact position of the vP left periphery in the low IP layer. This indeterminacy does not undermine the analysis of OV orders as movements to the vP left periphery.

I will now proceed to analyze past participle agreement and Egerland’s generalization in the terms of structure (42).

## 6. Past participle agreement

<sup>23</sup> This is already known, as right dislocation can only be a familiarity topic and not an aboutness topic, as Hanging Topics generally are (see Benincà (1988) who is the first to notice this distinction between left and right dislocation).

<sup>24</sup> Notice that this does not mean that the thematic role of the subject is assigned higher than the functional positions expressing aspectual distinctions, as what is usually called ‘SpecvP’ must be lower than its left periphery. The problem here is that in trying to reconcile the minimalist idea of phases with the cartographic approach leaves a certain degree of indeterminacy in the exact number and type of projections that are actually found inside the vP. Here I will try to be coherent in adopting the criterion that phases are parallel, which means that if the vP has a left periphery where Focus and Topic projections are encoded, it must also have a layer corresponding to the ‘IP’ where the subject receives its thematic role.



In order to explain Egerland’s generalization concerning past participle agreement, I will push the parallel between the CP left periphery and the vP left periphery even further: as we have seen that OI is subject to a constraint which forces movement of the inflected verb to the C domain (and more precisely into the lowest Operator position located in the CP), I will assume that the same is true in the low phase, and that the past participle has to move to the lowest projection located in the vP left periphery:

- (43) [CP *che* [AgrS [SpecAgrS *egli*] [AgrS° *avea*] [OpP [SpecOp *il maleficio*]<sub>j</sub>] [Op° *commesso*]<sub>i</sub>...[VP [v° *t<sub>i</sub>*] [*t<sub>j</sub>*]]]] ]

Assuming that Egerland’s generalization is an instance of the broader phenomenon observed by Guasti and Rizzi (2003), and that movement of the direct object to the vP left periphery, yielding OV, requires agreement, we could in principle assume that the Agree operation is directly triggered in the OperatorP, given that the object and the verbal head are in a local Spec-head relation. However, there are instances of preposed direct objects that are not adjacent to the verb, as they are located in a higher position in the vP left periphery, and that nonetheless require agreement:

- (44) a. *ed ha’mi la cosa molte volte ridetta*  
 and has-to-me the thing many times retold.agr  
 ‘and told me this many times’ (TVV 131)
- b. *Poscia che Dio ebbe Adamo ed Eva, per lo peccato ch’aveano fatto,*  
 after that God had.3sg Adam and Eve for the sin that had.3pl done  
*tratti di paradiso e posti in su la terra*  
 taken.agr of paradise and placed.agr in to the earth  
 ‘after God had taken Adam and Eve out of paradise for the sin they had committed’  
 (VeV 16)

Here the preposed direct object cannot be located in the specifier of the past participle *ridetta* ‘retold’, as there is the adverbial form *molte volte* ‘many times’ between them. However, agreement is still triggered (and presumably obligatory as there are no attested instances of OV without agreement, even if the object is not adjacent to the past participle). If the intuition that phases are construed in a parallel fashion is correct, then the null hypothesis is that past participle agreement works in the same fashion as subject agreement does. As subject agreement is triggered in TP, and not in the CP left periphery, I will assume that also past participle agreement is triggered below the

vP left periphery, in an area corresponding to the IP. This implies that inside the vP there are functional projections and that the edge of the vP is not lower than all adverbs, as Belletti proposes on the basis of modern Italian. Probably the position involved in triggering object agreement is an aspectual one (or one of Voice), which according to Cinque's hierarchy are the lowest ones in the functional domain. Given that Old Italian does not provide with any direct evidence of its actual value, I will informally label this projection AspP and leave its exact value to future work:

(45) [CP *che* [AgrS [SpecAgrS *egli*] [AgrS° *avea*] [OpP [SpecOp *il maleficio*]<sub>j</sub>] [Op° *commesso*]<sub>i</sub>] [ASpP [SpecAsp *t<sub>j</sub>*] [Asp° *t<sub>i</sub>*] ...[VP [V° *t<sub>i</sub>*] [*t<sub>j</sub>*]]]] ]

If Guasti and Rizzi are correct in assuming that movement always triggers the fullest agreeing morphological form, then the first part of Egerland's generalization is explained: preposed objects always trigger agreement because they are moved to the left periphery and by doing so, they have to pass through a lower functional position (here AspP) analogous to TP for the subject, where the agreement operation takes place.<sup>25</sup>

Recall that VO structures, on the contrary, can but need not trigger agreement on the past participle. In order to explain this optionality I propose that structures with a postparticipial object are ambiguous between a movement and a non movement analysis.

When there is no agreement, the null hypothesis is that no movement of the object to SpecAspP has applied, the object remains lower in the structure in its VP internal position. On the other hand, when there is object agreement, I assume that the object DP moves to the SpecAsp position. This means in turn that the past participle must have moved higher than the SpecAsp position where the DP has moved, in order to derive the ordering Participle+agr Object. This has already been proposed on the motivation that the vP periphery is parallel to the CP one, and that it attracts the verbal head (in this case the past participle) to its Operator position. Hence, the derivation of VO orders is (46a) for non agreeing cases and (46b) for agreeing cases:

(46) a. [CP *quando* [AgrS [SpecAgrS *il notaio*] [AgrS° *ha*] [OpP [Op° *letto*] [AspP [SpecAspO ] [AspO *t<sub>i</sub>*] ...[VP [V° *t<sub>i</sub>*] [*la proposta*]]]]]] ]  
 b. [CP *quando* [AgrS [SpecAgrS *il notaio*] [AgrS° *ha*] [OpP [Op° *letta*]<sub>i</sub>] [AspP [SpecAsp *la proposta*]<sub>j</sub>] [Asp° *t<sub>i</sub>*] ...[VP [V° *t<sub>i</sub>*] [*t<sub>j</sub>*]]]] ]

<sup>25</sup> Notice that this analysis is also compatible with a much more restricted theory, as the one proposed in Kayne (2012), who claims that agreement can only be a reflex of movement.

In (46a) only the past participle moves by virtue of the head movement constraint (or any minimalist version of it) through the head of AspP to reach  $Op^\circ$ , the object does not move. Hence, no agreement is triggered. In (46b) on the contrary, not only the participle moves to Asp on its way to Op, but also the object, triggering agreement. The object is then no further moved, while the participle does.

This treatment which is crucially based on the parallel between the low and the high phase might have far reaching consequences for the general theory, which will be explored in the last chapter in a more detailed fashion. It is a fairly standard assumption that the old notion of “parameter” has to be formulated in terms of properties of functional heads. This, however, often leads to postulating a parameter for a single syntactic construction, while the original notion of parameter has proved extremely powerful in the GB framework because it accounts for a number of syntactic constructions under the same abstract property. Assuming that properties of functional heads remain constant across phases is a new way to account for different phenomena (in our case V2 and scrambling) on the basis of the same abstract feature. Hence, parallel phases are a way to express links between apparently unrelated phenomena, i.e. an alternative to the tradition Government and Binding view of parameters. I will therefore assume the strongest version of this proposal, namely that a ‘parameter’ corresponds to the “activation” of a given functional head  $F^\circ$ , whose features must be checked in the computational component wherever it is merged. Hence, OperatorP in OI maintains the same property throughout all the phases where it occurs: more specifically it must be filled by a head in all phases, the inflected verb fills the  $Op^\circ$  of the high CP phase, the past participle fills the  $Op^\circ$  of the low  $vP$  phase.<sup>26</sup>

In the high CP-phase it triggers the subject inversion phenomenon typical of V2 contexts (and the others phenomena seen in section 2). In the  $vP$  phase it triggers post-participial agreement, OV and more generally XP-V.

## 7. Parallel phases

If the idea that phases are built in a parallel way proposed above is correct, it means that the CP and the  $vP$  left periphery should behave alike in all respects. This leads to a number of expectations concerning the low left periphery on the basis of the constructions illustrated in section 2 for the high left periphery. More specifically, I examine here the predictions that this hypothesis makes concerning three constructions already discussed above: the first one is that there should exist V1 in the low left periphery, as it is the case in the high left periphery. The second concerns enclisis: as

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<sup>26</sup> Note that this is also consistent with the HMC.

V1 constructions always trigger enclisis in the high phase (see section 2), it should also be the case in the low phase.

The third prediction is a diachronic one, namely that if V2 and XP V are effects of the same abstract property, they should behave alike in the diachronic process of progressive loss.<sup>27</sup>

The fourth prediction concerns OI itself: if the strong feature of Operator is phase-independent we should find similar phenomena in the DP as well, given that DP is also a phase (this prediction will be examined at length in chapter 3).

As for the first prediction, this is trivially met, as cases of V1 are also found in the low left periphery, where all objects and lowest adverbs<sup>28</sup> are located after the past participle, which is then the first element of the phase. In other words, cases of V1 in the low phase are “normal” cases of VO:

- (47) a.      ciò   che savi avevano detto intorno alla retorica  
          what that wise had.3pl said   about   the rhetorics  
          ‘what the wise men had told about rhetorics’ (*Rettorica* 7)
- b.      ...fue isbandito della   terra  
          was banned   from.the earth  
          ‘...and he was banned from earth’ (*Rettorica* 7)
- c.      poi che Tullio ae divisati li mali  
          since T.       has divided the evils  
          ‘After T. has counted the evils’ (*Rettorica* 12)

As for enclisis, which is found in the high left periphery when the verb is in first position, or only preceded by Topics, the corresponding construction in the vP phase should correspond to enclisis to a past participle. It seems difficult to test this possibility as in general it is not possible to leave the clitic inside the low phase, i.e. OI has obligatory clitic climbing to the high phase.<sup>29</sup> However,

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<sup>27</sup> An apparent problem is provided by the equation between V2 and scrambling: if the two phenomena are always connected we should expect them to co-occur in all languages. This is clearly not the case, as there are languages with scrambling (for instance Korean) which do not display V2. The problem here is that the definition of V2 and scrambling have to be qualified in terms of properties of a functional projection. The peculiar type of V2 found in OI is not the “standard” one described for Germanic languages, and as such it probably targets a much lower position in the left periphery. In other words, V2 is a complex phenomenon that always involves the left periphery but not always the same FP. The same is true of scrambling, as different types of scrambling (notably A and A’) are known in different languages (see Grewendorf and Sternefeld (1990) Grewendorf (2005)). Hence, given that V2 and scrambling do most probably not target the same projection in all languages, this analysis does not predict that the two phenomena always go together.

<sup>28</sup> By lowest adverbs I intend here those adverbs that are usually found after the past participle both in MI and OI when they are not focalized.

<sup>29</sup> There are Romance languages as Piedmontese that leave the clitic on the past participle, but this is not the case for OI.

absolute participial clauses of non-unaccusative verbs have been analyzed by Belletti (1990) as truncated structures corresponding to AspP in MI. Hence, such cases can be considered supporting evidence for our hypothesis:

- (48) a. trovò l'arme del re Meliadus, che li avea fatta sì bella  
 found.3sg the weapons of.the king M. that him had.3sg done so nice  
 deliberanza, e donatogli: et era suo mortale nemico  
 release and given.to.him and was his mortal enemy  
 'he found the coat of arms of king M., who had freed him and given him such a  
 precious gift even if he was his mortal enemy' (*Nov.* LXIII, 268)
- b. Fatto ha chiamare Licomede re, e dettogli che  
 made has call.inf L. king, and told.him that  
 faccia chiamare le donne  
 make.sbj.3sg call.inf the women  
 'He has convoked king L. and told him to summon the women' (*Fiorita* 546)

As expected, in these cases enclisis is the rule just like in the high phase. Conversely, cases in which there is an XP located in front of the past participle, there should be proclisis. However, I was unable to find any cases of absolute past participle with an XP in front, therefore the prediction is not testable. At least for the V1 case, which is attested in the sample, we can conclude that the high and the low left periphery really behave alike with respect to the phenomena observed as predicted by the parallel-phases hypothesis.

The third prediction requires the investigation of some texts that reflect a later language state, among which I have selected the first twenty-three chapters of Machiavelli's "Il Principe",<sup>30</sup> which constitute a sufficient empirical basis to test the hypothesis. If V2 and OV are instances of the same phenomenon, namely the existence of a complex left periphery with obligatory verb movement to the Op position and pragmatically conditioned movement of one or more XPs to operator and topics positions.

The first phenomenon considered is V2: all cases of subject inversion and cases in which there is movement to the position where information Focus is hosted in the CP (ungrammatical in modern Italian but perfectly possible in OI, as shown in chapter 1) is found in first position have been marked. In the whole sample there are only three cases of subject inversion with an auxiliary verb

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<sup>30</sup> For my investigation I used the Edition of the book edited by Vittore Branca, all the page numbers refer to this edition.

(cf. (49)) and eight cases with modals (six with *potere* ‘can’ and two with *dovere* ‘must’). Cases with modal verbs are illustrated in (50):

- (49) a. Spenti adunque questi capi, e ridotti i partigiani loro  
 blown.off then these bosses and reduced the partisan their  
 amici suoi, aveva il duca gittato assai buoni fondamenti  
 friends his had.3sg the duke thrown very good foundations  
 alla potenza sua  
 to.the power his  
 ‘By eliminating these chieftains and making their followers his own friends, the duke  
 had laid very solid foundations for his power’ (p. 221)
- b. Aveva adunque Luigi fatto questi cinque errori  
 had.3sg then L. made these five mistakes  
 ‘L. had made these five mistakes’ (p. 197)
- c. Mentre che durò la memoria, sempre furono i Romani  
 while that lasted.3sg the memory always were.3pl the Romans  
 incerti di quella possessione  
 unsure of that possession  
 ‘While that memory lasted, the Romans were always unsure of that possession’  
 (p.203)
- (50) a. E deve soprattutto uno principe vivere con i suoi sudditi  
 and must.3sg overall a prince live.inf with the his subjects  
 in modo che...  
 so that...  
 ‘A prince must live with his subjects, so that...’ (p. 237)
- b. E con più facilità se le può un principe  
 and with more easiness for.himself them can.3sg a prince  
 guadagnare  
 gain.inf  
 ‘A prince can get them more easily’ (p. 205)

Only four cases of what Benincà and Poletto (2004) consider new information focus (which is ungrammatical in modern Italian, but possible in OI and in modern Sicilian (see Cruschina (2006))

have been found, if we factor out the cases with the two adverbs *sempre* ‘always’ and *mai* ‘(n)ever’, which are very frequently placed in first position even in contexts where they do not seem to be contrastively focalized (in which case they are still possible in MI as well):

- (51) a. Confido assai che per sua umanità gli debba essere accetta  
 trust.1sg a lot that for his humanity to.him must.3sg be.inf accepted  
 ‘I strongly believe that he will accept it due to his humanity’ (p. 173)
- b. Più facilmente si tiene una città usa a vivere libera  
 more easily one keeps a city adapted to live.inf free  
 con il mezzo dei suoi cittadini, che in altro modo  
 with the means of-the its citizens that in other way  
 ‘A city is kept living free more by the means of its citizens than in any other way’  
 (p. 204)
- c. Come di sopra si disse  
 as of above one said.3sg  
 ‘As said above’ (p. 213)
- (52) a. Sempre si trova dei malcontenti  
 always one finds some grudging  
 ‘One will always find some grudging’ (p. 202)
- b. Mai si troverà ingannato da lui  
 never himself will.find.3sg cheated by him  
 ‘He will never be cheated by him’ (p. 243)

Notice that in non V2 languages like Spanish and Catalan adverbs like the ones corresponding to OI *sempre* and *mai* are often found to the left of the inflected verb and are probably located in a dedicated position inside the Operator layer (see Grava (2005)), so they cannot be taken as real indications of a V2 grammar.<sup>31</sup> It has already been noted for Old French (see among others Roberts (1993)) that some elements “resist” more than others the loss of the V2 system, and are found in V2 constructions also in texts which do not present obligatory V2 anymore. Apparently this is also the case in OI.

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<sup>31</sup> Notice that even if Grava’s analysis that *sempre* and *mai* are moved to CP is wrong, the observation that *sempre* and *mai* are no indications of a generalized V2 still remains, whatever analysis is chosen to account for these facts.

Egerland (1996) proposes that at this stage two grammars were available, one simulating the OI syntax, which is less frequently used and the new one, in which V2 has already been lost. If we are on the right track, it seems that the V2 option still available is subject to specific conditions and very limited in its use, hence we probably do not need to assume that the double base hypothesis is correct also for this later language stage. Even some modern Romance languages have maintained some residual cases of V2 phenomena, notably subject clitic inversion in French and Northern Italian dialects (NIDs) is one such case, but to my knowledge no one has ever proposed that French has a double grammar, which is still V2 only in direct interrogative clauses. All analyses proposed for subject clitic inversion have the common property of capitalizing on the special status of interrogative clauses, and notably on the fact that there is a special type of operator, the *wh*-item, which attracts the V to C. The same seems to be true for Renaissance Italian, only the class of items that trigger V2 is a little wider than the one of modern French or NIDs, though the phenomenon is not mandatory as in OI. While V2 languages are languages where the verb is forced to move to C (in a split CP system to OpP), in non V2 languages there are classes of elements that by virtue of their makeup require verb movement, but this is not a generalized strategy. Renaissance Italian is not a generalized V2 language, but only a residual one: the class of elements that trigger V2 is wider than the one of modern Italian and includes on a par with *wh*-items, also some low aspectual adverbs (i.e. *sempre* and *mai*).

One strong argument that Renaissance Italian is not more a verb second language, is the fact that Machiavelli's text does not report one single case of particle *sì*, which has been analyzed in chapter 1 as occupying the SpecOp position and referring back to the context. The system of the CP left periphery is thus not more the one described in chapter 1 for OI.

As for vP scrambling, we have a parallel situation: very few cases of scrambling are found in the sample and are all restricted to compound tenses with the auxiliary *essere* 'be' or copular clauses.

- (53) a. Non è, oltre a questo, la provincia spogliata da' tuoi ufficiali  
 not is beyond this the province stripped by.the your officers  
 'Beyond this the province is not looted by your officers' (p. 187)
- b. E benché dai Cartaginesi fusse due volte rotto  
 and although by.the C. was twice broken  
 'And even if it was broken twice by the Carthaginians' (p. 232)
- c. Da coloro che saranno in quella malcontenti  
 by those that will.be.3pl in that unhappy  
 'By those who will be unhappy in it' (p. 190)



- d. Non consentono che sia tra gli eccellentissimi  
 not consent.3pl that be.subj.3sg among the best  
 uomini celebrato  
 men celebrated  
 ‘They do not allow him to be celebrated among the best men’ (p. 233)
- e. che senza l’una e l’altra fu da lui conseguito  
 that without the one and the other was by him achieved  
 ‘that was achieved by him without both of them’ (p. 233)

Two cases with *avere* ‘have’ have been found, both in a construction where there is a bare noun which might be seen a sort of predicative element:

- (54) a. Che esso abbia con loro obbligo  
 that he have.subj.3sg with them obligation  
 ‘That he owes to them’ (p. 246)
- b. Altrimenti non ha nelle avversità rimedio  
 otherwise not has in.the misfortune remedy  
 ‘Otherwise there is no remedy for misfortunes’ (p. 240)

Most of the examples are with modals (recall that the same observation has been made for subject inversion in the case of V2) or in causative constructions:

- (55) a. Lo può con grandissima difficoltà perdere  
 it can.3sg with greatest difficulty lose  
 ‘He can very hardly lose it’ (p. 187)
- b. Si possono con più difficoltà corrompere  
 one can.3pl with much difficulty bribe.inf  
 ‘They can be very hardly bribed’ (p. 202)
- c. Tanto potette in su tale fondamento edificare ogni edificio  
 somuch could.3sg on this foundation build.inf every building  
 ‘He was able to build every building on this foundation’ (p. 212)
- d. Fece da’ suoi soldati uccidere tutti i senatori e i più ricchi  
 made.3sg by his soldiers kil.inf all the senators and the richest  
 del popolo

- of.the people  
 ‘He had all the senators and the richest in the people killed by his soldiers’ (p. 232)
- e. Non abbiano ancora mai potuto ne’ tempi pacifici mantener lo Stato  
 not have.1pl yet ever could in times peaceful keep.inf the state  
 ‘We never had the chance to hold the state in peaceful times’ (p. 235)
- f. Che non fa i fondamenti prima, li potrebbe con una  
 that not does the foundations before them could.3sg with a  
 gran virtù fare dipoi  
 great virtue do.inf afterwards  
 ‘that does not lay the foundations first, but could lay them with great virtue afterwards (p. 213)
- g. Per potere con quelli tenere il papa in freno  
 for can.inf with those keep the pope at bay  
 ‘In order to keep the pope at bay with those’ (p. 224)

Post-participial agreement is also extremely rare, only five cases are found in the sample:

- (56) a. Per aver tenuta più lunga possessione in Italia  
 for have.inf kept.f more long possession in Italy  
 ‘For having had the longest possession in Italy’ (p. 93)
- b. Basta avere spenta la linea del principe che  
 be.sufficient.3sg have.inf extinguished the line of.the prince that  
 li dominava  
 them dominated.3sg  
 ‘It is sufficient to extinguish the line of the prince who ruled them’ (p. 86)
- c. Se egli avesse osservate le regole sopradette e  
 if he had.subj.3sg observed the rules aforementioned and  
 tenuti sicuri e difesi tutti quelli suoi amici  
 kept safe and protected all those his friends  
 ‘If he had observed the aforementioned rules and protected all those friends’ (p. 195)
- d. Avrebbero sempre tenuti gli altri discosto dalla  
 had.3pl always kept the others away from.the  
 impresa di Lombardia  
 enterprise of Lombardy

‘they would have kept the others away from the conquest of Lombardy’ (p. 197)

- e. Si vedrà lui aversi fatti gran fondamenti  
one will.see.3sg him have.inf.himself done great foundations  
alla futura Potenza  
to.the future might

‘One will see that he has laid great foundations for his might to come’ (p. 213)

Therefore, I conclude that the Renaissance system treats consistently all the phenomena I claim to depend from the same abstract property of a Focus/Operator head. The phenomena are all still present, though apparently only in some constructions, which, at least for V2, scrambling and past participle agreement coincide. Further investigation is needed to exactly determine which elements maintain for a longer period the ability of moving to the Focus/Op head (be it in the vP or CP phase). However, we can already conclude that the phenomena of V2 and vP-scrambling are weakened in a parallel way, as it is to be expected if they stem from the same abstract property.

## 8. Phase edges

According to what we saw above there exists a clear parallel between the high CP phase and the low vP phase: they have a similar left periphery and the movement property of the verb yielding verb second and scrambling is lost at about the same period. I have briefly put forth the idea that this parallel might be a consequence of a more general state of affairs which concerns the general make up of phase construction. It could be the case that all phases always have a similar functional layering, with roughly a portion which looks like the IP where the inflectional features of the (verbal) head are checked in the syntax and a left periphery which, as Rizzi (1997) originally proposed, looks at the same time on the inside and on the outside of the phase. This assumption has a number of interesting consequences: the first one, which will be investigated in the next chapter, is that similar phenomena should be found also in the DP phase. In other words, the DP phase should also have a complex left periphery with Topic and Operator projections and the noun should be forced to move to the lowest position of the DP internal left periphery. The other is that quantifiers should behave differently, as they can indeed enter an Operator position, but are rarely Topics (and this implies a particular reading of the quantifier). Therefore, (at least bare) quantifiers should behave differently from normal DPs and PPs. This will be shown in chapter 5 and 6.

Notice that a theory that constrains the way in which phases are built to one single algorithm is very simple: if they are all built alike, then this is the most economic model. In other words, the Occam’s

razor argument that was originally applied when X' theory was first proposed to substitute for specific rules, also applies to this proposal. All phases are built in the same way, hence we need just one construction algorithm.

Moreover, this assumption also provides us with another interesting corollary. One of the strong points of the old G & B framework was that single parameters could capture a variety of apparently unrelated phenomena by means of one single more abstract property. This considerably reduces the burden of language acquisition, and it is an achievement which has not been matched by the current minimalist framework. The standard view on language variation within the minimalist approach is that it trivially derives from the properties of lexical and functional items. For instance, Roberts and Roussou (2003) explicitly propose that diachronic (and therefore also geographic) variation depends on the formal features of functional items.

If we combine this assumption with the cartographic approach, the burden of acquiring all the properties of the various functional items is considerably increased. If, on the other hand, we think that the properties of lexical and functional heads are stated phase-independently, and if a given functional head has an EPP feature (hence must be filled in the syntax), it will have this property at all levels, then once again we obtain a simplification of the acquisition task.

This is precisely what I propose for OI, in our case the Operator position located in the left periphery of each phase must be filled by the verb, hence it is phase independent.

This accounts for the fact that verb movement is mandatory unless some other element (like a low complementizer) blocks the OpP position.

Notice that OI has another peculiar property which is valid across phases, namely the necessity to move a Topic or a Focus to a dedicated position in the left periphery of either the CP or the vP. Also this property can be stated phase independently and formulated in the following way:

(57) In OI information structure only “sees” phase edges

This parameter, if we want to use the old terminology, states that if an XP is to be interpreted as Focus or Topic, it must move to one of the two left peripheries. Otherwise it cannot be interpreted as a pragmatically independent Topic or Focus, but will be computed with the whole IP or VP structure. Evidently, this is a parameter, because not all languages have this property, notably languages like English do not. In chapter 7 I will come back to this trying to provide further evidence for this generalization.

## Chapter 3

### Scrambling in the DP phase

#### 1. Laying out the problem

In this chapter I will examine the structure of the DP in Old Italian and show that the same scrambling phenomenon with the properties already described for the vP (and the CP) layer is also found within the DP. On this basis, I will propose to extend the analysis in terms of left peripheral movements in a way similar to the one usually assumed for the CP layer, and put forth in chapter 2 for the vP layer, to the internal structure of the DP as well.<sup>1</sup> This will make the structure of all phases completely parallel with respect to the formal properties associated with their left periphery.<sup>2</sup> What I intend to argue for here is that the distinction between the old and the modern Italian DP phase is similar to the one found between the old and modern Italian CP phase, namely a V2-like property, where the (verbal or nominal) head moves higher than in modern Italian to the lowest  $X^{\circ}$  position in the left periphery of the phase. In addition to the movement of the head noun, it is possible to move one or several XPs to positions in the left periphery of the DP, yielding prenominal sequences that are not possible in Modern Italian.

I will show that in the OI DP phase there are three possible types of internal movements: a) movement to the highest SpecD position, which can be targeted by internal PPs and adjectives modified by *molto*, b) movement of restrictive adjectives to a Topic-like position c) movement to a subject-like position located lower than the left periphery where structural Genitive case is assigned. The chapter is organized as follows: in section 2 I summarize some recent work on the DP structure that will be relevant to my analysis of OI. In section 3 I will investigate those scrambling cases in which a PP object of the DP is moved to a prenominal position. The availability of DP internal scrambling where an internal PP occurs in first position clearly shows that some operation of DP-internal reordering has taken place. On the basis of the empirical generalization stating that whenever an object PP is preposed, the definite determiner is never realized, I will hypothesize that the preposed PP is located in the specifier of a DP-peripheral position (probably the highest one

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<sup>1</sup> The idea that there is a parallel between sentential structure and DP structure is rather old and goes back at least to Tali Siloni's work. Here I will make extensive use of Giusti's (2006), who explicitly assumes a parallel between the DP and the CP structure.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware of the fact that there has been a recent debate concerning the status of the DP as an independent phase or not, but I will keep the idea that DP is indeed a phase, because it can have a thematic grid and because of the well known similarities between the DP and the CP. For a more detailed discussion see Giusti (2006).

corresponding to ForceP in the CP) whose head is usually occupied by the definite determiner, which is not realized if its Specifier is occupied according to an economy principle.<sup>3</sup>

I will then analyze the numerous cases of prenominal adjectives modified by *molto* as movement to the same position targeted by PPs, namely the highest one, as the complementary distribution between a preposed adjective modified by *molto* and a definite determiner suggests.

Another typical feature which distinguishes Old and Modern Italian is the fact (as already noted by Giusti (2010) and Thiella (2008)) that restrictive adjectives, which can only be postnominal in Modern Italian, can also occur in prenominal position in Old Italian. I will treat these cases as movement of the adjective to a left peripheral position, a hypothesis already put forth by Giusti (2006) for the (pragmatically marked) Modern Italian cases. This possibility will be tied to the V2-like property of the OI DP, which allows for movement of the N° to the DP internal left periphery. This position targeted by adjectives is most probably not the same which hosts *molto*+adjective and preposed PPs, but a lower one, as it does not alternate with definite determiners.

Straightforward evidence for the fact that these adjectives are moved in front of the noun and not base generated there is provided by cases of extraction of quantifiers modifying a postnominal adjective like *molto/i* ‘much/many’, or viceversa prenominal bare adjectives which leave a postnominal modifier in their original postnominal position. I will argue that all these cases are to be treated as movements of prenominal elements to different positions in the DP left periphery starting from a lower position.

In section 4 I will summarize all cases of movement within the left periphery and propose that elements located inside the DP can access its internal left periphery, while movement is more restricted in Modern Italian. Giusti (2006) shows that Modern Italian does have an active left periphery as Topic-like movement of adjectives is indeed possible. However, I propose that the basic distinction between the Old and the Modern Italian DP is one and the same that we have found in the CP layer: it is indeed possible to move XPs to the CP layer both in Modern and Old Italian. What has changed is not the accessibility of the internal left periphery, but the V2-like property, which in OI requires that the head to the lowest position in the left periphery be filled, either by movement or by a base generated element. In the nominal domain, it is not the verb but

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<sup>3</sup> The incompatibility between a lexically realized specifier and its head is well known (see Koopman (1996) for a recent discussion) and has been first observed within the left periphery of the CP, and in the G&B framework was first formulated as the doubly filled comp filter, which disallows for the presence of a complementizer and a wh-item in the same projection. Not all languages seem to obey this restriction, some Northern Italian dialects for instance require the presence of the complementizer after the wh-item, and even in the history of English there are well known cases where this sequences are tolerated. However, given the split-CP framework that has by now become standard for Romance languages, these apparent counterexamples can be dealt with by assuming that the wh-item and the complementizer do not occupy the same projection. The same line of thought will be used here to explain why preposed PPs and preposed adjectives modified by *molto* ‘very’ cannot cooccur with the definite article but are found with an indefinite article (see below).

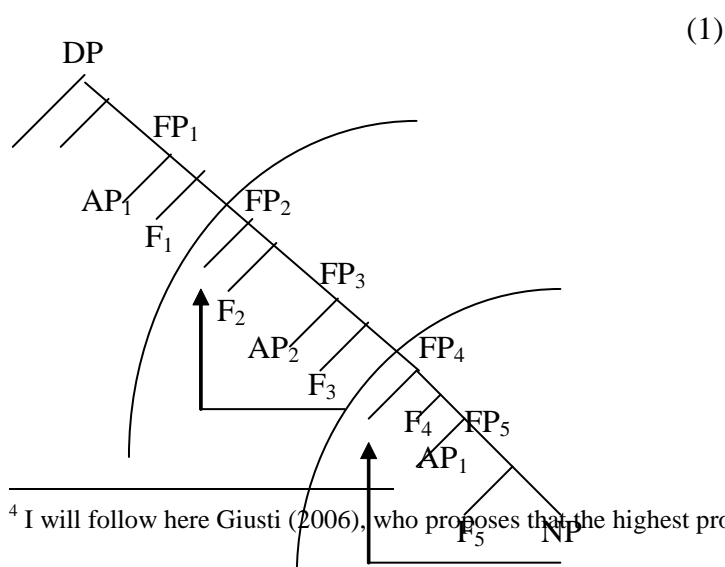
the lexical N head which moves to the first Operator position in the DP left periphery. Furthermore, the element playing the role of the complementizer and blocking movement of the lexical head is the determiner. The parallel between the V2 property in the CP and scrambling in the vP has to be extended to the nominal domain, as it stems from the same fundamental property (the strength of the Focus/Operator head) which applies across phases.

In section 5 I will provide diachronic evidence that, as expected, when V2 disappears also the scrambling phenomena inside the DP disappear, as already noted for scrambling in the vP layer. This will lend support to a theory that views phases as resulting from one single building algorithm and sharing the same formal properties in terms of movement (i.e. EPP features).

## 2. The structure of the DP phase

In what follows I will summarize recent work done on the internal structure of the left periphery on which I base my analysis of OI. Cinque (1994) proposes that the DP internal structure is made up by several functional projections whose specifiers are occupied by different classes of adjectives, in a vein similar to the proposal he puts forth in Cinque (1999) for the positioning of adverbs. In (Modern) Italian the head noun can move to a functional projection in the IP-like space of the DP triggering agreement with the corresponding adjective.

In more recent work Cinque (see Cinque (2005), (2010)) entertains the hypothesis that the movement of the noun is not to be analyzed as head movement but as the displacement of the entire NP to all the specifiers of the various functional projections in the IP-like space of the DP<sup>4</sup> or of successively higher XPs into higher specifiers giving rise to what is called “snowballing movement” and thus reversing the order of the adjectives as shown in (1).



<sup>4</sup> I will follow here Giusti (2006), who proposes that the highest projection in the IP-like space of the DP is a NumberP.

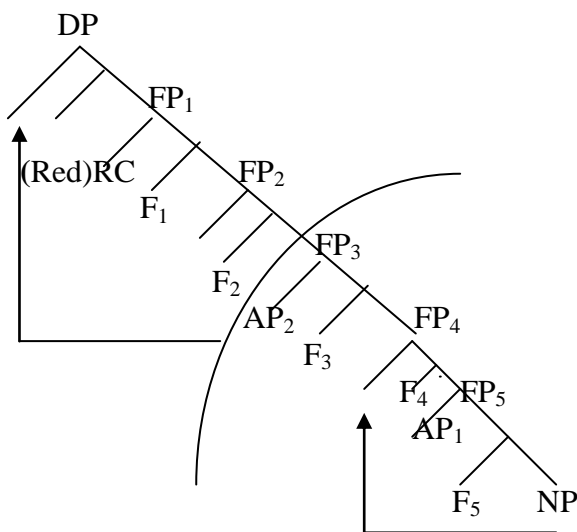
Cinque (2005) observes that in Modern Romance languages, whereas in prenominal position the adjective receives only one interpretation, which corresponds to individual level, non-restrictive and absolute reading, in postnominal position it can have two interpretations: the same of the adjective in prenominal position, or another interpretation, corresponding to stage level, restrictive and relative reading. Cinque (2005) illustrates his claim with the following examples:

- (2) Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti.  
the invisible stars of Andromeda are very far  
'Andromeda's stars are all invisible and very far.'
- (3) Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti.  
the stars invisible of Andromeda are very far
  - a. 'Andromeda's stars are all invisible and very far.'
  - b. 'There are some stars of Andromeda's which are invisible and these are very far.'
- (4) Le noiose lezioni di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti.  
the boring lessons of Ferrari Refl. them remember.3pl all  
'Ferrari's lessons were all boring and all remember them.'
- (5) Le lezioni noiose di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti.  
the lessons boring of Ferrari Refl. them remember.3pl all
  - a. 'Ferrari's lessons were all boring and all remember them.'
  - b. 'All remember those lesson of Ferrari's which were boring (but not all were so).'
- (6) Volevano scalare solo le alte e ripide montagne dell'India.  
wanted.3pl to climb only the tall and steep mountains of.the India  
'The mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all.'
- (7) Volevano scalare solo le montagne alte e ripide dell'India.  
wanted.3pl to climb only the mountains tall and steep of.the India
  - a. 'The mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all.'
  - b. 'They wanted to climb only those mountains of India which are tall and steep.'



He further notices that this is the opposite of what we find in English, where restricted adjectives can only be found in prenominal position. The explanation Cinque (2005) proposes for this difference is illustrated on the basis of the following structure, starting from the assumption that the order we observed in English is the basic order of the adjectives, and that in Romance restrictive adjectives can only be postnominal because there is movement of the whole FP containing the noun and non restrictive adjectives to the Spec of the highest position in the DP, a movement which leaves the restrictive adjectives, which in their basic order are the highest, as shown by languages like English, in a postnominal position:

(8)



In what follows I will claim that this movement does not necessarily apply in OI because of the V2 property of the Noun.<sup>5</sup>

Giusti (2006) also follows the line of thought that the CP and DP have similar properties and analyses prenominal adjectives as movements to a DP internal left periphery. According to her analysis, the only distinction between the CP and the DP is that this lacks Tense, hence there is no TP inside the DP, and there is no FocusP in the DP, all the rest being rather similar. She assumes that Cinque's hierarchy of the adjectives is universal and can only be violated by A' movement of an adjective. She proposes the following more detailed left periphery of the DP, where the DP position corresponds to Force (and realizes the Case feature), while the lower dP corresponds to FinP in the CP layer and can host the head noun in some languages like Albanian, where the N moves rather

<sup>5</sup> A similar proposal has been recently made by Biberauer & Roberts (2009) for the vP, which they assume to be able to move to as an entity and target the SpecT position in some languages.

high bypassing all adjectives. The intermediate Kon(trastive) position is a Topic-like position where adjectives can be located when they are contrastive (creating a contrastive Topic):

(9) [ DP Kase [ KonP [ dP Number [AgrP ... [NP]]]]]

Giusti assumes that there is no internal Focus position in the left periphery of the DP, because Focus is unique in the sentence and mapped only in the structure of the CP.<sup>6</sup> Lower than dP there is also an IP-like space with several Agreement projections whose specifiers host adjectives as Cinque (1994) proposes.

So, cases like the following one are to be analyzed according to the structure in (2):

(10) Le lunghe sue trecce bionde  
 the long+agr her braids blond+agr  
 ‘Her long blond braids’

(11) [DP [D°Le] [KonP [ADJP lunghe] [dP Number [AgrP sue [AgrP trecce [AgrP bionde... [NP ~~trecce~~ ]]]]]]

Starting from this hypothesis of the internal structure of the DP layer, I will propose that the difference between Modern and Old Italian is the same that we find in the CP layer, (modulo the different labelling):

a) as the inflected verb raises to the lowest C projection, namely Fin, when it is empty, N can raise to d. This means that the head N can cross adjectives located in the IP-like space of the DP that are prenominal in Modern Italian, where the N does not raise to d.

As the inflected verb can also raise to higher positions in the CP, (see chapter 1), there can be cases in which the N does not only raise to d but also higher up to D. This idea thus predicts that when N raises to the lower d or the higher D the corresponding “complementizer” does not occur, as it happens with the inflected verb. Determiners are evidently the most probable counterpart of complementizers in the nominal domain.

b) As there are XPs moved to OpP without being contrastively Focussed, the same happens in the DP. Hence, we predict that in OI cases of left peripheral XPs should be much different from Modern Italian. As we will see, this is actually the case.

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<sup>6</sup> Notice however that the projection usually identified as FocusP is most probably not only related to Focus but is a more general position for Operators, and as such it should be available.

### 3. Movement to the edge

In this section I will analyze three types of movements that have the common features of targeting to the highest projection of the DP/PP phase.

#### 3.1 PP scrambling as movement to the edge of the DP

In order to prove that the DP syntax of OI is different from the one of Modern Italian, I will first take the most striking phenomenon and examine cases of preposed PPs belonging to the internal structure of the DP, which are strongly ungrammatical in Modern Italian, but rather current in OI. Old Italian generally has the same basic order noun-PP that Modern Italian also displays, as already discussed in chapter 2:<sup>7</sup>

- (12) e a Seleuco, figliuolo d'Antioco, ee data la signoria dell' oste  
and to S. son of A. is given the control of.the army  
'and the control of the army is given to S., son of A.' (*Pagani* 181)

Although this is the by far more widespread option, as noted by Giorgi (2010b), OI also displays some striking cases of prenominal PPs, as the following cases show:

- (13) a. Facestilo tu per dare di me esemplo alle genti?  
did.2sg.it you for give.inf of me example to.the people  
'Did you do it to make me an example for people?' (*VeV* 4)
- b. Fanno di loro gente un capitano c'ha nome Umilità  
do.3pl of their people a captain that has name humility  
'They elect a captain of their people called Humility' (*VeV* 27)
- c. Di dolor madre antica  
of sorrow mother ancient  
'The ancient mother of sorrow' (*VN* 30)

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<sup>7</sup> Several of the cases I present here are no real complement of the Noun, some authors assume that Nouns do not actually have a thematic grid, except for deverbal nouns. For my argument about scrambling to go through I actually do not need to assume that all Nouns have a thematic grid, but only that there are PPs internal to the DP, even though they are predicative PPs and not real arguments. Therefore, I will leave this point aside.

- d. per una porta che vi è intagliato di marmo uno angelo<sup>8</sup>  
 through a door that there is carved of marble an angel  
 ‘Through a gate on which there is an angel carved from marble’ (*CF* 113)
- e. gli altri c’han d’amor neente  
 the others who have.3pl of love nothing  
 ‘The others who have nothing of love’ (*C. Davanzati XI, 229*)

Giorgi (2010b) notices that cases of real PP complements are only to be found in poetry or are attributed to latinisms (for instance in the translation of Latin texts). In the texts I used for the inquiry (which is a subset of the texts used by Giorgi and by the whole *Grammatica dell’Italiano Antico*) there are several cases of PP preposing: few of them are real complements of the noun, though they clearly belong to the internal structure of the DP. Some of them are neither translations from Latin nor poetry. Giorgi is indeed correct in stating that preposed real PP complements are more common in poetic texts and very rare in non poetic texts, but there are a lot of other PPs internal to the DP that are located in a prenominal position, as shown in (13).

Once again, we are in front of the same problem discussed in chapter 2 in relation to VO/OV orders: as PPs internal to the DP are generated to the right of the noun, but the cases above display the order PP-noun, one would have to postulate that OI can either be a head-final language, where the complement precedes the noun or a head-initial language, where the complement follows the noun or consider OI speakers as being influenced by a “Latin grammar”. This would mean that also for OI we postulate a double base, i.e. the existence of two competing grammars in the competence of the speakers, one of them being a “Latin-like” grammar which has an OV order as its basic word order, and which also has the order [PP-N] instead of [N-PP]. Hence, the problem is still the same discussed in chapter 2: namely whether we have to admit that OI speakers had two grammars or just one grammar where the prenominal order of the PP is derived through movement. I will propose that, although it is true that several authors might have been influenced from Latin in retaining grammatical options which look like those of an OV language, OI is a VO language and OV-like constructions are produced through movements. Notice that this does not undermine the idea that Latin might have had an influence on the “vulgar”, it is just a different interpretation of how this influence is generated in the grammar of OI speakers. The authors writing in this period ‘mimic’ the structure of Latin in the only possible way they have in their own grammar, through movement to

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<sup>8</sup> As P. Benincà (p.c.) points out to me, this example might be dubious, as the PP ‘of marble’ could be interpreted as an independent PP and not part of the DP ‘uno angelo’ with the meaning of ‘out of marble/ made of marble’. As there are other clear cases, I do not think that the phenomenon can be denied.

the left periphery of each phase (VP, vP or DP).<sup>9</sup> In what follows I will try to bring arguments in favor of the idea that the recent theory of left peripheries provides us with the means to analyze both (12) and (13) within the same grammar, without resorting to the hypothesis that speakers require two grammars to produce (12) as well as (13).

More specifically, I propose again to interpret prenominal PPs as the effect of a scrambling process that moves the PP to a position in the left periphery of the DP area similar to the one already noticed for the other phases, CP and vP.

Hence, following Giusti (2006) the derivation of cases like (13) would be the following one, where the preposed PP *di me* has been moved to a Topic position in the left periphery of the DP:

- (14) [DP [TopicP [PP *di me*]...[OpP ] [ dP *esempio* [AgrP ~~*esempio*~~... [NP [N ~~*esempio*~~ [PP ~~*di me*~~]]]]]]]

As standardly assumed for the Romance DP, the head noun in Italian moves out of the NP to reach an IP-like position. However, we also have to explain why there is no determiner in these cases. This is precisely the context in which Longobardi (1991) shows that proper nouns and some special nouns like *casa* ‘home’ in Modern Italian move to D° bypassing adjectives and possessives.<sup>10</sup> One of Longobardi’s arguments that the noun *casa* moves to the position of the determiner is actually the fact that it does not co-occur with the definite article. Hence, we have to assume that the head noun *esempio* moves to the d position where the indefinite determiner is merged. Hence, in this case no indefinite determiner is realized. This is not always the case, as there are examples where we do find an indefinite article which occupies the d position:

- (15) [DP [TopicP [PP *di lor gente*]...[OpP ] [ dP *un* [AgrP *capitano*... [NP [N ~~*capitano*~~ [PP ~~*di lor gente*~~]]]]]]]

This means that the Noun can only move to the lowest position in the left periphery of the clause, if this position is empty, just like the inflected verb does. Therefore, on a parallel with the CP layer, I assume that in cases like (13a) the head noun moves up to the dP and this is the reason why the determiner is not lexically realized. When the indefinite determiner is present, as in (15) the head

<sup>9</sup> This could actually be the explanation of what is often referred to as ‘cursus’, where authors writing the vulgar language seem to ‘copy’ structures from Latin. Given that in a generative perspective language ‘copying’ does not exist, and language is always generated by a system of principles, then the only way to interpret the ‘cursus’ is precisely the one proposed here.

<sup>10</sup> Longobardi makes no distinction between D° and d°, because his analysis precedes the one of the split left periphery first proposed by Rizzi (1997).

noun does not move. This situation is expected as it perfectly mirrors the distribution of V2 in main/embedded clauses. Notice however, that the situation is more complex than this, as definite determiners behave differently from indefinite ones. Since I was not able to find any case where PP preposing cooccurs with a definite determiner, I propose the following empirical generalization:

(16) When an XP is preposed in front of the N, the N never has a definite determiner.

In the sample of examples I have gathered reading the Dante's "Vita nuova", Bono Giamboni's "Vizi e Virtudi" and Old Florentine texts, there are several cases of indefinite articles, and quantifiers (see above), but no cases of definite determiners.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that the complementary distribution between PP preposing and definite determiners can be captured by assuming that the Specifier position targeted by the PP is the same in whose head is found the definite determiner, namely the highest DP projection.<sup>12</sup>

This means that indefinite and definite<sup>13</sup> determiners are not located in the same position, definite determiners being higher than indefinite ones. Therefore I will discard the structure in (14) and rather propose that the analysis of cases of PP preposing in OI is the following one:

(17) [DP[PP *di me*] [D°.] [TopP.[OpP] [dP *esempio* [AgrP *esempio*... [NP [N *esempio* [PP *di me*]] ]]]]]

Here the PP *di me* has not moved to a Topic-like position, as proposed by Giusti for Modern Italian, but targets the highest Specifier in the DP phase, namely the position whose head is normally occupied by the definite determiner.

Additional evidence in favor of a movement analysis of cases like (13) along the lines in (17) are examples like the following, where the object PP has moved further on outside the DP. Notice that also in these cases of further extraction no definite determiner is present with the head noun:

<sup>11</sup> I have to acknowledge that in the sample of texts I examined I have found only 41 examples, so this point should be strengthened by further empirical research on other texts, hopefully we will have a syntactically tagged corpus for OI.

<sup>12</sup> If the definite determiner is similar to the complementizer of inflected clauses, according to Rizzi's (1997) original proposal, it should be merged in the highest left peripheral position. However, there has been recent work (see among other Ledgeway (2003), (2007)) which shows that the complementizer can be merged lower and be raised. This could also be extended to the definite determiner, however at the moment I have no test to distinguish between the two hypotheses.

<sup>13</sup> A similar idea has been proposed by Manzini and Savoia (2003) for the distinction between modal and non modal complementizers (a distinction which was first formulated by Poletto (1993)).

- (18) E delle genti del mondo quietare una parte  
 and of.the people of.the world calm,inf one part  
 ‘And to calm one part of the people of the world’ (VeV 78)

Examples like the one above show that it is indeed possible to move the PP internal to the DP *una parte*. Actually the DP-internal movement most probably constitutes a preliminary step feeding the subsequent movement into the left periphery of the clause, as it happens in other cases of extraction in the Germanic languages (see van Corver (1991) for the ‘wat voor’ construction in Dutch).

A second argument in favor of a movement analysis for PP-N cases is constituted by cases like the following:

- (19) coloro che son oggi e che per innanzi nasceranno possano avere verace fede  
 those who are today and who in future will.be.born.3pl can.3pl have.inf real faith  
 e di Dio perfetto intendimento...  
 and of God perfect understanding  
 ‘those who live now and those who will be born will be able to have a true faith and a perfect understanding of God’ (VeV 69)

Here it is clear that the preposed PP is always located in front of the whole structure, not only in front of the head noun. A structure like this is similar to V3 cases in the CP layer, where more than one constituent has been fronted. In this case the two constituents are the PP [di Dio] and the adjective [perfetto], which both occur in front of the head noun ‘intendimento’, which must have raised to d°.

One further argument that shows that the preposed PP really targets the highest specifier of the structure is that it is also located in front of quantifiers, which are known to be the highest elements of the DP, so that some authors consider QPs as independent elements that occur higher than the DP and select the whole DP as their complement (see Giusti and Leko (2005):

- (20) a. Chi d’infamia d’alcuna macula si sozza  
 who of infamy of any spot himself gets.dirty  
 ‘who becomes dirty of any blemish of infamy’ (VeV 29)

- b. appresso la morte di questa donna alquanti die avvenne cosa...<sup>14</sup>  
 after the death of this woman several days happened.3sg thing  
 ‘several days after the death of this woman it happened that...’ (VN 33)
- c. Dipo’ la distruzione di Troia anni CCCCXIV  
 after the destruction of T. years 414  
 ‘414 years after the destruction of Troy’ (Pagani 72)

This means that the target position of the PP movement is the highest specifier of the phase, which in cases where a quantifier is present also include the QP and does not stop at the DP below. Notice moreover that in this example the scrambled PP *d’infamia* ‘of shame’ also precedes the preposition *di* ‘of’ belonging to the head noun *macula* ‘spot’. In the following section I will discuss further examples of this type and provide a more detailed analysis of them. As for now, we can provisionally conclude that OI has movement of a DP internal PP to the SpecD<sup>15</sup> position corresponding to the highest specifier of the nominal phase, which explains why in these cases no definite determiner occurs, why the PP occurs on the left side of all other DP internal elements and why further movement into the CP left periphery out of the DP is possible without violating subadjacency (or any principle accounting for it).

### 3.2 Scrambling to the edge of the PP

The phenomenon of scrambling to the edge of a DP pairs very nicely with its counterpart within PPs, which has been observed by Andreose (2010), from whose work I report the examples:

- (21) a. Ma molte genti di religione mettono a’ buoi innanzi il carro...  
 but many people of religion put.3pl to.the oxen before the wagon  
 ‘Many priests put the cart before the oxen...’ (Paternostro 101)
- b. Ballata, i’ voi che tu ritrovi Amore, / e con lui vade a madonna davante...  
 Ballad I want.1sg that you find.2sg love and with him go.2sg to my-lady before  
 ‘Ballad, I want that you find Love and with him go before my lady...’ (VN 46)

<sup>14</sup> I report this example from Andreose (2010:623) who notices that the phenomenon of PP preposing is found inside DPs indicating a time interval. He does not explicitly say that all these cases include a quantifier, but this is always the case.

<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately the term SpecD is rather misleading in the same sense in which IP or CP are: within the cartographic approach all these cases are cover terms for complex sets of projections which a much more detailed feature composition. For the moment I will still use it and will be more precise at the end of the chapter when more complex cases are examined.



- c. E come fue a te presso, così è a tutti coloro che vogliono te seguire...  
 and how was to you besides so is to all those that want.3pl you follow.inf  
 ‘And as it was besides you, so it is besides all those that want to follow you...’  
 (VeV 99)

Andreose observes that this is found with so called secondary prepositions, i.e. those prepositions that select another PP. The cases in (21) are of this type: *a buoi innanzi* ‘in front of the oxen’ is a case where the complement PP *a buoi* ‘to the oxen’ has been moved to the left of the preposition *innanzi* ‘in front’. The cases in (20) are also all cases of this type, where a whole PP is fronted to the edge of the bigger PP selecting it. Andreose also notices that it is possible to move the head P (with or without its complement) to the left of the specifier of the P in cases where the Preposition admits a measure DP as its modifier, as in the following examples:

- (22) a. lungi di Gerusalemme bene cinque leghe  
 away from G. well five miles  
 ‘A good five miles away from Gerusalem’ (*San Gradale* 40)
- b. presso a tre miglia alla cittade  
 close to three miles to.the city  
 ‘three miles close to the city’ (*Pagani* 247)

The structures of these cases are represented in (23) and (24):

(23) [ [[P° lungi [PP di Gerusalemme]] [ [SpecP bene cinque leghe] [[P° lungi [PP di Gerusalemme]]]]

(24) [ [[P° presso] [ [SpecP tre miglia ] [[P° presso [PP alla cittade]]]]

The first hypothesis that comes to mind is that the two cases target two distinction positions: in the case of (23), it is the highest specifier of the whole complex PP structure, in (24) it should be its head. Notice however, that if we adopt Cinque’s recent assumption that there is no head movement and that all cases of head movement have to be treated like cases of remnant PP movement out of which all the complements have been previously extracted, we would obtain as a result that (23) and (24) are identical, except for an intermediate step in the derivation which extracts the complement PP[alla cittade] in (24) but not in (23). This intermediate step would thus be the highest specifier of the lower PP, as in (25):

(25) [ [[P° presso [PP ~~alla cittade~~]] [ [SpecP tre miglia ] [alla cittade [P° ~~presso~~ [PP ~~alla cittade~~]]]]

Given that at the moment I do not have any evidence in favour of any of the two analyses in (23) and (25), I will leave this matter open. Before turning to another case of movement to the edge, I would briefly like to consider the type of movement described here: if the target position of the movement were the SpecD position, as the complementary distribution with the definite determiner discussed in section 3.1 seem to suggest, then we would expect to find sequences like the following in the case of PPs:

(26) P° [DP [PP] (indefinite determiner) [NP N [PP]]

where the PP located inside the NP has been moved to the SpecD position to the right of the higher P°. This is however not the case, at least in the sample of texts that I was able to investigate. The non-existence of cases like (26) tells us something about phases: if the movement found inside nominal structures in OI targets the highest specifier of a phase, this means that DPs are phases only when they are not inside a PP, hence, following the idea that preposition are the analytic counterpart of cases, only when they are case marked. The phenomenon described in section 3.1 for DPs and the one described here for PPs is then one and the same, i.e. movement to the edge of the phase, which is only complete when the DP is case marked, hence the label of the target position of this type of movement is not DP but K(ase)P.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.3 Scrambling of prenominal adjectives modified by *molto*

One further instance of the same type of movement is the one represented in examples like the following ones, where an adjective modified by the quantifier *molto* occurs in prenominal position, a sequence which is again excluded in Modern Italian:

(27) a. li quali fuoro molto bella gente  
 the which were.3pl very beautiful people  
 ‘Who were very beautiful people’ (*Paolino Pieri* 45)

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<sup>16</sup> Notice furthermore that this analysis is neutral with respect to a theory that sees P° as elements selecting a DP and a Kaynian structure where P° are functional elements located in the clausal spine which trigger DP movement to their specifier (followed by movement of the P° itself).

- b. Democrito fue molto grande filosofo  
D.           was very great philosopher  
‘Democrytus was an illustrious philosopher’ (*FSI* 106)
- c. e di molto grande apparecchiamento in su le carra guerniti  
and of very big setting in on the carts provided  
‘and provided of a very vaste equipment on the carts’ (*Pagani* 42)
- d. e vennero a molto grande isforzo  
and came.3pl to very big effort  
‘they made a very big effort’ (*Itinerario* 162)
- e. Cornacchie sono di molto grande vita  
crows       are of very long life  
‘Crows have a long lifespan’ (*Tesoro* b175)

Preposing an adjective modified by *molto* displays the same complementary distribution with definite articles like PP preposing.<sup>17</sup>

The OVI corpus contains 150 examples of ‘molto grande’, more than the half of the relevant ones<sup>18</sup> is in prenominal position, which shows that this type of movement is rather frequent. I could not find one single case of prenominal ‘molto grande’ which occurs with a definite determiner, as the occurrence of a definite determiner invariably has *molto* + adjective in postnominal position, as in the following example:

- (28)           e    la bocca molto grande, e gli occhi lunghi  
          and the mouth very big    and the eyes long  
          ‘and the very big mouth and big eyes’ (*LA* 113)

I also checked other adjectives in order to avoid the problem that the effect might somehow be connected to the adjective *grande* ‘big’ itself. If we examine the case of *molto bella* ‘very beautiful’, which in the OVI corpus is present with 130 examples, of which the relevant ones are 38,<sup>19</sup> we notice that the generalization formulated for PPs is also valid here. Among the relevant cases, I found 25 prenominal and 13 postnominal cases, among the prenominal cases there was no

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<sup>17</sup> I have checked all the cases of *molto grande* ‘very big’ in the OVI data base and there are no cases of definite article followed by *molto grande*, while there are several cases in which the indefinite article is combined with a preposed modified adjective.

<sup>18</sup> I have excluded cases where ‘molto grande’ occurs after the copula.

<sup>19</sup> The non relevant cases are those where the modified adjective occurs in predicative position.

definite article, all the cases with the definite article have the modified adjective in postnominal position:

(29)            la quale iera molto bella        reina  
                   the which was very    beautiful queen  
                   ‘who was a very beautiful queen’ (*Tristano* 300)

(30)            E allora fecie        fare        la nave molto bella  
                   and then made.3sg make.inf the ship very    beautiful  
                   ‘and he had the ship much embellished’ (*Tristano* 41)

Given that prenominal adjectives modified by *molto* display the same restriction concerning the definite article that we observed for preposed PPs, I will adopt the same analysis and propose the following structure for cases like (29) and (30):

(31)    [DP[<sub>AdjP</sub> molto grande] [<sub>D°</sub>].[<sub>TopP</sub>.[<sub>OpP</sub>] [ <sub>dp</sub>filosofo [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>SpecAgRP</sub> molto grande] filosofo...  
           [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N</sub> filosofo ] ]]]]]

As already shown for PP-movement, further evidence that prenominal cases of adjectives modified by *molto* are cases of movement and not of base generation to the left of the head noun is provided by examples like the following one, where only the adjective has moved leaving its modifier stranded in the postverbal position (an order which is again strongly ungrammatical in Modern Italian):<sup>20</sup>

(32)            e di gentile aspetto        molto  
                   and of noble appearance very  
                   ‘of very noble appearance’ (*VN* 25)

OI also allows for rather complex movement cases as the following examples:

(33)            Molto è bella        creatura questa Fede  
                   very is beautiful creature this    Faith  
                   ‘This Faith is a very beautiful creature’ (*VeV* 38)

<sup>20</sup> These cases are noted by Giusti (2010), who does not provide any analysis, being her article only descriptive.

- (34) Molto ne sarebbe gran disonore  
 Very of.it were.3sg big dishonor  
 ‘This could be a very high dishonorable thing’ (VeV 96)

Here the modifier of the adjective is extracted out of the Adjectival phrase, which is found to the left of the head noun. These cases are parallel to examples like (18) where the constituent extracted out of the DP has been moved further on to the CP layer.

The majority of these cases are found with the copula, but there are also cases with *avere* ‘have’ or light verbs like *fare* ‘make/do’. They are also reported by Franco (2009), who also notices that they generally occur only with either the copula or auxiliaries. Since Pollock (1989) the basic syntactic distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs is that auxiliaries can raise higher than main verbs. This might suggest that elements like *molto* target a very high position also in the CP layer in a way parallel to its movement internal to the DP. This position would then only be licensed through movement of an auxiliary verb. However, what interests us here is how the modifier can be extracted out of the Adjectival phrase which has moved to the left periphery of the DP as a whole. In order to be able to extract the modifier out of the AdjP, we have to assume that a scrambling phenomenon also occurs within the AdjP itself, as shown in the following structure:

- (35) [AdjP [XP bella [ModP molto [AdjP ~~bella~~]]]

Starting from a structure like this, it is possible to further move the remnant containing only *molto* out of the AdjP, and further on out of the DP to reach the CP layer. I have not found any other evidence except these cases that the AdjP also allows for internal scrambling, therefore this must depend on a special property of the degree modifier *molto*. One might presume that this has to do with the fact that *molto* is a scalar element, but a search of the OVI data base on the basis of the other scalar modifier, namely *poco* has given negative results: there are no cases similar to (29) and (30) with *poco*.<sup>21</sup>

Anyhow, from this brief survey on adjectives modified by *molto*, we can conclude that OI allows for DP internal scrambling not only of PPs but also of adjectives modified by *molto* to the edge of the nominal phase, i.e to the KP position.

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<sup>21</sup> It might be possible to speculate that the reason why *molto* is unique is related to the fact that it expresses the superlative, given that superlatives might have an independent projection in the AdjP according to Cinque (2007). I will not pursue this line of research here, as it is tangential to the main point of the chapter, which is to show that there are scrambling phenomena also inside the DP and not only in the vP.

#### 4. The structural Genitive position

OI is also different from its modern counterpart because it displays cases which look like some sort of structural Genitive (not case marked by the preposition *di* but through its syntactic position) that are impossible in Modern Italian. This type of DP-internal preposing is most probably not of the same type as the one analysed in section 3:

- (36) a. Al costui tempo  
to.the of.whom time  
'In his time' (CF 90)
- b. Nel costui tempo  
in.the of.whom time  
'In his time' (CF 93)

Here the possessor-like element *di costui* 'of this person' in a constituent like 'al tempo di costui' literally 'in the time of this person' is preposed, and the preposition *di* is not spelled-out. Hence, it also looks like preposing of the element *costui*.<sup>22</sup>

Vanelli (2010: 353) notices in her description of deictic elements in OI that the genitive can occur without the preposition *di* 'of' but only in prenominal position. She provides examples not only with *costui*, but also with *colui*, 'him-there' and *costei* 'her-here'. I report here a couple of her examples:

- (37) a. la colui vittoria  
the him.there victory  
'his victory' (*Ligario* 181)
- b. la costui anima  
the him.here soul  
'his soul' (*FSI* 203b)

This construction cannot be analogous to the one analyzed in section 3 for two reasons: a) the cases in section 3 do not display any deletion of the P; b) these cases of genitive preposing are compatible

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<sup>22</sup> Although the element *costui* nowadays not used in current speech, it is also relatively frequent in narrations, tales and novels, but always in postnominal position and preceded by *di* (or used as a subject pronoun).

with a definite article (and follow it), as shown by the example above. The construction suggests some kind of structural genitive assignment, which is however not marked by any special morpheme (like English Saxon genitive 's). Once again following the line of thought that DP and the clause are similar, I propose that in this case the movement of 'costui' is not to the left periphery of the DP, but to a dedicated genitive position located in the IP-like space of the DP and similar to SpecT for the subject of tensed clauses, which, following Giusti (2006) could be dubbed SpecPoss(essive)P. Therefore, I will keep these cases of genitive preposing as a separate type of movement, which is not to the edge of the nominal phase like those illustrated in section 3 but internal to the IP-like zone of the DP. Hence, Genitive preposing is probably related to Case checking as movement of the subject to SpecT as illustrated below:

(38) [DP [D° il] [TopicP...[OpP ] [ dP [PossP [SpecPossP [DP costui]]...[Poss° tempo [NP [N ~~tempo~~ [DP ~~costui~~]] ]]]]]]

These cases are to be related to cases like those of construct state constructions examined by Longobardi (1991) and actually found also in the OVI corpus:<sup>23</sup>

- (39) a. in casa i Frescobaldi  
in home the F.  
'in Frescobaldis' home' (*GVillani* b77)
- b. In casa gl'Orciolini  
in home the O.  
'In Orciolinis' home' (*CF* 126)

Because of its peculiar status *casa* moves to D°, as the absence of the determiner indicates, the N° cases moves to D° bypassing its genitive, which is however still not expressed with the preposition *di*. This is precisely the analysis provided by Longobardi (1991), which I rephrase here in a cartographic perspective as follows:

(40) [DP [casa] [TopicP.[OpP ] [ dP [PossP [DP gli Orciolini]]...[Poss° casa [NP [N casa [DP ~~gli Orciolini~~]] ]]]]]]

<sup>23</sup> There are examples of this construction with *casa*, with the prepositions *da* 'from', *di*, 'of', *a* 'to/at', *in* 'in'.

Here the noun *casa* moves to the highest position in the DP leaving on the right all elements, because, as Longobardi (1991) shows, these instances are incompatible with a definite determiner.<sup>24</sup> Andreose (2010) notices further cases of the same phenomenon that are not restricted to the noun *casa*. They are probably to be analyzed as movement to a lower position than the one targeted by *casa* in (40), as they are compatible with definite determiners:

- (41) a. La figliuola Guidi Tinaçi d’Aliana...  
the daughter Guido T. of A.  
‘The daughter of Guido Tinazzi of Agliana...’ (*Streda* 221)
- b. le rede Guiglelmo Gitti...  
the heirs Guglielmo Gitti  
‘the heirs of G.G.’ (*Streda* 243)

Cases like (39) and cases like (41) have one property in common: given that the complement of the noun has no preposition *di* ‘of’<sup>25</sup>, it is probably located in the same position where we see *costui* in (36), namely a genitive case assignment position (as Longobardi himself proposes on the basis of languages like Hebrew where construct state nouns are productive). Therefore cases of (pre- or postnominal) genitives without the preposition ‘di’ are to be treated differently from PP/adjective scrambling and are not instances of the movement to the edge of the nominal phase. On the other hand (39) and (41) are different with respect to the presence of the definite determiner, which is present in (41) but not in (39). In a split DP account like the one adopted here, it is easy to account for this difference, as in (41) the head noun only moves to  $d^\circ$  and not to the higher  $D^\circ$ .

- (42) [DP [Ia] [TopicP·[OpP] [ dP figliuola [PossP [DP Guidi ]...[Poss<sup>o</sup> figliuola [NP [N figliuola [DP ~~Guidi~~ ]]]]]]]]]

Actually cases like this are the proof that there is an intermediate position between the one of the definite determiner and the IP-like space of the DP, and that the noun can move to this position in a way parallel to movement toFocus/OpP in the CP and vP phases.

<sup>24</sup> This is also the view accepted by Renzi (2010) and Thiella (2008), who shows that in Old Venetian the name *barca* ‘boat’ behaves the same. Moreover, they all notice that *casa* is representative of a small class of geographical nouns which all share the same structural property of being able to move to D. Given that this only concerns a small class, while I am rather concerned with the “standard” DP-internal movements, I will leave this topic aside and refer to the literature mentioned above for further details.

<sup>25</sup> It is possible that Guidi has a Latin genitive ending, which would be expected under the analysis that the Genitive moves to a structure Genitive position.



In the following sections I will show that the left periphery of the OI DP can also host other elements (adjectives and modifiers) that can move in front of the head N, which can in turn move to  $d^{\circ}$ , and that this type of movement has the same properties of the left peripheral movements we have already examined in chapter 1 for the CP layer and in chapter 2 for the vP layer. None of these cases are found in modern Italian, but this is expected, if the V2-like property of OI holds across phases.

## 5. Prenominal restrictive adjectives

If we now turn to the order of adjectives, we see that there are several differences between OI and Modern Italian, which I will try to reduce to the one already discussed in the sections above, i.e. the fact that the left periphery of the DP in OI allows for movements that are impossible in Modern Italian.

A well known distinction between Old and Modern Italian (see Giusti (2010), and Thiella (2008)) is the fact that prenominal adjectives can have a restrictive interpretation in OI, while in Modern Italian prenominal adjectives can only be appositive (see section 2 where Cinque's analysis of this phenomenon is presented). This phenomenon is represented in (43) and (44), which are ungrammatical in Modern Italian:

- (43) a. S'era svegliato nel destrutto cuore  
 refl was awaken in.the ruined heart  
 'It arose in the in the painful heart' (VN 141)
- b. Chamarlingho dele inscritte cose  
 chamberlain of.the written things  
 'Keeper of the written goods' (*Carmine* 64)
- c. Dinnanzi alla mastra porta di levante  
 before to.the main gate of east  
 'Before the main eastern gate' (*CF* 95)
- (44) a. la quale guardava al figliuolo piccolo del morto fratello  
 the which looked.3sg at.the child young of.the dead brother  
 'which was up to the young son of the dead brother' (*Pagani* 148)
- b. e dagli usati uomini

- and from.the experienced men  
 ‘by the experienced men’ (*Vegezio* 167)
- c. il ben usato cavaliere desidera battaglia  
 the well behaved knight wants battle  
 ‘the experienced knight does not avoid the fight’ (*Vegezio* 70)
- d. sopra la morta immagine avenente  
 on the dead figure beautiful  
 ‘upon the beautiful dead figure’ (*VN* 28)
- e. per l’udite parole  
 through the heard words  
 ‘through the heard words’ (*VN* 83)
- f. avendo per anticho tempo grande nimistade  
 having for old time great enmity  
 ‘being enemies from old times’ (*CF* 97)
- g. di vendichare la ricevuta onta  
 to avenge.inf the received shame  
 ‘to avenge the received shame’ (*Distruzione di Troia* 164)
- h. Che li nomi seguitino le nominate cose  
 that the nouns follow.3pl the mentioned things  
 ‘that the nouns follow the mentioned things’ (*VN* 53)
- i. Mi parve sentire uno mirabile tremore incominciare  
 me seemed.3sg hear.inf a admirable tremble start.inf  
 nel mio pecto dalla sinistra parte  
 in.the my breast from.the left side  
 ‘It seemed to me that an impressive tremble started in the left part of my chest’  
 (*VN* 57)
- j. Facendo grassa vita  
 leading fat life  
 ‘living richly’ (*CF* 108)

Cases like the ones above are extremely frequent, but we also find cases of modified or coordinated adjectives with an interpretation that is impossible in Modern Italian: the examples in (45) illustrate cases of prenominal coordinated adjectives that are ungrammatical in Modern Italian, (46) cases of modified adjectives, (47) is a case of a coordinated and modified adjective:

- (45) a. Uno gentile e potente uomo  
a noble and powerful man  
'A noble and powerful man' (CF 85)
- b. Questi fu savio e valente uomo  
this was wise and skilled man  
'He was a wise and skilled man' (CF 97)
- c. Era grande e gentile uomo di suo paese  
was big and noble man of his country  
'He was a great and noble man of his land' (CF 108)
- d. Come gentile e cortese uomo  
like noble and courteous man  
'Like a noble and courteous man' (CF 120)
- e. Il famosissimo e nobile uomo messer Guilglermo di Belgiuoco  
the most.famous and noble man sir G. of B.  
'The most famous and noble sir G. of B.' (CF 137)
- f. Di là da mare rei e pericolosi passi  
of there from sea guilty and dangerous passes  
'bad and dangerous passages on the other shore of the sea' (VeV 100)
- (46) a. domandò se avesse più care pietre  
asked.3sg if had.subj.3sg more valuable stones  
'asked whether he had more precious stones' (Nov. I, 123)
- b. qual ti sembra di più ricca valuta?  
which to.you seems of more rich value?  
'which one do you think is more precious?' (Nov. II, 127)
- (47) E avessimi posto in più oscuro e salvatico luogo  
and had.2sg-me placed in more obscure and savage place  
'and placed me in a more unknown and savage country' (VeV 4)

There are a priori two possibilities to analyze the difference between Modern and Old Italian: the first one is to admit that OI is similar to a language like English, where restrictive adjectives can occur on the left of the head noun, because English does not have N movement (either in its N° or



proposal made by Cinque (2010) for Modern Italian. According to Cinque's analysis, restrictive adjectives are placed in the highest position in the IP-like space of the DP internal structure, as their order with respect to other adjectives in the Germanic languages attests. The fact that in Italian the highest adjectives can only occur postnominally, while lower non-restrictive adjectives can occur both pre- and postnominally, is explained by Cinque by assuming that Modern Italian requires movement of the whole FP containing the NP and non restrictive adjectives to the SpecD position. Therefore, the constituent including the noun with all its lower adjectives crosses the position of higher restrictive adjectives (and relative clauses), which thus surface in postnominal position.<sup>27</sup> The distinction between old and modern Italian can thus be claimed to be a consequence of the fact that in OI FP movement to the left periphery of the DP is blocked. The reason for the block is straightforward in Cinque's analysis: in OI the head noun can raise to the  $d^{\circ}$  position when  $d^{\circ}$  is empty (see above section 3 and 4), thus preventing any movement of the whole FP.<sup>28</sup> Clear empirical arguments in favor of the analysis illustrated in (49) and against an alternative where there is simply no movement of the  $N^{\circ}$ /NP higher than restrictive adjectives are once again cases where only part of the restrictive adjectival constituent is preposed and part of it stays below:

- (50) a. ch'ell' era ricchissima donna e di gran possessioni  
 that she was very.rich woman and of big possessions  
 'that she was a very rich woman with many possessions' (CF 87)
- b. Sono chavallerosa gente e dotta  
 are chivalrous people and learned  
 'They are a chivalrous and wise people' (*Distruzione di Troia* 157)

Here the adjective *ricchissima* 'very rich' is coordinated with the PP *di gran possessioni* 'of big possessions', but the PP remains stranded after the noun, showing that those prenominal cases illustrate in (43) to (44) are indeed cases of movement of the adjective to the left peripheral position. The same is true in (50b) where *chavallerosa* 'chivalrous' is coordinated with *dotta* 'learned', which remains in postnominal position.

Further evidence that shows that we have to assume leftward movement of the adjective is the fact that in some cases the adjective has a PP complement which is left on the right side of the head noun:

<sup>27</sup> Cinque does not assume a split left periphery of the DP, but it is clear that this movement cannot be higher than the definite determiner, hence it must be to some projection lower than  $D^{\circ}$ .

<sup>28</sup> This is so, because in Cinque's theory it is impossible to move any FP when the lexical head (or the NP) has been extracted out of it.

- (51) a. Se io pensava di volere cercare una comune via di costoro  
 if I thought.1sg of want.inf look.for.inf a common way of them  
 ‘If I thought about finding a common way with them’ (VN 53)
- b. e ciò non è propia natura di cavallo  
 and this not is own nature of horse  
 ‘and this is not in a horse’s nature’ (Nov. II, 128)

In this case the adjective *comune* ‘common’ is on the left of the head noun *via* ‘way’ but its complement ‘of them’ is on the right of the head noun. The phrase cannot be interpreted other than ‘a way common to them’. The same is true in (51b), where ‘own’ can only be interpreted as taking the PP ‘of horse’ as its complement and meaning ‘proper to a horse’.

Notice furthermore that OI also has the possibility to extract the moved XP to a higher CP-left peripheral position, a possibility that is clearly tied to the one of DP-internal movement, because these cases are also banned in Modern Italian:

- (52) a. Molto fue cotesto a dire grande ardimento  
 very was this to say.inf big courage  
 ‘It was very great courage to say that’ (VeV 99)
- b. Molto sono male partiti  
 very are badly separated  
 ‘They are sorted very badly’ (VeV 44)
- c. Molto fece il re Pelleus grande festa al nepote  
 very made.3sg the king P. big feast to.the nephew  
 ‘The king P. made a very big feast for the nephew’ (*Distruzione di Troia* 157)
- d. Giason, che molto era bello e pieno di virtù  
 G. that very was beautiful and full of virtue  
 ‘G., who was very handsome and full of virtues’ (*Distruzione di Troia* 151)
- e. Molto fue bella e nobile la città di Troya  
 very was beautiful and noble the city of T.  
 ‘The city of Troy was very beautiful and noble’ (*Distruzione di Troia* 166)

The cases presented in (52) can only be interpreted if we assume that the modifier *molto* ‘very’ is to be interpreted with the following adjective. Notice furthermore that these cases are not only found with copular constructions, but also with other verbs (as in (52b)).<sup>29</sup>

The examples discussed above, which show that a) it is possible to coordinate a prenominal adjective with a postnominal one, that b) the PP complement of the adjective can surface on the righthand side of the noun while the adjective is on its left, and that c) it is possible to further extract modifiers into the CP, support the idea that the internal left periphery of the DP allows for movements in OI that are banned in Modern Italian, like it is the case in the CP and vP layers. Hence, we can conclude that there is actually no difference in the basic positioning of the adjectives between Old and Modern Italian in the IP-like space of the DP internal structure, the difference is due to two factors: a) the left periphery of OI can attract adjectives which maintain their restrictive reading, while this is not the case in Modern Italian; b) following Cinque’s analysis in Modern Italian the whole FP containing the noun and lower modifiers targets the left periphery of the DP. This is not the case in OI, where the N can move alone without its modifiers to the d° position.

## 6. The loss of scrambling

As we have seen in the first and second chapter, the V2 property and vP scrambling disappear after the medioeval period, and Machiavelli’s “Il principe” has only very little trace of the former V2 system as well as of vP scrambling. If the hypothesis that DP internal preposing is due to the same fundamental property that triggers the other two phenomena, we predict that in Machiavelli’s text there should be no cases of PP preposing, of prenominal adjectives modified by *molto* and of restrictive prenominal adjectives.

In the first ten chapters of Machiavelli’s “Il Principe” there are no cases of PP preposing, either with or without any determiner. The same holds true for prenominal adjectives modified by *molto*. This means that the movement to the highest DP position is entirely lost in the Renaissance period.

However, there still are cases of prenominal adjectives with restrictive interpretation, both coordinated or not:

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<sup>29</sup> Further cases of extraction of modifiers from the DP are those like the one reported in (i), where the modifier *solamente* ‘only’ modifies the PP *co le pettora de’ nostri cavalli* ‘with the breasts of our horses’, showing that there has to be left peripheral movement internal to the DP (or PP) in order to allow for further extraction, which is no longer possible in Italian.

(i) Che solamente vi faremo cadere co le pettora de’ nostri cavalli  
 that only you will.make fall.inf with the breasts of our horses  
 ‘We will overthrow you with only the chests of our horses’ (VeV 96)

- (53) a. Una straordinaria ed eccessiva forza  
 a extraordinary and extreme force  
 ‘An extraordinary and extreme force’ ( 3, 7<sup>30</sup>)
- b. Uno prudente e virtuoso uomo  
 a prudent and virtuous man  
 ‘A prudent and virtuous man’ (7, 5)
- (54) a. rispetto a questi minori potenti  
 compared to these minor lords  
 ‘Compared to these minor lords’ (22, 5)
- b. Non se ne può dare certa regola  
 not self of.it can.3sg give.inf sure rule  
 ‘It is not possible to give a reliable rule’ (17,3)
- c. Coloro i quali solamente per fortuna diventano di privati principi  
 those the which only for luck become.3pl from commoners princes  
 ‘Those who become princes from the condition of commoners only by chance’  
 (VII, 1, 1)
- d. Fra gli eccellentissimi uomini  
 among the best men  
 ‘Among the best men’ (11, 7)
- e. E se straordinari vizi non lo fanno odiare  
 and if extraordinary vices not him make.3pl hate.inf  
 ‘And only if tremendous vices do not make him detestable’ (4 6)

Hence, we can conclude that the NP movement to the Dp left periphery proposed by Cinque for Modern Italian to account for the fact that restrictive adjectives are only postnominal in Modern Italian is not active in Machiavelli’s language, or at least that it is not obligatory yet. This might be seen as a “residue” of the V2 property, which, as proposed above, blocks remnant FP movement to SpecD, because the head noun moves to d°.

Further cases which lead me to think that, on a par with the residual V2 and scrambling property, the DP still has some V2-like property which has been lost entirely in Modern Italian are cases of extraction from postverbal coordinated adjectives like the following one:

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<sup>30</sup> As all the examples are taken from Machiavelli’s “Il Principe” I have not indicated the author here, the first number here indicates the chapter, the second the paragraph and the third the line in the Einaudi edition (see references).



- (55) Ed uno de maggiori remedi e più vivi  
 and one of main remedies and more powerful  
 ‘And one of main and more powerful remedies’ (III, 11, 4)

Other cases of preposing in front of a quantifier found in the text are not really relevant, because they are also present in Modern Italian at a high stylistic level, and probably have to be treated as NP preposing to a position that is even higher than the DP:

- (56) a. Per accidente alcuno  
 for accident any  
 ‘By any accident’ (III, 21, 4)
- b. Se crudeltà alcuna  
 if cruelty any  
 ‘If any cruelty’ (VII, 27, 3)
- c. Durare fatica alcuna  
 suffer effort any  
 ‘make any effort’ (III, 22, 6)
- d. Ne è miraculo alcuno  
 and.not is miracle any  
 ‘This is not a miracle’ (III, 47, 4)
- e. Cosa alcuna  
 thing any  
 ‘Anything’ (VI, 21, 2)

Therefore, I conclude that on a par with the fact that V2 and scrambling are still residually present in Machiavelli’s language, the same holds true for the DP left periphery. One further clue that the three phenomena are indeed parallel is provided by the following observation already discussed in chapter 2: the clear cases of V2 found in Machiavelli are predominantly with adverbs of the lower type like ‘always’, ‘never’ etc. This might suggest that the way V2 is lost is a path that goes thorough a “residual” V2 in terms of keeping V2 for some adverbial classes. If adjectives are to the noun what adverbs are to the verb, it is easy to see the parallel between the maintenance of V2 with adverbs and the possibility of having prenominal restrictive adjectives.

## 7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that some phenomena found in the DP area in OI can be analyzed in a way parallel to scrambling and V2 in the vP and CP phases respectively. We have seen that there are at least three types of movements in the DP area that have gone lost: a) the movement of a PP or of an adjective modified by *molto* to the highest position in the DP yielding scrambling as well as the non occurrence of a definite determiner, b) the movement of adjectives (or portions of the adjectival structure) to a left peripheral position lower than SpecDP which keep their original interpretation and can be either restrictive or non restrictive, c) the movement of a genitive phrase to a specifier located most probably in the IP-like area of the DP, a position which licenses genitive case and thus prevents the occurrence of the preposition *di* 'of'.

All three movements have disappeared in Modern Italian. In Modern Italian, according to Cinque (2005) there is movement of the whole FP containing the head noun and non restrictive adjectives to the left periphery. This explains why restrictive adjectives in Modern Italian can only occur postnominally, which is the opposite of the basic order. Here I have argued that the reason why OI allows for prenominal restrictive adjectives is due to the V2-like property of OI, where N moves to d. This blocks FP movement, as the N has already been extracted out of it. If this hypothesis concerning N movement in OI is correct, we obtain an entirely parallel picture among V2-like phenomena in the three phases, Cp, vP and DP/PP, a fact which will be further discussed in the final chapter. On a more general basis, this analysis makes the idea that languages like OI have two different grammars superfluous, and explains the cases of scrambling found in the three phases like cases of movement which can be reduce to one single property of the language, namely movement of the lexical head to the left periphery of the phase..

## Chapter 4

### The vP left periphery in different sentence types

#### 1. Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to show that the scrambling phenomenon found with auxiliaries and past participles is independent from the clause type where it appears, as expected by the fact that it is not a phenomenon occurring in the CP layer. Furthermore I will show that scrambling is also present with the same characters in all constructions that display an auxiliary form followed by a non-finite verbal form, hence also in cases with modals, aspectual and causative verbs. This is in line with the mono-clausal analysis proposed by Cinque (2006) for modal verbs, but also for a wide range of so called semi-auxiliary verbs, like aspectual verbs (*cominciare*, ‘begin’ *finire* ‘end’ *solere* ‘be used to, etc.’), and perception verbs, where the higher inflected verb is actually the spell out of a functional (aspectual or modal) head, and not an independent clause which embeds a CP or an IP (or TP) containing the infinitival verb. I will not review the evidence for the monoclausal analysis provided by Cinque (2006), simply referring to his work, but will rather concentrate on the syntax of scrambling with modals, aspectual and perception verbs.

The chapter is organized as follows: In section 2 I will first provide an overview of the phenomena found in non-finite clauses, showing that they are similar to inflected clauses in a) allowing for a lexical subject, b) allowing for a pro subject, c) allowing for a left periphery, d) allowing for coordination constructions with inflected clauses. All these features are not found in Modern Italian, which only allows for overt (inverted) subjects when an auxiliary is present in so called “Aux-to-Comp” constructions (see Rizzi (1982)).

In section 3 I provide examples with different modal, aspectual and causative verbs, showing that the characteristics of the phenomenon are constant through all the constructions where it is found. Interestingly, the phenomenon is also found with perception verbs and verbs that are generally not considered auxiliary-like like *bastare* ‘to be enough, to suffice’, which will thus enrich the class of functional verbs standardly assumed.

As scrambling displays the same characteristics in aux + participle construction as well as in modal/aspectual + infinitive constructions, I will then provide evidence that the phenomenon of scrambling is clause independent, as expected if it targets the low vP phase and not the high CP phase. Section 4 contains examples from various clause types to prove this point. I will also analyse what looks like an exceptional case in terms of movement, namely relative clauses, and show that

the phenomenon of scrambling is compatible with extraction of a relativized object. This is expected if the vP left periphery also contains topic positions, which do not interfere with the movement of an operator to the CP layer.

## 2. Infinitival constructions

In what follows I will show that infinitival constructions have a series of properties that makes them similar to inflected clauses in OI, and that they have almost entirely lost in modern Italian, including a) the possibility of V2, b) the possibility of having lexical subjects (a feature that is already discussed at length in Mensching (2002) for all Old Romance languages), c) the possibility of being coordinated with inflected clauses.

On this empirical basis I will argue that infinitival clauses in OI have a structure similar to the one of inflected clauses, which also includes active CP and vP left peripheries. Comparing OI to the Germanic languages, we notice that there is a fundamental difference between the Romance V2 type and the Germanic one. In chapter 1 this has already been noticed and interpreted as an argument in favour of a fundamental distinction between Germanic and Romance V2: in Germanic the V2 trigger is related to the inflectional properties of the C projection (which encodes either T or AgrS features, as proposed by several authors, see Holmberg and Platzack (1995) a.o.). In OI the trigger for movement is related to the fact that OI wears its pragmatics on its sleeve, and that the informational relations have to be encoded in the syntax.

Gerund and infinitival sentences in OI display extensive preposing of any type of elements of the V2/scrambling type: the preverbal position can be occupied by adverbs, PPs and direct objects that are not resumed by a clitic, a phenomenon that is not allowed in Modern Italian.<sup>1</sup>

The following examples show preposing in the CP left periphery of gerund or infinitival clauses:

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<sup>1</sup> Absolute participle never have any type of preposing, but can display agreement with the object (though not obligatorily)

- (i) a. E giurate le sue comandamenta  
and sworn the her rules  
'Having sworn on her rules' (VeV 38)
- b. Mostrato la Filosofia perch'era la Fede mal vestita...  
shown the philosophy why was the faith badly dressed  
'After Philosophy showed why Faith was badly dressed...' (VeV 40)
- c. Tornate nell'oste le Virtù  
gone.back in.the army the virtues  
'After the Virtues went back in the host' (VeV 100)

- (1) a. E dirottamente piangendo e luttando  
and heavily weeping and mourning  
'Heavily weeping and mourning' (*VeV* 4)
- b. quelle co li bastoni battendolo tante li diedero che per morto il lasciaro  
those with the clubs hitting-him many to.him gave.3pl that for dead him left.3pl  
'Those, beating him with clubs, gave him so many blows that considered him dead'  
(*FSI* 118)
- c. Inquietare è altrui ingiustamente commuovere o molestare  
disurb.inf is other unfairly affect.inf or harass.inf  
'To disturb someone means to move or harass him unfairly' (*VeV* 53)
- d. Di menarle solamente per questo regno conquistare e avere  
to lead.inf-them only to this kingdom conquer.inf and have.inf  
'To only lead them in order to conquer this kingdom' (*VeV* 28)
- e. Considerando a una stagione lo stato mio,  
considering to one season the state my  
e la mia ventura fra me medesimo meditando  
and the my fortune by myself thinking  
'Considering my condition and thinking about my fortune' (*VeV* 3)
- f. E così vedi che obediencia nelle cose contrario dé alcuna cosa di suo avere  
and so see.2sg that obedience in.the things contrary must any thing of self have.inf  
'So you see that one must have something of his own in adversities' (*VeV* 65)
- (2) Platone fece più libri, tra i quali ne fece uno de la immortalità  
P. did.3sg more books among the which of.them did.3sg one of the immortality  
dell'anima; el quale libro legendo un altro filosafo, sì si gittò  
of.the soul the which book reading one other philosopher so refl threw.3sg  
a terra d'un muro  
to ground from a wall  
'Plato wrote many books, one of them about the immortality of the soul; one  
philosopher reading this book jumped down from a wall' (*FSI* 125)

Example (2) is particularly interesting, because it shows that the object is preposed in front of the gerund verb just like in an inflected clause without a resumptive clitic, a typical property of OI,

which Modern Italian has lost, and the subject is inverted, as it is usually the case in inflected clauses.

Gerund and infinitival clauses have lexical subjects, both in preverbal and postverbal position, on a par with inflected clauses. This has been noticed and extensively investigated by Mensching (2002), who reaches the conclusion that subjects can be found in the same postverbal position where they are found in the modern languages and there is no independent evidence that the infinitival verb reaches the C position and the inverted subject is actually in the SpecT (or SpecAgrS) position. Examples of postverbal subjects are rather frequent in the corpus:

- (3) (E Pittagora, adomandato quello ch'elli si tenesse, rispuose ch'era filosofo cioè studioso e amatore di sapienza,)  
ché nominarsi l'uomo savio è vizio di grande arroganza  
since name.inf-one the man wise is vice of great arrogance  
'(Once Pythagoras was asked what he considered himself and he answered that he was a philosopher, that is scholar and lover of knowledge,) since calling oneself a sapient is evidence of great arrogance' (*FSI* 104)
- (4) Sì che un giorno, faccendo questi beffe di loro, che si traeano i capelli, quelle...  
so that one day making he mockeries of them that refl took.3pl the hair those  
'One day, since he mocked them because they cut their hair, they...'  
(*FSI* 117)
- (5) Platone fue alto filosofo e fue discepolo di Socrate e nacque  
P. was great philosopher and was disciple of S. and was born  
abiendo Socrate 43 anni  
having S. 43 years  
'Plato was a great philosopher, disciple of Socrates and born when the latter was 43 years old'  
(*FSI* 122)
- (6) Il re incominciò a parlare al figliuolo, udente molti baroni, e disse  
the king began.3sg to speak.inf to.the son hearing many barons and said.3sg  
'The king began to speak to the son in the presence of many barons and said'  
(*Nov.* 7, 144)

Notice that gerund clauses can also display a preverbal subject, just like inflected clauses, which is impossible in Modern Italian:

- (7) Carlo Magno essendo ad oste sopra 'Saracini, venne l'ora della morte  
 C. M. being at army on Saracens came.3sg the hour of.the death  
 'While Charlemagne was at war with the Saracens, the time of his death came'  
 (*Nov.* XVII, 163)
- (8) Li amici vogliendolne portare in sul cavallo o in su un carro, nol soferse  
 the friends willing.him.there take.inf in on.the horse or in on a wagon not.it bore.3sg  
 'His friends wanted to take him there by horse or wagon, but he did not bear that'  
 (*FSI* 126)
- (9) un cuoco (lo quale avea nome Fabrat) stando alla fucina sua,  
 a cook the which had.3sg name F. staying at.the oven his  
 un povero sarracino venne alla cucina  
 a poor saracen came.3sg to.the kitchen  
 'While a cook, whose name was F., was at his oven, in the kitchen came a poor  
 saracen ' (*Nov.* VIII, 147)
- (10) I baroni seguitando questo giovane, un giorno stavano  
 the barons following this youth one day were.3pl  
 con lui alle finestre del palazzo  
 with him at.the windows of.the palace  
 'One day the barons following this youth were with him at the windows of the  
 palace' (*Nov.* VII, 142)

Notice that these cannot all be considered as cases of left dislocation of the subject in front of the gerund, as shown by cases like (9) where the subject is a specific indefinite, which is generally never left dislocated in Italian.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> It is indeed possible to left dislocate an indefinite in Italian, but this is interpreted as non specific:

- (i) a. Una pistola, l'ha comprata  
 a gun it has bought  
 'A gun, he bought it'  
 b. \*Una pistola che aveva visto in vetrina a Venezia, l'ha comprata

We even find minimal pairs like the following one:

- (11) Lo mperadore Federigo stando ad assedio a Melano, sì li si fuggì  
 the emperor F. being at siege at M. so to.him refl escaped.3sg  
 un suo astore e volò dentro a Melano  
 a his goshawk and flew.3sg inside to M.  
 ‘While the emperor Frederick was besieging Milan, one of his goshawks escaped and flew into Milan’ (*Nov. XX, 177*)

- (12) Stando lo ‘mperadore Federigo e facea dare l’acqua alle mani  
 being the emperor F. and let.3sg give.inf the water to.the hands  
 ‘While the emperor F. was standing there, he commanded to bring water for the people to clean their hands’ (*Nov. XIX, 173*)

One further interesting phenomenon that shows how non finite clauses are similar to inflected clauses in OI is the possibility of non arbitrary null subjects of gerund clauses selected by non-control verbs, which shows that infinitival clauses also have the possibility of pro drop as inflected clauses:

- (13) a. Leggesi che Platone<sub>i</sub> nato, pro<sub>i</sub> dormendo ne la culla, api vennero  
 reads-one that P. born sleeping in the cradle bees came.3pl  
 e recavano e poneano mele a le labra del fanciullo  
 and took.3pl and put.3pl honey to the lips of.the baby  
 ‘One reads that when Plato was born, bees came to the cradle and put honey on the baby’s lips’ (*FSI 122*)
- b. E pro<sub>i</sub> stando nel campo, venne contra lei<sub>i</sub> un cavaliere molto vecchio e con una  
 and being in.the field came.3sg towards her a knight very old and with a  
 barba canuta e con tanta bella forma quanto più fue possibile alla Natura di fare  
 beard white and with so beautiful form that more was possible to.the Nature to do  
 ‘While she was in the field, an old knight came in her direction’ (*VeV 72*)
- c. (Ed elle, dacché ebbero inteso quel che le Virtù voleano, non volendole crucciare, ma seguitare la loro volontà, il concedettero,)

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a gun that had.3sg seen on display in Venice it has bought  
 ‘A gun he saw on display in Venice, he bought it’



e pro<sub>i</sub> dissero di pro<sub>i</sub> tornare,           avegna che mal volontieri,  
 and said.3pl to    come.back.inf even if       reluctantly  
 (perché, dacch'erano tutte e tre serocchie raunate con tutte lor genti, e sapeano che  
 Dio era in mezzo di loro, tostamente crediano la loro guerra finire)  
 '(They granted the Virtues what they wanted, since they wished to follow their will  
 and not to dissatisfy them,) and they said that they will come back, even if  
 reluctantly, (because they believed to end the war quickly, since they, the three  
 sisters, were gathered with their people and they knew that God was with them)'  
 (*VeV* 90)

A sentence like (13b) clearly shows that gerunds allow for null subjects: in this case the subject of the gerund is coreferent with the object of the preposition, a possibility that is totally excluded in Modern Italian. (13c) also shows that OI does not have the same properties of Modern Italian with respect to the licensing of the null subject, in Modern Italian the subject of the infinitival clause could only be the object of the main verb *dissero* 'they said'. Here the interpretation is however one of coreference between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the embedded clause. Moreover, infinitival clauses can be coordinated with finite clauses:<sup>3</sup>

(14)           perch'io   dinanzi alla   vostra signoria addomando che mi   facciate ragione  
           therefore I before to.the your   lordship ask.1sg    that to.me do.3pl right  
           e   sodisfare quanto   vale    più   la città che 'marchi...  
           and satisfy.inf how.much is.worth more the city than marks  
           'Therefore, before your excellency, I ask that you heed my request  
           and order him to make up the difference between the value of the city and the  
           marks' (*Nov.* 133)

As already noted in chapter 1, the fact that we can find enclisis and proclisis with non finite verbs shows that they must also move to the left periphery of the clause, as enclisis is only possible when the verb moves up to a Topic position licensing a null Topic element. Hence, we conclude that non finite clauses in OI have an active left periphery on a par with inflected clauses which can host preposed elements and that infinitival clauses can assign case to their preverbal and postverbal subject and license null subjects.

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<sup>3</sup> Notice that this can hardly be interpreted as a case of continuation of the topic because the meaning seems to be the one of a real coordination.

### 3. Infinitival forms selected by modal and aspectual verbs

If we consider infinitival forms depending on a modal or aspectual verb, we notice that the cases of preposing of an internal argument or of low adverbs are well attested.

I adopt here Cinque's (2006) theory of sentence structure, according to which infinitival forms paired to modal or aspectual verbs are not complete CPs selected by a higher VP containing the modal, but monoclausal structures where there is only one VP and the modal/aspectual verb is the realization of a purely functional head. This means that the cases of preposing in front of the infinitival verb are not movements to the CP layer, but to the edge of the vP, similar to those already analyzed in chapter 2.

In this section I provide examples of cases of different types of aux + infinitive constructions, which all display the phenomenon of scrambling already described in chapter 2. Once again, I use here the same texts I used for aux + participle constructions to show that these OV orders are the effect of a movement rule and not real basic OV orders, and that they have the typical properties of left peripheral movements: a) they are unselective as to the XP moved, b) there can be several elements moved and c) there is no fixed word order among them. As already mentioned in the introduction, the texts I systematically investigated are only a small subset of the whole OVI data base, which cannot be used for such an investigation, as it does not contain any syntactic tagging. Therefore, the examples are forcedly limited in the number of texts investigated.

#### 3.1 Scrambling with modal verbs

The OV pattern found with past participles has a strict parallel in the case of modal constructions, where we observe a robust set of data which displays the direct (or PP) object in front of the infinitival form selected by the modal verb. Examples of this type are the following ones:

- (15) a.      Debbiano le loro genti   schierare  
          must.3pl the their people deploy.inf  
          ‘they have to deploy their people’ (VeV 46)
- b.      Voleano   paradiso e   questo mondo abbracciare  
          wanted.3pl paradise and this   world   embrace.inf

- ‘They wanted to enclose heaven and this world’ (*VeV 75*)
- c. che no le potrei co la lingua contare  
that not them could.1sg with the speech tell.inf  
‘that I could not tell in words’ (*VeV 10*)

The first typical “left peripheral” feature of scrambling is that it accepts all sorts of XPs, not only direct objects, but also quantified DPs, PPs and even lower adverbs or verb modifiers.

Just like in the aux + participle case, there is no definite restriction on the object, which is not necessarily either indefinite or definite, but can also be modified by a quantifier or have no article at all:<sup>4</sup>

- (16) a. Chi ben volesse ogni cosa contare  
who well wanted.3sg every thing tell.inf  
‘Who wanted to tell all the truth’ (*VeV 86*)
- b. E di queste tre cene ti voglio alcuna cosa dicere  
and of these three dinners you want.1sg some thing say.inf  
‘I want to tell you something about these three dinners’ (*VeV 40*)
- c. Che la terra non potesse tanto incendio patire  
that the earth not could.3sg so.much fire suffer.inf  
‘The earth could not undergo such a fire’ (*VeV 98*)
- d. Pensando che cosa ria non potea così chiara luce generare  
thinking that thing evil not could.3sg so bright light generate.inf  
‘Thinking that an evil thing could not make such a bright light’ (*VeV 6*)
- (17) a. In una ora per uno buono pentimento, può paradiso acquistare  
in one hour for one good repenting can.3sg heaven get.inf  
‘In one hour, through true repentance, he can earn the heavens’ (*VeV 31*)
- b. Di neuna cosa si potrebbe verace intendimento pigliare  
of no thing one could.3sg true understanding take.inf  
‘One could truly understand nothing’ (*VeV 58*)

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<sup>4</sup> Already in chapter 2 I have pointed out that OI is far more liberal than Modern Italian with respect to the licensing of determinerless nouns. As shown by Thiella (2008) for several OI varieties, the lack of a definite or indefinite determiner is a rather intricate topic, as it depends on several factors, among which a) the +/-specific interpretation of the DP, b) the position of the DP in the clause, c) the presence of other elements like quantifiers and possessive adjectives (though Modern Italian always requires an article even with possessive adjectives), e) the thematic role that the DP has in the clause. I will not enter this topic here, which would require a whole independent investigation.

Although the most frequent examples in the text by Bono Giamboni which has been extensively examined, are with the direct object, it is also possible to find preposed PPs, and even locative pronouns like in (18b) just like we noticed for the past participle cases:

- (18) a. E fue comandato che più non si dovesse in su questa proposta indugiare  
 and was ordered that anymore not one should.3sg in on this proposal linger.inf  
 ‘It was ordered not to linger anymore on this proposal’ (VeV 80)
- b. E però ti vo’ qui ammaestrare di tutte le cose onde da lei  
 and therefore you want.1sg here teach.inf of all the things where by her  
 sarai dimandato  
 will.be.2sg asked  
 ‘And here I want to teach you about all the things she will ask you’ (VeV 31)

Also lower adverbs, which are generally located after the infinitival form of the verb can be found in a preposed position (see Poletto (2010) for a general overview on low adverbs):

- (19) a. Non vi voglio eternalmente dannare  
 not you want.1sg eternally damn.inf  
 ‘I do not want to damn you forever’ (VeV 16)
- b. Vuo’ tu promettere di fedelmente servire [...]?  
 want.2sg you promise.inf of faithfully serve.inf  
 ‘Do you want to promise to serve faithfully?’ (VeV 38)
- c. Sicché poche persone la poteano fermamente mirare  
 so few people her could.3pl firmly look.at.inf  
 ‘So that few could firmly look at her’ (VeV 6)

As already noted in chapter 2, another typical “left peripheral” feature of scrambling is that, on a par with the CP-layer, which accepts more than one preposed constituent in OI, it is also possible to prepose more than one XP in front of the infinitival form of the verb, as shown by the following examples, which display an object and an adverb, which is generally located after the infinitival form, but in this case it occurs in a preposed position:

- (20) a. Che, stando i Giudei tra Cristinai, petesser sicuramente la loro fede usare  
 that being the Jews among Christians could.3pl safely the their faith use.inf  
 ‘That the Jews could safely follow their Faith among the Christians’ (VeV 74)
- b. Che ‘l medico non possa lo ‘nfermo ben curare  
 that the physician not can.3sg the sick well heal.inf  
 ‘That the physician cannot heal well the sick’ (VeV 8)

The following examples show that OI cannot be considered as an OV language, otherwise cases like the following would be ungrammatical, as the direct object follows the infinitival form, but an object PP is located in front of the infinitival verb. This type of sequence can only be explained by assuming leftward movement of the PP, which is precisely the assumption made here:<sup>5</sup>

- (21) a. Sì che la natura non potesse in terra fare le sue operazioni  
 so that the nature not could.3sg in earth do.inf the her operations  
 ‘So that the nature could not operate on earth’ (VeV 78)
- b. Io vo’ di te far nascere gente  
 I want.1sg of you do.inf be.born.inf people  
 ‘I want people born from you’ (VeV 95)

Interestingly, the pragmatic-related character of the construction is shown by minimal pairs like the following one, found in the same text:

- (22) a. I quali non poteano in voi luogo avere  
 the which not could.3pl in you place have.inf  
 ‘Which could not take place in you’ (VeV 16)
- b. La quale non potea avere luogo in voi  
 the which not could.3sg have.inf place in you  
 ‘Which could not take place in you’ (VeV 17)

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<sup>5</sup> Other interesting examples show that each non finite form has its own left periphery, which in turn can be occupied by preposed XPs, as shown by the following example where the PP [per queste cose] ‘for these things’ is moved in front of the infinitival auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ and the PP [da noi] ‘by us’ is moved in front of the main past participle *beneficiato*.

- (i) E vorrà per queste cose esser da noi beneficiato  
 and will.want.3sg for these things be.inf by us benefitted  
 ‘He will want to be benefitted by us for these things’ (VeV 79)

Clearly, the movement rule applied in the first example cannot be obligatory, otherwise examples like the second one would not be found in the corpus. The above minimal pair is also interesting because the order of the two XPs moved is reversed, which might lead to hypothesize that movement to the left is performed in a ‘roll up’ fashion, as proposed by Cinque in much recent work (2001).

Moreover, as already noted in chapter 2, the ordering of the elements moved is not always the same, as the following examples show. This is precisely one of the typical features of what Rizzi (1997) defines as “recursive topics”, which have been analyzed by subsequent work as different types of topics: there is no fixed ordering of the arguments or adverbs, and they seem to be interchangeable:

- (23) a.     Acciò   che non possi   più        in quella malatia ricadere  
           in.order that not can.2sg anymore in that   disease relapse.inf  
           ‘So that you may not relapse in that disease’ (VeV 16)
- b.     Che neuna miseria d’uomo potesse   nel   mondo più        montare  
           that no   misery of man   could.3sg in.the world anymore arise.inf  
           ‘So that no man’s misery could arise anymore in the world’ (VeV 4)

Therefore, we can conclude that the type of preposing found with infinitival verbs selected by a modal auxiliary have the same general properties discussed in chapter 2 for compound tenses with the past participle: a) the displacement rule targets any lower element, be it the direct object, a PP or a low adverb, b) there can be more than one element displaced, c) the order of the displaced XPs is not strict, d) the movement operation is not obligatory.

### 3.2 Scrambling with aspectual and perception verbs

The same type of pattern appears with aspectual verbs like ‘begin’ and ‘finish’, though not as systematically as with modals, probably because the examples are less abundant.

However, they seem to share the same constellation of facts just noted, like infinitival verbs selected by aspectual verbs like *cominciare* ‘begin’:

The preposed element can be either the direct object or a PP:

- (24)           E   cominciammo il   palagio a guardare  
           and began.1pl     the palace to look.at.inf  
           ‘We began to look at the palace’ (VeV 32)

- (25) a. E cominciaro per gran letizia a lagrimare  
and began.3pl for great happiness to weep.inf  
'They began to weep for the great joy' (VeV 32)
- b. E cominciassi in questo modo a lamentare  
and began.3pl-refl in this way to lament.inf  
'and he began to lament in this way' (VeV 81)
- c. Cominciaron di tal virtù a pugnare  
began.3p of such virtue to fight.inf  
'They began to fight with such valor' (VeV 88)

Notice that also with aspectual verbs, we can find more than one preposed element, another typical feature of left peripheral movement in Italian:<sup>6</sup>

- (26) E cavalcando, cominciai co la Filosofia a sollazzo cota' cose a parlare  
and riding began.1sg with the philosophy at amusement these things to speak.inf  
'While riding I began to talk about these things with Philosophy as amusement'  
(VeV 38)

Further cases of this type are found with perception verbs, like 'hear', *udire*, 'feel' *sentire*:

- (27) a. E molto ho già udito di loro gran fatti novellare  
and much have.1sg already heard of their great facts tell.inf  
'I have already heard many stories about their great deeds' (VeV 45)
- b. Ben ho già udito di queste Virtù molte volte predicare  
well have.1sg already heard of these virtues many times preach.inf  
'I already heard many times preaching about these Virtues' (VeV 84)
- c. c'ho già udito a' frati molte volte predicare  
that have.1sg already heard from.the friars many times preach.inf

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<sup>6</sup> One interesting effect to note is that the preposed element is always located higher than the preposition introducing the infinitival form. One might argue that these are actually entire CPs and the preposing takes place in the CP left periphery. However, Cinque's (2006) analysis of aspectual verbs requires that these are low functional heads that do not take an entire whole sentence as their complement, but a smaller entity, probably an AspP which contains a vP (with its left periphery). This means that in these cases the preposition is not a complementizer but a much lower head. Independent evidence for this has already been provided by Damonte (2011) on the basis of Southern Italian dialects.

‘about which I already heard many times the friars preaching’ (VeV 32)

- d. Perché si sente per quello pensiero tutti i suoi desideri compiere  
because refl feels by that thought all the his wishes fulfill  
‘Because he feels that by that thought all his wishes are fulfilled’ (VeV 39)

Again, we see that it is possible to displace more than one constituent, and that the direct object, as well as PPs or adverbial forms like ‘many times’ can be placed in front of the non finite verbal form.

The texts examined contain some more sporadic cases which appear prima facie to belong to the same type that can also be found with other so-called semi-auxiliary verbs like: *bastare* ‘to be enough’, *sofferire* ‘(can’t) stand’, *convenire* ‘be better’ etc:

- (28) a. E anche non basterebbe tutte le dette cose saper discernere  
and also not would.suffice.3sg all the said things be.able.inf understand.inf  
‘Also understanding all the above things would not suffice’ (VeV 57)
- b. Colui ch’è invidioso non sofferà il bene altrui di vedere  
who that is envious not will.bear.3sg the good others of see.inf  
‘Who is envious cannot stand to see the others’ good’ (VeV 49)
- c. Convien due cose in sè avere  
is.better two things in oneself have.inf  
‘It is better to have two things in oneself’ (VeV 30)

All these verbs can be treated as functional items realizing low functional projections located in the low IP portion that contains aspectual distinctions, still following Cinque (2006).

### 3.3 Causative constructions

Since Guasti (1993), causative verbs are known to select the lowest possible portion of syntactic structure, as it is not possible to have clitics on the infinitival verb, or a negative marker. There is general consensus in the literature that in Italian the embedded infinitival verb has a very limited functional structure, and is not a whole CP, and not even a complete TP. Nonetheless, the pattern found with causatives is exactly the same just described with modals and aspectual verbs. This



strengthens the hypothesis made here that the cases with modals and aspectual verbs described above are not to be attributed to movement to the CP layer, but to movement to the edge of the vP. As causative constructions are rather frequent in the corpus, there are numerous examples of scrambling:

- (29) E fare le genti peccare  
 and make.inf the people sin.inf  
 ‘And make the people sin’ (VeV 46)
- (30) a. E fecerlo ruvinare e cadere e le fosse rappianare  
 and made.3sg-it ruin.inf and fall.inf and the pits cover.inf  
 ‘They made it fall and made the pits to be covered’ (VeV 70)
- b. Chi è quella Virtù che [...] ha fatto ruvinare lo steccato e le fosse rappianare?  
 who is that virtue that has made ruin.inf the fence and the pits cover.inf  
 ‘Who is that Virtue that has made the fence fall and the pits to be covered?’ (VeV 71)

(29) represents a case in which the agent is displaced in front of the infinitival (in Italian the agent generally follows the infinitival verb, contrary to English), while the examples in (30) are cases of object scrambling. As mentioned above, there is no restriction, and PPs can also be found on the left of the non finite form:

- (31) a. E faciansi alle genti adorare  
 and made.3pl-refl by.the people worship.inf  
 ‘They made the people warship themselves’ (VeV 71)
- b. E farla per lo mondo predicare  
 and make.inf-it through the world preach.inf  
 ‘And make it be preached across the world’ (VeV 79)
- c. Ma sè e li altri demoni facea nelli idoli adorare  
 but refl and the other demons made.3sg in.the idols worship.inf  
 ‘Made himself and the other demons be worshipped in the idols’ (VeV 68)
- d. E fallo da Dio rubellare  
 and makes-him to God rebel.inf  
 ‘And makes him rebel against God’ (VeV 46)

Moreover, it is possible to have more than one displaced XP, as in all the other cases:

- (32) a. E I facesti a' tuoi servi di crudele morte morire  
and it made.2sg to your servants of cruel death die.inf  
'You had your servants to die of a cruel death' (VeV 99)
- b. E per questa via fanno li Vizi tutte le genti peccare  
and by this way make.3pl the vices all the people sin.inf  
'In this way the Vices make all the people sin' (VeV 46)

Therefore, I will assume that the phenomenon is the same that originates 'apparent' OV constructions with past participles and that it is due to the same reason, namely the existence of a left periphery in the vP phase of infinitival clauses, which is also active and has the same property of attracting Foci or Topics that the CP left periphery has.

#### **4. Scrambling and V2 in embedded clauses**

We have seen that the phenomenon of scrambling to the edge of the vP is not restricted to past participles, but occurs with all non-finite constructions including a functional verb and a non-finite form. If scrambling is actually not an effect of the CP layer, we predict that it is insensitive to sentence type. In chapter 2 I did not consider all cases of embedded clauses systematically, as the main concern was to investigate the properties of the phenomenon. I will do it now starting from complement clauses. In order to prove the point that all types of embedded clauses can display scrambling, I will also use examples containing an infinitival form, not only past participles, as the two phenomena are to be considered as two instances of the same type of movement.

##### *4.1 Complement clauses*

Declarative complement clauses display in OI movement to the CP layer (i.e. in front of the inflected verb) rather often, so there is no sharp main/embedded asymmetry as it is the case in most Germanic languages, though it is well known that also some Germanic languages like Icelandic or Yiddish display embedded V2 (see chapter 1):

- (33) a ti priego che in su questi fatti mi debbi consigliare  
 you beg.1sg that in on these facts me must.2sg advise.inf  
 ‘I beg you, you must advise me on this matter’ (VeV 25)
- b. perché, se così non fosse, in malo stato saremmo  
 because if so not was in bad condition would.be.1pl  
 ‘If it was not so, we would be stuck’ (VeV 33)
- c. e fece loro assapere per certo che colla Fede Pagana a quella stagione  
 and made.3sg them know.inf for sure that with.the faith pagan at that season  
 tornerebbe a la battaglia  
 would.come.back.3sg to the battle  
 ‘and let them know that by that time she would come back to fight against the  
 Pagan Faith’ (VeV 83)

(33) are cases of non bridge verbs, while (34) are cases of bridge verbs, and we see that in both clause types movement of an XP in front of the inflected verb is possible.

- (34) a. colui che è savio pensa che de la cosa può incontrare e che uscita la cosa può avere  
 (VeV 58)
- b. or ti dico che a tutte le domandagione delle mie credenze hai risposto perfettamente  
 now you say.1sg that to all the questions of.the my beliefs have.2sg answered well  
 ‘I tell you that you have answered perfectly to all my questions about my beliefs’  
 (VeV 38)

Complement clauses however, also display the scrambling type of movement internal to the vP, hence before the past participle/infinitive but after the auxiliary or the modal verb:

- (35) a. Perch’era certo che non potea più l’uomo o la femina ingannare  
 therefore was sure that not could.3sg anymore the man or the woman deceive.inf  
 ‘Therefore he knew that he could not deceive anymore man or woman’ (VeV 78)
- b. Che di’ che vuoi lo regno di paradiso conquistare  
 that say.2sg that want.2sg the Kingdom of paradise conquer.inf  
 ‘That you say that you want to get the kingdom of heaven’ (VeV 26)
- c. non sono bene tutte le cose che nuocere possono considerate

not are well all the things that harm.inf can.3pl considered  
'All the things that can harm one are not well considered' (*VeV* 59)

- (36) a. dice che poi àe molto de ben fatto in guerra et in pace  
says that then has a.lot of good done in war and in peace  
'he says that he has done a lot of good both in war and in peace' (*Rettorica* 27)
- b. Quando T. vede apertamente ch'elli è a fine venuto  
when T. sees clearly that he is to end come  
'When T. clearly sees that he has come to his end' (*Tristano* 397)
- c. Non crederei che fosse per voi rotto  
not would.believe.1sg that was by you broken  
'I would not' believe that it was broken by you' (*Fiore* 442)

Hence, we can conclude that complement clauses display movement to the left periphery of the CP as well as internal movement to the left periphery of the vP.

#### 4.2 Other clause types

Scrambling is found in several clause types, the first type I examine are temporal clauses:

- (37) a. E quand'ebber questa schiera fatta così grossa  
and when had.3pl this host made so big  
'And when they had organized this host so big' (*VeV* 76)
- b. E quando fur le genti ammonite  
and when were.3pl the people warned  
'And when the people were warned' (*VeV* 86)

This is particularly interesting because it shows that the presence of an operator like the temporal one in the CP layer does not prevent internal movements to the vP edge.

The same is true of interrogative clauses, where there is a wh-operator in the CP, but scrambling is still possible:

- (38) È dato tutto il mondo a signoreggiare e godere?  
 is given all the world to rule.inf and enjoy.inf  
 ‘Was made all the world to rule and enjoy?’ (VeV 94)

Scrambling is also possible in clauses introduced by *perché* ‘because/therefore’:

- (39) a. Perché si sente per quello pensiero tutti i suoi desideri compiere  
 because refl feels by that thought all the his wishes fulfill  
 ‘Because he feels that by that thought all his wishes are fulfilled’ (VeV 39)
- b. Perché non dovemo onore desiderare  
 because not must.1pl honor covet.inf  
 ‘Because we must not covet the honor’ (VeV 64)

Scrambling is also possible in relative clauses:

- (40) a. gli occhi, i quali erano di molte lagrime gravati  
 the eyes the which were.3pl of many tears burdened  
 ‘the eyes that were burdened by many tears’ (VeV 4)
- b. dimmi qual è quel Vizio che ha già le sue genti schierate?  
 tell-me which is that vice that has already the his people deployed  
 ‘Tell me what Vice has already deployed his host’ (VeV 47)
- c. nella quale avea sì gran gente raunata  
 in.the which had.3sg so big people gathered  
 ‘in which he gathered so many people’ (VeV 44)
- (41) a. in ciò che m’hai apertamente mostrato  
 in that that me have.2sg openly shown  
 ‘in the one you have openly shown me’ (VeV 24)
- b. che le dette Risie, che i demoni hanno nel mondo seminate  
 that the said heresies that the demons have.3pl in.the world sown  
 ‘that those heresies that the demons have sown in the world’ (VeV 69)
- c. Dal loro signore, ch’avea lor donata tutta la terra conquistata  
 by.the their lord that had.3sg them given all the land conquered  
 ‘By their lord, who had given them all the conquered land’ (VeV 86)

Hence, the presence of an operator in the CP layer does not ban scrambling, even in those cases where the relativized XP is extracted out of the VP, as for instance in (41b), which is an object relative clause where the PP *nel mondo* ‘in the world’ has been scrambled in front of the past participle.

Hence, the fact that scrambling can be found in several different clause types, and is not sensitive to the main/embedded asymmetry shows that it is indeed movement to the vP and not to the left periphery of the CP.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that scrambling is found with all auxiliary-like verbs, which in Cinque’s account are functional heads that are directly inserted in the  $F^{\circ}$  whose semantic value they encode. The phenomenon has exactly the same properties already observed in the case of Aux+ past participle constructions: it is optional, more than one XP can be preposed, and there is no fixed order of the preposed constituents. Moreover, we have seen that scrambling is insensitive to clause type and can occur in all types of embedded clauses, even in clauses where the CP left periphery is occupied by a wh-item, which shows that there is no minimality effect between elements moved out of the VP to CP and elements moved out of the VP to vP.

## Chapter 5

### Quantifier movement

#### 1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters we have investigated a number of related constructions that have been analyzed as involving movements to phase peripheral positions of Topic and Operator/Focus, which “mimick” the OV order of Latin exploiting the Topic and Focus position of a VO grammar. In this chapter I will consider a different type of OV still possible inside a VO grammar, the one found with some bare quantifiers and show that not all cases of OV constructions have to be treated as movement to a SpecOp/Focus or SpecTopic position in the left periphery of a phase. The case in point are non-negative bare quantifiers like ‘tutto’ ‘molto’ and ‘tutti’ ‘molti’, whose distribution does not respect the typical “left peripheral” properties of OI scrambling described in the preceding chapters: the position of bare quantifiers is fixed, while the one of Topics is not, the movement of bare quantifiers is obligatory, while Topic and Focus are clearly related to pragmatic conditions and the bare quantifier always precedes all scrambled XPs in the vP left periphery. This indicates that bare quantifiers have a (series of) dedicated position(s) in the clause in OI. This should not be surprising, given that since Kayne (1975), we know that bare quantifiers like *tout* and *rien* in Modern French do not occupy the usual argumental position, but one at the left of the past participle. Furthermore, Cinque (1999) shows that also in Modern Italian bare quantifiers like *tutto* occupy a position higher than the one of arguments, although the quantifier occurs in postverbal position. This is due to the fact that the past participle moves rather high in Italian, while it does not in French. I will discuss whether the OV order of bare quantifiers in OI is similar to Modern French. This question is related to a fundamental problem left open in chapters 2 and 4, namely the exact position(s) of the non-finite form of verbs (i.e. past participle, infinitival and gerunds) which accompany auxiliaries or modals in OI. From Cinque’s (1999) work, we know that Modern Italian and Modern French differ with respect to the position of the past participle, which can (optionally) raise quite far in Modern Italian to the left of T2 in (1), but which remains very low in French, as it cannot even cross VoiceP, in whose specifier adverbs like ‘well/bad’ are located. However, Cinque shows that even within the domain of Italian dialects there is a rather ample spectrum of variation with respect to the raising possibilities of the past participle in active constructions. There are dialects that are rather close to French like Sardinian, where the past participle raises only higher than ‘well’ but not higher than the next class of adverbial elements, namely ‘all’, but there are also





respect to DPs and to quantified DPs. Reading the texts, it seems at first sight that the QP *tutto* ‘all, everything’ is found much more frequently to the left of the past participle than definite object DPs, though this leftward movement is not mandatory. This however remains just an impressionistic observation and seems a rather puzzling phenomenon unless the frequencies of the various cases of *tutto* are kept distinct. Of the 8253 occurrences listed for *tutto* by the whole OVI data base for Old Italian, I have extracted 2000 occurrences of *tutto* which are relevant to the present discussion, as they contain a quantifier that has not been fronted to the CP left periphery and a past participle. All other examples, namely a) those where a simple verb is used and b) those in which the past participle has been fronted to the CP layer, have been taken out of the sample, as they are irrelevant to the present discussion. Hence, the sample only contains cases of OV constructions where O is represented by *tutto*, and V by a past participle and both are located on the right of the auxiliary. This guarantees that we are examining here only the low portion of the IP structure and not some higher set of projections. In what follows I will present three types of structures with *tutto* and examine their frequency one by one.

### 2.1 *Tutto modified by a relative clause*

Within the sample I have split the cases where a) *tutto* is bare from those where b) *tutto* is modified by a relative clause or c) followed by a DP. The results show a clear distinction between modified and bare *tutto*: the first observation is that when *tutto* is modified by a relative clause, it is always paired with the pronoun *ciò*, ‘this/that’ and never raises before the past participle, as the following examples show:

- (2) a. e ffue fatto tutto e ccioe che lo ree comandoe  
 and was done all that that the king required.3sg  
 ‘All that the king required was done’ (*Tristano* 25)
- b. bene servita di tutto cioe ch’ella comanda  
 well served of everything that that she requires  
 ‘well served of all she requires’ (*Tristano* 136)
- c. E possono li dectti sindichi fare pienamente tutto ciò che fie bisomgno per la  
 and can.3pl the said judges do completely all that that was needed for the  
 compagnia secondamente che fiero ordinati  
 company accordingly that were.3pl ordered

‘these judges can do all what they need for the guild accordingly to the orders’  
(*Orsammichele* 657)

Given that *tutto ciò* is always located on the right of the past participle, it seems prima facie that the position of *tutto* modified by a relative clause is located very low in the structure, as also shown by the fact that *tutto ciò* + relative also occurs after focalized subjects as shown below.

- (3)           Infino a questo luogo à insegnato Tullio tutto       ciò che ssi conviene  
                 until to this place has taught T. everything that that refl is.better  
                 dire o fare nello exordio  
                 say.inf or do.inf in.the beginning  
                 ‘Until this point T. has taught all that is better to say and to do in the beginning’  
                 (*Rettorica* 174)

If we assume the analysis of postverbal subjects provided by Belletti (1999), (2004) for Modern Italian, who proposes that postverbal subjects are located in the Focus position in the vP left periphery, this could lead us to the conclusion that *tutto ciò* + relative remains in its base position. Furthermore, when *tutto ciò* is modified by a relative clause, it occurs after other PP or DP complements, never before them. The following examples illustrate this point:

- (4) a. lo quale mi fa sentire in qua tutto ciò che voi sentite  
         the which me makes feel.inf in here all that that you feel.2pl  
         ‘which makes me feel all that you feel’ (*Sommetta* 198)
- b. tu hai a considerare le cose che sono a venire, e pensare  
         you have.2sg to consider.inf the things that are to come.inf and think.inf  
         in tuo coraggio tutto ciò che addivenire può  
         in your courage all that that happen.inf can.inf  
         ‘you must take into consideration what will happen and think about all that can  
         happen’ (*Tesoro* c239)
- c. quando avrete questa lettera avrete fatto di cioe tutto ciò che ffare ne  
         when will.have.2pl this letter will.have.2pl done of that all that that do.inf of.it  
         dovrete  
         must.2pl

‘When you will get this letter you will have done to that all that you have to do’  
(*C. de Cerchi* 601)

Within the whole 8523 examples present in the data base of *tutto* there are 228 examples of *tutto* modified by a relative clause, 179 are not relevant, as the quantifier modified by a relative clause is either located in subject position or the verb is not a compound form. However, 49 examples either have an auxiliary or a modal verb followed by an infinitival form or a simple verbal form with several complements: in all these cases *tutto* followed by a relative clause is located after the past participle or the infinitival form as well as other complements.

In the whole sample there are no cases of *tutto* modified by a relative clause that occurs in front of other complements or before the past participle or infinitival form unless it is a subject or it is located in the first position of a V2 clause.

Furthermore, the sample does not contain cases of non-canonical quantification in which *tutto* has been scrambled to the left of the past participle while *ció* and the relative clause are after the past participle.

Hence, we can conclude that *tutto ció* + relative is always located after focalized subjects, object DPs and PPs.

This distribution strongly recalls the phenomenon of ‘heavy NP shift’ in English. Within an anti-symmetric perspective, which bans rightward movement, there are three possible analyses of cases like this.

The first possible analysis is that *tutto ció* + relative remains in situ in its basic position inside the VP while all other elements move out of it. I see two problems for this analysis: the first is the reason why other elements must move out of the VP, which should be something like case checking or some other device forcing pre-emptying of the VP, a movement that would clearly have to be obligatory for each of the other arguments of the verb. The second problem concerns the reason why *tutto ció* + relative cannot move out of the VP: if all arguments move because of case checking, why is this not the case for *tutto ció* + relative? The same reasoning would apply if any reason other than case checking is adopted to force movement of all arguments in order to leave *tutto ció* + relative at the end of the clause. To put it differently, we have to find a reason why *tutto ció* + relative is special with respect to all other cases of arguments. One indication is that the special behavior is not due to the presence of either the quantifier or the pronoun is provided by cases like the following:

- (5) E quando egli ebbe tutto ciò fatto e detto, disse il Soldano  
 and when he had.3sg all that done and said said.3sg the sultan  
 ‘When he had done and said all that, the sultan said’ (*Bosone* 417)

This example shows that *tutto ciò* can (though it need not) be located in front of the past participle when it is not modified by a relative clause. This leads me to conclude that the impossibility to be scrambled in front of the past participle is a property induced by the presence of the relative clause itself, and not by the pronoun *ciò* following the quantifier.

Hence, the reason why *tutto ciò* + relative is found after the past participles and all other arguments must be related to a structural requirement of the relative clause. I propose that the presence of the restrictive relative forces movement of the whole sequence *tutto ciò* + relative to an Identification position followed by movement of the remnant VP to a Ground position as illustrated in (6):

- (6) [lo quale mi fa [<sub>GroundP</sub> [<sub>VP<sub>j</sub></sub> sentire in qua [<sub>QPi</sub> tutto ciò [<sub>CPrel</sub> che voi sentite in loco]]]  
 [<sub>IdentificationalP</sub>[<sub>QPi</sub> tutto ciò [<sub>CPrel</sub> che voi sentite in loco]]] [<sub>VP<sub>j</sub></sub> sentire in qua [<sub>QPi</sub> tutto ciò  
 [<sub>CPrel</sub> che voi sentite in loco]]]

According to (6), the IdentificationP where *tutto ciò* + relative moves is located in the left periphery of the vP; this movement is then followed by movement of the whole remnant VP including the trace of *tutto ciò* + relative to a GroundP related to the IdentificationalP in the sense that it is not possible to occupy one position without the other.<sup>1</sup>

One argument in favor of the analysis in (6) is that a similar phenomenon is found for DPs modified by a relative clause when they are moved to the CP layer: Vanelli (1987) notices that when an XP modified by a relative clause is found in the CP, it is always followed by enclisis. In Benincà’s framework I adopt here, enclisis means that the inflected verb has moved into the Topic field of the CP phase, because there is a Topic element. Hence, XPs modified by relative clauses also occupy a special position in the CP, not only in the low area.

## 2.2 Tutto modifying a DP

<sup>1</sup> If the movement of *tutto ciò* + relative is related to the fact that it contains a relative clause that functions as an identifier of *tutto ciò*, one might wonder what happens when the relative clause is not a restrictive relative, but an appositive. There are no cases of this type in the corpus, hence the prediction cannot be tested.

When *tutto* is paired to a DP, then we find the same pattern already described in chapter 2 for definite DPs: the quantifier can be found to the left of the past participle, as shown in (7) and (8), but in the majority of the cases, it is located to the right of the past participle, as in (9) and (10):

- (7) a. ch'egli ebbe tutto questo fatto, e molte altre cose  
 that he had.3sg all this done and many other things  
 'that he had done all this and many other things' (*Tesoro* a286)
- b. Ched i' vo tutto 'l mondo og[gi] truffando  
 that I go.1sg all the world today cheating  
 'I always cheat all the people' (*Fiore* 196)
- c. abiendo tutto il mal d'Amor tenente  
 having all the pain of love keeping  
 'having all the pain of love inside himself' (*Monte* XV, 136)
- (8) a. che mi teneano tutto il capo gravato  
 that me kept.3pl all the head burdened  
 'that kept all my mind burdened' (*VeV* 6)
- b. e poi ch'elli àe tutto questo trovato per lo suo pensiero  
 and then that he has all this found for the his thinking  
 'and then that he has found all this by his own thinking' (*Rettorica* 74)
- c. da che ebbe tutto Egitto vinto  
 since that had.3sg all Egypt won  
 'since he won the whole Egypt' (*Pagani* 83)
- (9) a. àe insegnato per tutto il libro insine a questo luogo  
 has taught for all the book until to this place  
 'he has taught thorough the book till this point' (*Rettorica* 140)
- b. e hannovi messo tutto loro ingegno e forza  
 and have-there put all their intelligence and force  
 'they put there all their intelligence and strength' (*VeV* 24)
- c. ond'io òe perduto tutto lo mio onore  
 where I have.1sg lost all the my honor  
 'where I lost all my honor' (*Tristano* 179)

- (10) a.      à(n)no ve(n)duto tutto i· loro podere  
           have sold       all the their land  
           ‘they sold all their land’ (*Val di Streda* 226)
- b.      è appellato causa tutto ‘l processo dell’una e dell’altra  
           is named    cause all   the process of the one and of.the other  
           ‘the whole process of one and the other is referred to as cause’ (*Rettorica* 82)

The sample of 2000 relevant sentences with *tutto* and a past participle selected from the OVI corpus contains 26 examples of *tutto* modifying a DP following the past participle and 8 examples of fronting. Therefore, fronting is found in about a third of the possible cases (or to be more precise in the 30,72% of the cases). This is approximately the same percentage found in chapter 2 for vP scrambling, therefore I will assume that in these cases the fronting phenomenon observed here is of the same type as the one which moves DPs to the vP left periphery and has the same target, namely the Topic/Focus layers at the edge of the vP phase.

This means that when *tutto* is paired to a DP, it behaves in the same way DPs usually behave in OI: they can remain in their basis position, or they can scramble to a Topic or Focus position inside the left periphery of the vP (or of the CP). The structure of preparticipial cases like (8c) is thus the one in (11a), the structure of the postparticipial cases as (10a) is illustrated in (11b):

- (11) a.      [vP [Topic1 [Topic2 [Topic 3 ...[OperatorP [tutto Egitto] [OP° vinto]...vP ]]]]
- b.      [vP [Topic1 [Topic2 [Topic 3 ...[OperatorP [OP° venduto]...[vP  
                   [tutto il loro podere ]]]]]]

I will not enter here the discussion concerning whether these XP are more frequently located in OpP rather than in TopP, as the presence of the QP might indicate, because the contexts are not always clear. Notice however, that even QPs (though not negative ones) can be topics, as Cinque (1990) shows.

### 2.3 Bare quantifier tutto

When we consider the examples in which *tutto* is a bare quantifier, we finally find the reason why the first impression one gets reading OI text is that *tutto* is more often preposed to the past participle

than DPs: the bare quantifier is invariable preposed when it corresponds to the direct object, as shown by the following examples:

- (12) a. e come l'è tutto perduto  
and how it has all lost  
'and how he lost it all' (*FR* 75)
- b. Ànne tutto paghato, cinque lb., per l'anno  
have.3pl everything paid 5 pounds for the year  
'they have paid everything, five pounds for this year' (*LBB* 395)
- c. cui si vuol ben tutto dare  
to.whom one wants well all give.inf  
'to whom one wants to give everything' (*Monte CVI*, 269)
- d. seguire Idio chi à tutto venduto  
follow.inf God who has everything sold  
'(he can) follow God who sold all his possessions' (*Fiore* 232)

In the sample there are 23 relevant cases of bare object *tutto* with a compound tense and they all display the order *tutto*-past participle without exception.

If we consider cases in which the bare quantifier is the complement of a preposition, as is the case when *tutto* is an indirect object or another PP complement, it is also usually preposed to the past participle:

- (13) a. s'i' mi fosse al tutto a tte gradato  
if I me were.1sg to.the everything to you adapted  
'if I had adapted to you in everything' (*Fiore* 86)
- b. Anzi t'avrà del tutto rifiutato  
to.the.contrary you will.have.3sg of.the all refused  
'On the contrary he will have refused you at all' (*Fiore* 112)
- c. che sia per tutto detto  
that is for all said  
'that is said completely' (*Detto* 485)
- d. chi 'l tene del tutto in sé celato  
who it keeps of.the all in himself concealed  
'who keeps it completely concealed in himself' (*Tesoretto* 178)

Hence, it seems that the preposition does not count for the notion of the quantifier being ‘bare’: only QPs followed by a DP count as ‘non bare QPs’.

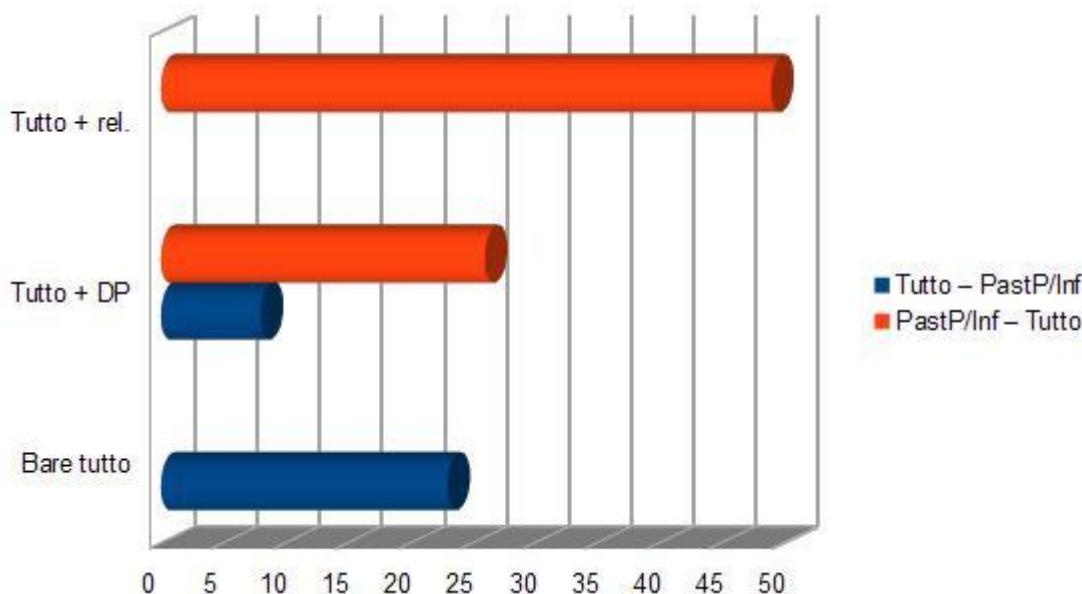
In the corpus there are only two cases in which a PP containing *tutto* are not fronted: one is a case of adverbial *tutto* (14b), the other is introduced by the preposition *di*.

- (14) a.    che sia grande e    ben fornito    di tutto  
           that is big    and well supplied of everything  
           ‘that is big and well supplied with everything’ (*Tesoro* b150)
- b.    elli era morto in tutto senza    fallo  
           he was dead    in all    without doubt  
           ‘he was really dead beyond doubt’ (*Tristano* 385)

Both cases are introduced by the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ and look like an adjectival usage of the past participle. Therefore, I do not think that they constitute exceptions to the observation that the bare quantifier *tutto* is always preposed to the past participle.

We can summarize the facts seen until now in the following table:<sup>2</sup>

Table 1.



That the phenomenon found in OI is not unique, is demonstrated by recent literature on several other languages (see a.o. Svenonius (2000) for Icelandic), where QPs can precede the past participle

<sup>2</sup> This table has been developed in joint work with Jacopo Garzonio (see Garzonio and Poletto (2012)).



while definite DPs do not. However, in languages like Icelandic, there is no distinction between bare and non bare quantifiers, but rather a distinction between negative and non negative QPs. However, modern Cimbrian, a German dialect still spoken in the Eastern Alps in Northern Italy, displays exactly the same pattern observed in OI: it can be considered as a VO language in all the respects that have been mentioned in chapter 2, but residual OV is still possible (though not obligatory) when a bare quantifier is the object (see Grewendorf and Poletto (2005)):

- (15) a. Häüte die mome hat gebäschd di piattn  
 Today the mother has washed the dishes  
 ‘Today mum washed the dishes’  
 b. \*Häüte di mome hat di piattn gebäschd  
 Today the mother has the dishes washed

- (16) a. I hon gesek kumman Pua  
 I have seen no boy  
 ‘I have not see any boy’  
 b. \*I hon kumman Pua gesek  
 I have no boy seen  
 c. I hon niamat gesek  
 I have noone seen  
 ‘I have seen noone’  
 d. I hon aniaglas gesek  
 I have somebody seen  
 ‘I have seen someone’

As already mentioned, within the Romance domain, modern French is evidently the first example that comes to mind: it is well known that bare quantifiers like *tout*, *tous* and *rien* are usually located in front of the past participle, while definite DPs or [QP+DP] cannot occupy that position. Hence, the fact that the same split between bare and non-bare quantifiers is found in other living languages, strengthens our hypothesis that the effect observed in OI is real and not due to the arbitrary choice of texts we have at our disposal, or to any other frequency or stylistic effect.

Before turning to the analysis of this phenomenon, I will take into account other quantifiers, to see whether they behave like *tutto* or not.

### 3. Other bare quantifiers

#### 3.1 The quantifier *molto*

Interestingly, the quantifier *molto* behaves in the same way as *tutto*. Out of the 1828 examples attested in the OVI data base until 1315, I have again extracted only the relevant ones, namely those where *molto* is not an adjectival or nominal modifier and where the tense is a compound tense or a modal followed by an infinitival.

In all these cases bare *molto* seems to occur to the left of the past participle, just like *tutto* does.

- (17)
- a. Quando ha molto pugnato  
when has much fought  
'When he has fought a lot' (*VeV* 23)
  - b. ch'egli avea molto speso in que' servi  
that he had.3sg much expended in those servants  
'that he had paid a lot for those slaves' (*Seneca* 61)
  - c. non vo' molto dire  
not want.1sg a.lot say.inf  
'I do not want to say a lot' (*FR* 34)
  - d. onde avea molto sommosso il paese  
why had.3sg a.lot upset the country  
'Why he upset the country so much' (*GVillani* e195)
  - e. Merlino avea molto preveduto come avea a ffinire Irlanda  
M. had.3sg a.lot foreseen how had.3sg to end.inf Ireland  
'Merlin made a lot of prophecies about Ireland' (*Merlino* 51)
  - f. le quali avanti avea molto onorate  
the which before had.3sg much honored  
'which before he honored a lot' (*Teseida* 288)
  - g. e per lo detto assedio avea molto ristretta la città di Parma  
and by the said siege had.3sg much reduced the city of P.  
'by this siege he weakened a lot the city of P.' (*GVillani* a320)
  - h. avea molto acresciuta la città d'Arezzo e 'l suo vescovado

had.3sg much grown the city of A. and the its bishopric  
'he expanded a lot the city of A. and its bishopric' (*GVillani* b567)

- i. Quello Pozzo Castruccio avea molto fatto afforzare e murare  
that P. C. had.3sg much made strengthen.inf and wall.inf  
'Castruccio had the castle of Pozzo walled a lot' (*GVillani* b617)

The same split behavior found with *tutto* when it is paired to the DP is also found with *molto*: when *molto* is associated to a DP, then it can occur either to the right or to the left of the past participle, just like definite DPs. In the OVI corpus there are 59 relevant occurrences of *molto* which occurs with an auxiliary and a past participle and it is either bare or it directly modifies an object DP. The results confirm the hypothesis that bare quantifiers are always in a pre-participial position: of the 46 occurrences, 45 are pre-participial and the only post-participial one is a very late attestation after the 1300.<sup>3</sup> As for the cases where *molto* is paired to a DP, there are 13 relevant cases, 10 of them are post-participial, while only 3 are pre-participial, I report a couple of examples here to illustrate the distribution of non bare *molto*.

- (18) a sì come cavaliere c'avea perduto molto sangue  
so how knight that had.3sg lost much blood  
'as a knight who lost a lot of blood' (*Tristano* 106)
- b. hanno molto guasto ricevuto  
have.3pl much damage received  
'they got much damage' (*Pagani* 526)

Unfortunately the corpus does not contain any instance of *molto* followed by a relative clause, therefore, the third type of behavior is not testable. However, the fact that *molto* behaves like *tutto* at least with respect to the bare versus non bare split, shows that the phenomenon is more general and does not concern only one QP. Like *tutto*, the quantifier *molto* alone also has an adverbial usage, which is actually rather frequent. I will discuss below in which way this ambiguity between an adverbial and an argumental usage could influence the position of the bare QP.

In addition to this, *molto* can be found alone in the SpecC position, as shown by the following example:

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<sup>3</sup> As we will see in the next chapter, the system of quantifiers changes after the 1300 century, therefore, the data base has been restricted to this date for positive and negative QPs.

- (19) a. molto m'hai consolato delle mie tribolazioni  
 much me have.2sg comforted from.the my tribulations  
 'you have comforted me a lot in my tribulations' (*VeV* 24)
- b. nella sua corte molto avea dispeso e donato  
 in.the his court much had.3sg spent and given  
 'he had spent and given a lot to his court' (*Nov.* XXIX, 196)

Furthermore, *molto* can be found alone in SpecC also when it modifies an adjective or an adverb, which remains below in the clause, as already noted in chapter 3:

- (20) a. molto è grande iniquità la vita  
 very is big iniquity the life  
 'life is a very big iniquity' (*FR* 39)
- b. Ché molto lo saprei volentieri  
 because very it would.know.1sg gladly  
 'I would be very glad to get to know this' (*Nov.* XCIV, 337)

Interestingly however, extraction of *molto* is never allowed when it is combined with a DP in cases similar to (18), at least there are no such cases as the following one parallel to (18a) present in our data base.

- (21) \*molto avea perduto sangue  
 a.lot had.3sg lost blood  
 'He had lost a lot of blood'

This clearly differs from Modern French, where it is well known that *beaucoup* can strand the DP it is paired with and be found on the left of the past participle, as originally shown by Obernauer (1994) (for a more recent discussion see Baunas (2011) a.o.). This is most probably related to the fact that *beaucoup* selects a partitive introduced by the preposition *de*, while OI *molto* does not. Hence, the data on *molto* essentially confirm the distribution of *tutto* seen in the last section. As for the position of the QP and the reason why in OI the bare QP must front while in Modern Italian this is not the case, one might speculate that this property is related to the fact that both *molto* and *tutto* also display an adverbial usage in addition to the argumental one. Notice furthermore that in the case of *tutto*, the adverbial usage is even more widespread than in Modern Italian, as *tutto* can even modify a gerund in OI, while it cannot in Modern Italian:

- (22) a. elli disse tutto ridendo  
 he said.3sg all laughing  
 ‘he said laughing heartily’ (*Tristano* 383)
- b. e poi rispuose tutto piangendo  
 and then answered.3sg all crying  
 ‘and then he answered crying desperately’ (*Tristano* 405)

One could hypothesize that the reason why *tutto* and *molto* are always found in preparticipial position when they are bare depends on their ambiguous status as adverbs or arguments, where the argument also “exploits” the position of the adverb. In order to see whether the preparticipial position of argumental QPs is parasitic on the adverbial usage of the quantifier, we have to take into consideration QPs that can never be used as adverbs, like *molti* and *tutti*.

### 3.2 The quantifier *molti*

The plural form of *molto*, *molti* ‘many’, displays a slightly different distribution. Of the 23 relevant<sup>4</sup> occurrences of *molti* modifying a DP, 19 are found after the past participle or the infinitive (23a) and 4 before them (23b), in accordance with our empirical generalization that complex quantified expressions behave like usual DPs:<sup>5</sup>

- (23) a. fuoro molti uomini dinanzi al Capitolio  
 were.3pl killed many men before to.the Capitol  
 ‘many men were killed before the Capitol’ (*Pagani* 315)
- b. Poi che Giulio Cesare ebbe molte vittorie, e molti paesi  
 after that Julius Caesar had.3sg many victories and many countries  
 sottomessi alla signoria di Roma  
 subdued to.the rule of Rome  
 ‘After that Julius Caesar had many victories and had subdued many nations to the rule of Rome’ (*Tesoro* a104)

<sup>4</sup> What is meant here by relevant is the same type of examples already discussed for *tutto*: hence cases with a past participle or another infinitival form of the verb.

<sup>5</sup> Although the percentage is not exactly the same found with definite DPs and other QPs, this is most probably the effect of the small number of occurrences at our disposal.

However, if we look at the bare form, of the 20 relevant cases present in the corpus, 12 are post-participial and only 8 pre-participial. However, the choice follows a precise pattern: bare *molti* is always pre-participial when it is modified by a partitive object expressed by the clitic *ne* or by a PP headed by *di* ‘of’, otherwise it is not.<sup>6</sup>

- (24) e per questa via n’ha già molti schifati e fuggiti  
 and by this way of.them has already many avoided and fled  
 ‘In this way he avoided many of them and fled from them’ (*VeV* 31)

It should be also pointed out that some authors seem to have a preferred variant, which they use with absolute regularity. Dante, for instance, always uses *molti* after the past participle or the infinitival, even with partitives (25b):

- (25) a. Non avrebbe lo latino così servito a molti  
 not would.have.3sg the latin so be.useful.inf to many  
 ‘Latin would not have been so useful for many’ (*Convivio* 37)
- b. A Prato ed a Arez[z]o e a Firenze n’ò io distrutti molti e  
 in Prato and in Arezzo and in Florence of.them have.1sg I destroyed many and  
 iscacciati  
 expelled  
 ‘I destroyed and drove out many of them in Prato, Arezzo and Florence’ (*Fiore* 254)

On the other hand, in the case of Paolino Pieri, who writes around the turn of the century, bare *molti* is always pre-participial:

- (26) fu assai tempo da molti guardato  
 was.3sg much time by many watched  
 ‘he was watched by many for a long time’ (*Paolino Pieri* 75)

The complex behaviour of *molti* suggests that it should be kept separate from the other quantifiers because it has been noted that *molti* seems to select a simple NP as complement, and not a whole

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<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Jacopo Garzonio for point this out to me and for elaborating these data.

DP. Furthermore, there are hints that it always assigns genitive case to this NP (see Giusti (1991) for a possible analysis), while, as seen above, this is not the case for *tutto*.

Therefore, in order to find a minimal pair with *tutto* and see whether the obligatory preparticipial position of the bare quantifier is somehow related to its adverbial usage, we consider as the next element the QP *tutti* ‘everybody/all’, which can never be used as an adverb.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.3 The quantifier *tutti*

Although the quantifier *tutti* ‘everybody/all’ cannot be interpreted as an adverb, but still behaves in the way already identified for *tutto* and *molto*. Of the whole sample of 1841 examples present in the corpus, XPs containing *tutti* are often found at the left edge of the clause, because *tutti* is often the subject of the clause. We exclude all these cases, because they are not relevant to our investigation of the vP left periphery. For the cases containing a compound tense (and where *tutti* is not in the CP or in SpecT), we observe the same generalization proposed above: when the QP is modified by a DP, it can either occur left or right of the past participle:

(27) e dove avea tutti i lor beni fatti sequestrare  
 and where had.3sg all the their goods made confiscated  
 ‘where he had all their possessions confiscated’ (*Marchionne di Coppo* 18)

(28) a. comandò che fossero isbanditi tutti gli sbanditi d’ogne provincia  
 ordered that were.3pl pardoned all the exiled of every province  
 ‘he ordered the pardon of all the exiles of every province’ (*Pagani* 182)

b. e avialo messo innanzi sopra tutti i gradi degli onori  
 and had.3sg-him put before over all the grades of.the honors  
 ‘she gave him all the honors’ (*Pagani* 184)

c. del quale fuoco siccome faville sono nati e notricati tutti questi altri mali  
 of.the which fire like sparks are born and fed all these other evils  
 ‘from which fire all these other evils are born like sparks and fed’ (*Pagani* 290)

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<sup>7</sup> *Molti* differs from the pattern described for *tutto* also with respect to the case of modification by a relative clause, as it seems possible to extract *molti* to a preparticipial position leaving the relative clause behind, as in the following example:

(i) Acciò che per lo fatto di costui ne possa molti ingannare a cui dice di far lo somigliante B.G. 14  
 so that for this fact of this person of.it can many cheat to whom says to make.it similar

The same pattern observed with *tutto* is also found when the bare quantifier is modified by a relative clause, in this case the QP always appears in post-verbal position, as *tutto* does:

- (29) de' quali tempi, e de' fatti che intervennero, hanno fatto menzione tutti  
of.the which times and of.the facts that happened.3pl have.3pl made mention all  
quelli, che di storie hanno scritto  
those that of stories have.3pl written  
'which times, with the facts that happened, were mentioned by all those who wrote  
about history' (*Pagani* 6)

The bare quantifier on the contrary is always located before the past participle in a way similar to *tutto*:

- (30) a. Il Demonio ci avea tutti presi  
the Devil us had.3sg all taken  
'The Devil took all of us' (*SV* 279)  
b. ma parve che fussero tutti vinti con lui  
but seemed.3sg that were.3pl all won with him  
'it seemed that they were all won with him' (*Pagani* 135)

Hence, we can conclude that the pattern already observed with *tutto* and *molto* is also found with *tutti*, and cannot depend on the fact that the adverb is ambiguous between an adverbial and an argumental reading and exploits the higher adverbial position also when it is used as an argument.

#### 4. Bare quantifiers in dedicated positions

In the preceding sections I have shown that the distribution of quantifiers in OI depends on their bare versus non bare status. Non bare quantifiers associated to DPs behave in the same way as DPs: they are generally in a postparticipial position, but can (in about a third of the instances) also occur before the past participle. I have proposed to adopt the same analysis put forth in chapter 2 for definite (and indefinite) DPs, namely that scrambling to a preparticipial position occurs through movement to vP left peripheral positions of (probably different types of ) Topic or Focus.



Data on the quantifier *tutto* suggest that when QPs are modified by a relative clause, they occupy a distinct position: in section 2 I have proposed that this position is also located in the left periphery of the vP and that in this case the movement is obligatory to check an identificational feature provided by the presence of the (restrictive) relative clause. The reason why the QP modified by a relative clause appears after all other arguments (but crucially not after adjuncts) is that the remnant VP is moved to a GroundP position related the Identificational position occupied by the QP + relative clause.

The last case that still needs to be discussed is the one of bare quantifiers. Hence, we have to determine whether a) also in this case the vP left periphery is involved, b) exactly which position is the target of the movement, a question related to the trigger of the movement, c) why this position is only available to bare QPs and not to [Q+DP], d) why the movement is obligatory. More generally, we also have to establish what exactly has changed in the grammar so that Modern Italian does not display (except in special cases, see Cinque (1999)) preparticipial bare QPs.

I will start by considering the hypothesis that the movement of bare QPs targets a position inside the vP left periphery. If it is so, this position should somehow be related to the quantificational status of the element, hence it should be in the Operator/Focus field, which should be located lower than Topics (assuming a parallel with the CP left periphery, as discussed in chapter 2). However, the texts examined provide some cases of combinations of bare QPs with other preparticipial arguments and the sequence is invariably QP –DP/PP and never the opposite, as shown below:

(31) Vedemmo che fue tutta in quattro parti divisa  
 saw.1pl that was.3sg all in four parts split  
 ‘We saw that the whole was split in four parts’ (*VeV* 56)

(32) a. egli ci è stasera venuto un de’ suoi fratelli e ha molto con lei favellato  
 he there is this.evening come one of.the her brothers and has much with her talked  
 ‘This evening one of her brothers came and spoke a lot to her’  
 (*Decameron* VIII-vii, 538)

b. i quail per comandamento del popolo in miluogo del mercato fuoro tutti  
 the which for order of.the people in place of.the market were.3pl all  
 prima con verghe agramente battuti, e poscia con iscuri ammazzati  
 first with rods severely beaten and then with axes slain  
 ‘who, by people’s decree, were all harshly beaten in the marketplace and then killed by axes’  
 (*Pagani* 202)

Although cases like these are too rare to make a robust empirical generalization, they still provide a clue that the position for quantifiers is higher than the one for scrambling.

This means that either we have to assume a difference in the vP left periphery with respect to the CP left periphery, a move which is theoretically rather inelegant, or the position of quantifiers is higher than the vP left periphery. If the target position of bare *tutto* is not the left peripheral position targeted by scrambled DPs/PPs, but a position dedicated to the bare universal quantifier, which is occupied by *tutto* in its adverbial as well as in its argumental usage, one might wonder where exactly this position is located.

I will hypothesize that bare *tutto* has to raise to a specific position to the left of the past participle which is specified for checking the features of a universal quantifier. This idea is not new at all; similar proposals for quantifiers have been made by Beghelli (1995) and Beghelli and Stowell (1997), who show that quantifiers occupy different positions according to their interpretation.

Cinque's (1999) analysis of modern Italian *tutto*, which is always located in the low IP area, within the field of aspectual projections, can also be applied to OI and thus we do not need to introduce any new position in the clausal spine. However, we still have to explain a) why in Old Italian the quantifier occurs before the past participle (as in French) and in Modern Italian it does not; b) why this movement is obligatory in OI as well as in Modern Italian.

A first analysis that comes to mind to account for the obligatoriness of the movement is the one proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for French bare QPs like *tout/rien* etc. According to Cardinaletti and Starke bare QPs are weak elements in the sense that their internal structure lacks some projections so that they are forced to raise to a dedicated position and cannot behave as usual XPs. That this analysis cannot be applied to OI is easy to show, as, differently from Modern French, bare preparticipial QPs can display a preposition (both of the so called functional and lexical type, in Rizzi's (1988) sense), as already shown in section 2. Hence, the reason for the movement of bare QPs in OI cannot be the "syntactic weakness" of the QP itself.

The first hint towards an analysis is provided by other Italian non-standard varieties, where the term bare is actually not entirely correct, as the QP part is paired to a classifier-like N<sup>8</sup> meaning 'thing' or 'person', like in English 'something' or 'someone'. Examples of this type are very widespread in the Southern dialects, as noted by Ledgeway (2009) for Neapolitan. I report here a couple of examples from Sicilian and Abruzzese.

- (33) a. I so frati s'addunanu di *tuttu cosi* (Sicilian, Catania, ASIt)  
the his brothers refl.became.aware.3pl of all things

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<sup>8</sup> These classifier-like Ns can be thought of in the terms of Corver and van Riemsdijk (2001) semi-lexical categories.

- ‘His brothers discovered everything’
- b. Mi li so littə tuttə quində (Abruzzese, Arielli (CH), ASIIt)  
 me them am read all how.many  
 ‘I read them all’

Therefore, it seems that “bare” quantifiers can at least contain one more formative, which differs in its composition for [+/-human]. Considering OI classifier-like nouns like *cosa*, ‘thing’ and *persona* ‘person’, it is clear that they are used more frequently than in Modern Italian in quantificational contexts. Cases like (35) are generally translated in Modern Italian with a *wh*-item (as in (34a) *alla persona di colui* ‘to the person of the one’ would simply be *chi* ‘who’) in the case of free relative clauses, or *cosa* paired with *alcuno* translates ‘something’:

- (34) a. cose non convenevoli [a]lla persona di colui che l’adomanda  
 things not appropriate to.the person of that that it asks  
 ‘things that are not appropriate for the one who asks that’ (TVV 147)
- b. Compagno è quelli che per alcuno patto si congiugne con un altro ad alcuna cosa fare  
 companion is that that for some pact refl joins with an other to some thing do.inf  
 ‘A companion is one who joins with an other in order to do something’  
 (*Rettorica* 13)

Moreover, *cosa* is generally paired to a predicative adjective in OI, while in modern Italian the adjective simply appears alone.

- (35) a. Lieve cosa ti parrà ad rispondere bene...  
 light thing to.you will.seem.3sg to answer.inf well  
 ‘It will be easy to you to answer appropriately...’ (*Albertano* 182)
- b. non sia agevole cosa l’antica favola col nuovo fatto agguagliare  
 not is easy thing the old tale with.the new fact compare.inf  
 ‘it is not easy to compare an old tale with a recent fact’ (*Pagani* 121)

*Cosa* and *persona* are also used as polarity items in negative contexts, as the following ones: in Modern Italian the translation would rather be with *niente* ‘nothing/anything’ in (36a, b) or *nessuno* ‘noone/anyone’ in (37).

- (36) a. Non potrai dire cosa che buona sia  
not will.be.able.2sg say.inf thing that good is  
'You will not be able to say anything good' (*Albertano* 30)
- b. Disprezza la morte e non temerai neuna cosa che induca  
despise.imp the death and not will.fear.2sg no thing that induces  
'Despise death, and you will not fear anything that causes (it)' (*FSI* 187)
- c. nulla cosa ti vale e dir bene né male  
no thing you is.worth and say.inf good and.not bad  
'both praise and flout it will not help you' (*Tesoretto* 237)
- (37) a. senza offendere alcuna persona  
without offend.inf any person  
'without offending anyone' (*Pagani* 486)
- b. perchè persona non può trovare lo loro nido  
because person not can.3sg find.inf the their nest  
'because no one can find their nest' (*Tesoro* b158)

In the next chapter, we will see that the usage of *niente* and *neuna cosa* both meaning 'nothing' are syntactically conditioned in OI, while this is not the case in Modern Italian, as cases like the ones above can at best be interpreted as emphatic in Modern Italian, or plainly ungrammatical. The presence of these classifiers probably represent an initial stage of a (never fulfilled) grammaticalization in the way that has brought to the result that the original classifier-like N *personne* and *rien* in French are nowadays interpreted as negative QPs<sup>9</sup> (see Roberts and Roussou (2003)). The only case in which in Modern Italian the classifier-like N has taken the place of a QP is the wh-item *cosa* meaning interrogative 'what' in some variants of Italian.

The distribution of *cosa* in OI and Italian varieties suggests that a) bare quantifiers have a complex structure that does not only contain the Q element but also a classifier-like N, b) the classifier-like N could be lexicalized in OI and is not lexicalized anymore in Modern Italian (except for the element *qualcosa* 'something').

In what follows I will try to tie the property of obligatory movement of the QP to the fact that OI can lexicalize a classifier-like N internal to the QP, where Modern Italian does not.

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<sup>9</sup> Whether *personne* or *rien* are actually negative QPs or negative polarity items depends on the analysis of the item *ne*, which by several authors is not considered as a real negative marker (in which case *personne* and *rien* are real negative QPs). For a discussion on this see Breitbarth (to appear).

I will adapt Doetjes' (1997) approach to quantifiers as being on top of a null or lexical DP and modify it in the following way: the null DP does not contain a *pro* as she claims but a lexically null or realized classifier-like noun, which is always visible in languages like English, never visible in languages like Modern Italian except for the quantifier 'everything'<sup>10</sup> and visible only in some cases in OI.<sup>11</sup>

The structure of bare QPs is illustrated in (38):<sup>12</sup>

(38) [QP alcun-/molt-/tutt-/ne-un-[ClassifierP PERSONA/ COSA [NP]]]

to be opposed to the more standard one of quantified DPs, (cf. Doetjes' (1997) Giusti-Leko (2005), Baunaz (2011)):

(39) [QP alcun-/molt-/tutt-/ne-un-[DP [NP ]]]

These two structures differ in at least two respects:

- a) in the structure I propose there is no *D*, and
- b) it realizes in terms of features a distinction along the lines of [+ human] and [-animate], which is absent from normal DPs. Notice that here there does not seem to be any binary feature system (not even a privative one), but a sort of polarization of the two features.

I propose that the reason why bare QPs obligatorily move to a dedicated position to the left of the past participle has to do with the licensing of the null classifier. There are at least two ways to technically execute this idea.

The first hypothesis is that raising of the bare QP is related to the checking of the features [+/- human] of the classifier. This implies postulating a checking position for interpreting them at the vP border (either immediately above or below its edge). Hence, the structure would look like the following one:

(40) [XP +/- human ... [vP [Topic1 [Topic2 [Topic 3 ... [OperatorP [OP°]... [VP ]]]]]]]

<sup>10</sup> Modern Italian existential quantifiers have an incorporated *cosa* in *qualcosa* 'something' and *uno* 'one' in *qualcuno* 'someone'. Again we find the distinction already mentioned above between QPs representing human beings, if this distinction turns out to be systematic across languages, then the two English forms 'someone' and 'somebody' are not identical in their internal layering, 'one' being an existential and 'body' being a classifier-like N like 'thing'.

<sup>11</sup> QPs which have a human feature most probably also have one more projection as the presence of *le monde* 'the world' in French indicate. I will not elaborate on this here, as my primary concern is not to provide a detailed internal structure of 'bare' QPs but to identify the property that forces these elements to move, the target position and the distinction between old and modern Italian.

<sup>12</sup> This structure is surely defective, as it does not consider the existential element 'one' already mentioned in the footnote above, which occurs with QPs for human beings.

In such a case one might obviously wonder what the justification for such a position expressing [+/-human] features in the vP left periphery is. That the idea is not so far-fetched is shown by the fact the phenomenon of reordering of internal arguments usually referred to as scrambling in languages like German is precisely sensitive to what is generally assumed to be an animacy constraint, which is actually very similar (though not identical) to the [+/-human] feature proposed here. Furthermore, XPs are reordered so that animate XPs are located in front of inanimate ones. I will not develop this hint further, because, as we will see in the next chapter, there is empirical evidence which supports another analysis for OI data.

The second hypothesis is that the obligatory raising of the bare QP is related to the need to license a null classifier, which as all empty Ns can only be licensed at the edge of a phase (cf. Kayne (2006: 33)). Kayne proposes the following principles ruling the distribution on null categories:

- (41) i) At a given phase level, only the head and material in the c-command domain of the head can (and must) be spelled out.
- ii) At a given phase level, no material within (or adjoined to) a lower phase can be spelled out.

Hence, if we apply this to the null PERSON/THING classifier-like N, then it means that PERSON/THING must be located at the edge of a phase. As the QP is most probably not a phase, then it must be found at the edge of the vP bypassing all elements located in its left periphery like Topic and Focus because only in that position can null elements be null.

Moreover, the movement of the whole QP to the edge of the vP phase would result in the whole not being spelled out, as stated by (41ii), which is not the case because the Q part is lexically realized. Given that in this structure the null classifier is embedded under the Q, we need to assume that the spelled out part containing the Q is extracted out of the complex [QP PERSON/THING NP]. This leads to a rather complex derivation, where the lower portion including PERSON/THING and NP first moves to the highest specifier of the QP and then to the edge of the vP.<sup>13</sup>

There is actually evidence that in OI the classifier can overtly move to the highest specifier of the QP: the movement is visible when the classifier is overt.

- (42) a. e chi allora m'avesse domandato di cosa alcuna  
and who then me had.3sg asked of thing any

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<sup>13</sup> One might wonder why movement to the “edge” of the QP is not enough, however, most probably QPs are not phases, therefore the condition of licensing does not apply.

‘who then had asked me about anything’ (VN 40)

- b. Se vuo’ dunque che lla femmina faccia cosa alcuna, comandile il contrario  
 if want.2sg therefore that the woman does thing any order.imp-her the opposite  
 e farallo

and will.do.3sg-it

‘If you want a woman to do something, order her the opposite and she will do it’

(*De Amore* 321)

- c. della qual cosa neuna è più pericolosa  
 of.the which thing no is more dangerous

‘which is mostly dangerous’ (*Vegezio* 179)

After the first step in the derivation, the QP can be extracted and located in its surface position, while the remnant including PERSON/THING NP is moved to the edge of the vP.

The various steps in the derivation are illustrated in (43):

- (43) a. [QP tutto [ClassP THING [NP e]]  
 b. [ClassP THING [NP e] [QP tutto [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~]  
 c. [vP [ClassP THING [NP e] [QP tutto [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~]] [VP [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~]  
~~e]~~ [~~QP tutto [ClassP THING [NP e]~~]  
 d. [AsP [QP tutto [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~] [vP [ClassP THING [NP e] [QP tutto [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~]  
~~THING [NP e]~~]] [VP [~~ClassP THING [NP e]~~] [~~QP tutto [ClassP THING [NP e]~~]

The first step of the derivation (43a to b) there is only movement internal to the QP, in step c. the whole complex QP is raised to the edge of the vP and in step d. the Q-portion is raised higher (to the position that Cinque (1999) assumes for Modern Italian *tutto*) and, not being in a phase edge, spelled out lexically.

Hence, bare quantifiers have to move when they include a null classifier-like noun, but they need not (and thus cannot) when they have a lexically spelled out one. The corresponding English quantifier *everything*, *everybody* do not see to move higher than usual DPs, as expected because their internal classifier-like element is spelled out.

One argument in favor of this analysis is provided by data from modern Southern Italian dialect (and pointed out to me by Roberta D’Alessandro p.c. for Abruzzese and Adam Ledgeway p.c. for Neapolitan) is that these varieties actually have both possibilities, they can lexically realize or not the classifier, but, when the classifier is lexically present, the position of the QP changes and

becomes postparticipial, as expected by Kayne's theory (see Kayne (2006) who notices the same alternation for the element *enough*).

- (44) a. Mə so lettə tuttə cosə  
 me am read all things
- b. \*Mə so lettə tuttə  
 me am read all
- c. Tuttə (cosə) mə so lettə  
 all things me am read  
 'I read everything'
- d. ??Mə lə so tuttə lettə  
 me them am all read  
 'I read them all'

One further problem that needs to be tackled if we adopt the analysis proposed here concerns the exact target position of the lexical Q. The most straightforward hypothesis is to assume that *tutto/tutti* move in OI to the same position they move to in Modern Italian and French, with the only difference that in OI the past participle remains lower (and most probably in the vP because of the V2-like property) like in French while in Modern Italian it raises to the left of the QP. If this is correct, then old and modern Italian actually differ in the range of past participle movement. In chapter 2 I discussed the problem of using Cinque's test with adverbs to determine the exact position of the past participle in OI, because adverbs can also scramble. Hence, the fact that low adverbs can occur to the left of the past participle, as shown in (45) could be due to scrambling of the adverb itself.

- (45) a. se colui avea bene consigliato o no  
 if he had.3sg well advised or not  
 'if he had given a good advice or not' (*Rettorica* 146)
- b. È bene pagato Lapo barbiere  
 is well paid L. barber  
 'Lapo the barber is paid' (*Registro di Cafaggio* 293)



If the analysis of bare quantifiers is correct, then we have another test to determine the position of the past participle, because bare quantifiers cannot scramble, due to their peculiar structure which contains a null classifier that has to be licensed.

This analysis predicts that the respective position of low adverbs and *tutto* should be the same in old and modern Italian. Unfortunately the prediction is not testable, as there are no cases in the corpus where *tutto/tutti* appears with *bene*, *più ancora* and the other low adverbs used in Cinque (1999).<sup>14</sup> Therefore, I leave this point open for lack of data.

One further argument that can be brought in favor of the analysis proposed here is that it explains why bare quantifiers followed by a relative clause require an additional pronoun like in ‘*tutto ciò*’ or ‘*tutti coloro*’. This is so, because the requirement imposed by the relative clause (namely the need to raise to the IdentificationP) clashes with the requirement imposed by the null classifier (which in order to be licensed must move higher to the edge of the vP). Hence, languages with null classifier must always realize the structure occurring lower than the Q overtly, and do so by means of a pronoun.

Summarizing what we have seen so far, we can state that QPs behave differently according to the item they are paired with: if they are paired to DPs, they behave like DPs. If they are paired to a relative clause, they must move to an identificational position (and thereby forcing remnant VP movement to GroundP). If they are paired to a null classifier, this must raise to the edge of the vP, and this movement is followed by extraction of the bare QP, which moves to the completive Asp position (for which it has features) already singled out in Cinque’s work on Modern Italian.

This analysis also sheds light on a problem left open in chapter 2, namely the movement range of the past participle, which seems to be located lower in OI than it is in Modern (standard) Italian.

In the next chapter I will describe the distribution of negative quantifiers, of the element *cosa* and discuss empirical evidence that this hypothesis is correct.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have provided evidence for a tripartition of QPs in OI: QPs are invariable postparticipial when they are modified by a relative clause. I have proposed that this is actually the effect of the movement of the QP + relative to an Identificational position followed by remnant VP

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<sup>14</sup> The corpus contains only a case of *ancora tutto* in first position of the clause and one case of *tutto ancora* meaning ‘although’, no cases of *più tutto* or *tutto più* are present or *sempre tutto/tutto sempre*. There are 17 instances of *tutto bene*, but it means in variable ‘all the good’, which is not a relevant reading.

movement as QPs followed by a relative clause are always located after all other arguments but occur in front of adjuncts.

Complex quantified expressions of the type Q + DP follow the same distributional pattern like definite DPs: they are located in postparticipial position in the majority of the instances, although in about a third of the cases, they occur in preparticipial position. The analysis assumed is the same already proposed for definite DPs in chapter 2.

The third type of position is the one of bare QPs, which are consistently located higher than the past participle. I have shown that this split between bare and non bare QPs is not related to the morphosyntactic weakness of bare QPs, and is also a property of quantifiers that are not ambiguous with an adverbial reading.

The movement of bare quantifiers correlates with the fact that OI can have overt classifiers like *cosa/persona*, and I have proposed that the obligatory movement of bare quantifiers is related to the presence of a null classifier THING or PERSON that forces movement of the bare quantifier to the vP edge. In the next chapter I will provide evidence for this hypothesis coming from negative quantifiers.

## Chapter 6

### Negative words

#### 1. Introduction

In this chapter I will analyze another case of optionality, which I will claim to be only apparent and to be related to structural ambiguity. Since Martins (2001) it is well-known that n-words in the Old Romance languages trigger negative concord only optionally both in preverbal and in postverbal position, while Modern Italian is a non-strict negative concord language in the sense of Zeijlstra (2004).<sup>1</sup> This optionality is, as Martins already points out, also to be observed in OI for simple n-words and complex n-phrases in preverbal position, (both subject or focus position). This observation is made by Zanuttini (2010) for OI, by Ledgeway (2009) for Old Neapolitan and by Parry (2010) for various Northern Italian dialects.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. E neuno di voi si spaventi...  
and no.one of you refl fears  
'None of you gets scared...' (*VeV* 69)
- b. Nulla cosa ti vale...  
no thing you serves  
'It is worth nothing...' (*Tesoretto* 237)
- (2) a. e neuno non andasse poscia in paradiso...  
and no.one not went.3sg after in heaven  
'(so that) no one will go to heaven' (*VeV* 78)
- b. Che da ssé nulla non truovi...  
that by himself nothing not finds  
'That finds nothing by himself' (*FR* 106)
- c. Portava la sua spada a collo e nulla altra spada non portava  
carried.3sg the his sword at neck and no other sword not carried.3sg  
'He carried his sword tied at the neck and carried no other sword' (*Tristano* 403)

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<sup>1</sup> This means that in Modern Italian n-words are obligatorily paired to the negative marker when they are postverbal but not when they are preverbal.

<sup>2</sup> We do not know of other work concerning Old Italian varieties that mentions this feature, but it is probably to be extended to other varieties.

The same type of pattern emerges if we consider post-verbal n-words (or phrases), which can occur with the negative marker, as shown in (3):<sup>3</sup>

- (3)           Ma non valse           neente...  
          but not served.3sg nothing  
          ‘But it did not help...’ (VeV 82)

but also without the negative marker as in (4):

- (4)   a.    E fede senza opera, overo opera senza fede,  
          and faith without deed or    deed without faith  
          è neente a potere aver paradiso  
          is nothing to can.inf have.inf heaven  
          ‘Faith without deeds or deeds without faith are worth nothing to reach heaven’  
          (VeV 30)
- b.    Rispose l’abate e disse: Voi andate e farete niente,  
          answered.3sg the abbot and said.3sg you go.2pl and will.do.2pl nothing  
          però che non è ancora venuto il tempo che stabolito est  
          because that not is yet    come the time that established is  
          ‘The abbot answered: you will go and will do nothing, since the established time has  
          yet not come’ (CF 106)

It is clear that something must have changed in the system from the medieval period, and, as we will see, the change probably occurred around the first half of the XIV century, as after that period, the system we find becomes rather similar to the modern Italian one.

Martin (2001) attributes the optionality exemplified above to the fact that these languages are changing from strict to non-strict negative concord languages and n-words are ambiguous between NPIs and real negative quantifiers. In section 2 I will show that this idea is fundamentally correct, and that the phenomenon of negative concord does not depend on properties of the negative marker *non*, as one might think. Along the same lines proposed by Martins, Depréz (to appear) claims that the ambiguous status of n-words as NPIs or as negative quantifiers is related to their ambiguous

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<sup>3</sup> In what follows we will refer to *n-words* meaning both bare and non bare n-elements, as we have not found any distributional difference between the two types.

internal structure. Depréz's idea is that real negative quantifiers have an additional projection which makes them QPs, while in NPIs this projection is lacking. Here I will follow Depréz's idea in its conception and modify her proposal only with respect to the actual null element contained inside the structure of n-words in a way parallel to the one already proposed for non-negative quantifiers like *tutto* and *tutti* in the last chapter.

In section 3 I will show that there is a link between the internal structure of n-words and their position in the clause. In order to do so, I will concentrate on the distribution the n-word *niente/neente/neiente* and *neuna cosa*, all meaning 'nothing, as this is the only element that displays clear distributional restrictions, while complex n-phrases have an even more complex pattern. The n-word *niente* has an adverbial as well an argumental usage. As we will see, its behavior with respect to negative concord differs in the two usages, as the adverb requires negative concord while the argument does not. The proposal in a nutshell is that negative concord is linked to the position of the n-word: adverbial *niente* is merged in the same phase as the negative marker and thus triggers negative concord; negative concord is not possible when *niente* is an argument in its base position is in the VP because it is not in the same phase as the negative marker and negative concord is blocked across phases. Moreover, in section 4 I will provide evidence that negative concord is indirectly linked to the internal structure of n-word, which changes according the its position, as *neuna cosa* is only found in preverbal position while *niente* is only postverbal (at least in the system until the beginning of the XIV century). I will propose that the alternation between *niente* and *neuna cosa* is similar to the one found *tutto/tutte cose* as described in the previous chapter: a classifier-like element contained inside the structure of n-words can be lexicalized or not depending on its position, as proposed by Kayne (2006).

Ideally, the analysis of *niente* should also be valid for all other n-phrases, though the data are not as clear cut as they are for *niente*. As complex n-phrases do not display an adverbial usage, it is difficult to show that they can occupy different positions in the IP. Moreover, as the negative concord pattern for complex n-phrases seems to be related to the type of text, the author, and in some cases to French influence,<sup>4</sup> which would require a very detailed philological work on each text or at least each author, I will leave complex n-phrases aside. My goal here is a more modest one, I will restrict the analysis to *niente*, whose pattern emerges clear clearly from the data, leaving an extension of the analysis to all other n-elements to further research.

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<sup>4</sup> This is probably the case of the *Tristano*, where the preverbal negative marker occurs very often with preverbal n-words and elements like *persona* or *cosa* are very often used as n-words on a par with French *personne* and *rien*.

## 2. The negative marker *non* and optional negative concord

Before dealing with n-words, I will briefly discuss the properties of the negative marker *non* in OI, as it might be the case that the optional negative concord phenomenon already noted by Martins (2001) is actually due to the properties of the negative marker, not to those of n-words. This hypothesis is not so far fetched, as since Zanuttini (1997) it is known that those Italian dialects that have a preverbal negative marker generally require negative concord obligatorily, while those with a postverbal negative marker do not always do so. Even all the cases discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2005) about postverbal negative markers which indeed have negative concord do not invalidate the generalization that preverbal negative markers invariably require negative concord. In order to exclude this hypothesis I will show that, although there are some differences between Old and Modern Italian in the distribution of *non*, they do not seem to influence the phenomenon of negative concord. The argument runs as follows: I compare OI with some Modern Italian dialects, that display the same type of *non* as OI but which have the same type of negative concord that is found in Modern Italian. This means that the properties of *non* found in OI are to be dissociated from the distribution of negative concord.

The only comprehensive work on the negative marker in OI is Zanuttini (2010), who notices that the position of the OI negative marker *non* in the sentence is apparently identical to the one of Modern Italian as it occurs in front of the inflected verb but after the preverbal subject and the only elements that can split this sequence are clitics.

However, while *non* is generally assumed to be a head in Modern Italian, in OI it seems to have an ambiguous status between a head and an XP. The negative marker in OI can trigger proclisis of object clitics, which is the typical configuration found when an XP located in the Focus/Operator layer precedes the inflected verb (see the discussion on enclitics in chapter 1). If the negative marker were a head, enclisis would be obligatory, as in the case in which the SpecFocus/Op position is empty.

- (5)           avendo le signorie e li officii e li onori e le grandi cose, e  
              having the lordships and the charges and the honors and the great things and  
              non si trametteano delle cause private  
              not refl interfered.3pl of.the causes private  
              ‘having the power, the charges, the honors and all the other great things, they did not  
              interfere with private matters’ (*Rettorica* 31)

In Benincà's (2006) framework highlighted in chapter 1 and adopted here, this means that *non* can at least optionally be interpreted as a Specifier, not only a head.

Following this line of reasoning, one might think that the optionality in negative concord is due to the ambiguous status of the negative marker: when it is a specifier, no negative concord is possible, when it is a head, negative concord is obligatory. Although this hypothesis might be at first sight rather appealing, it does not stand the proof of modern varieties. Several modern Italian dialects display "residues" of the Tobler-Mussafia rule, which would induce us to analyze the negative marker as an XP. However, no optional negative concord is found there.

I will illustrate two cases: some Rhaetoromance dialects (like the Badiot spoken in S. Leonardo and the older variant of the variety of Cortina) display obligatory proclisis with negative imperatives, but obligatory enclisis with positive imperatives (see Poletto and Zanuttini (2003):

- (6) a. Faal  
do-it  
b. \*L'fa  
it-do  
'Do it!'

- (7) a. No l fa  
not it do  
b. \*No faal  
not do-it  
'Do not do it!'

Here the negative marker counts as the first XP of the clause, requiring proclisis, while enclisis is the rule when no negation is present. If there was a connection between this property and negative concord, we would expect to find the same pattern illustrated above for OI also in Rhaetoromance dialects. However, these dialects display no optional negative concord with n-words, negative concord is obligatory as in modern standard Italian:<sup>5</sup>

- (8) a. I n a ody degugn  
I not have.1sg seen no-one  
'I have seen nobody'

---

<sup>5</sup> Some of these dialects also have a postverbal negative marker, *nia*, which is obligatory when there is no n.word.

degugn a man'dʒe ki'lo nkö  
 no-one has eaten here  
 'Nobody has eaten here'

The same occurs for Neapolitan (and more generally the varieties of the Campania area) with infinitives, which display proclisis with the negative marker, but enclisis when negation is not present:

- (9) a. Penso e no purtà rimani  
 think.1sg of not-it take.inf tomorrow  
 'I think I cannot bring it tomorrow'
- b. Vago a trovarlo  
 go.1sg to find.inf-him  
 'I am going to see him'

Still, these dialects do not display any optionality and the negative concord pattern we find with *n-* words is the same of Modern Italian (see Ledgeway (2009)).

Hence, we can conclude on the basis of modern dialects that the phenomenon of obligatory proclisis with the negative marker is not to be related to optional negative concord in any sense. Even if the negative marker should count as an XP, and not as a head, this has no effect on the negative concord pattern.

Another difference between the Old and Modern Italian negation is a phenomenon at the interface between phonology and morphology (see Garzonio and Poletto (2011)): when an object clitic appears, part of the negative marker disappears and the two elements cluster to form a syllable:

- (10) a. Il prossimo tuo non ucciderai e nol fedirai e no li  
 the next your not will.kill.2sg and not-him will.hurt.2sg and not to.him  
 farai in persona alcuno rincrescimento  
 will.do.2sg in person any damage  
 'You shall not kill or hurt or harm your neighbor' (*VeV* 37)

One might think that this clustering phenomenon where part of the negative marker (the coda segment /n/) is deleted is evidence in favor of the analysis that the negative marker in OI is bimorphemic, and is segmented as *no-n*. When an object clitic with a compatible syllable structure



appears next to the negative marker, the last formative is deleted. Given that in modern Italian the phenomenon is not present, one might think that negative concord is related to the mono- or bi-morphemic status of the negative marker.

However, once again, similar phenomena of clustering between the negative marker and object clitics are found in modern dialects (here I use an example from Sicilian, in the variety of Catania, but the phenomenon is extremely widespread in Southern Dialects):

- (11) Penzu ca rumani n o pottu. (Catania)  
 think.1sg that tomorrow not it bring.1sg  
 ‘I think I cannot bring it tomorrow’

As Sicilian does not display the pattern of negative concord found in OI, but the one of Modern Italian (see Cruschina (2010)), I conclude that the fact that negation is bi-morphemic (attested by the clustering with object clitics) is not to be connected to the property triggering optional negative concord in OI.

The last possible feature of the negative marker related to negative concord has to do with the development of a postverbal negative marker, which in several colloquial Italian varieties is rather widespread nowadays. However, OI and its modern counterpart do not differ with respect to the usage of a postverbal negative marker, as *mica* could already be used as a “reinforcer” of negation, as shown by Zanuttini (2010). Actually, this is a well known state of affairs, as Italian is often referred to as a case of “blocked” Jespersen cycle (see van Gelderen (2011)). Therefore, there does not seem to be direct evidence to tie the phenomenon of optional negative concord to the syntactic properties of negative marker. If we exclude this hypothesis, the only viable hypothesis is that optional negative concord is indeed a function of n-words. Hence, I will devote the rest of the chapter to investigate this possibility.

Before starting my investigation it is necessary to point out that not all cases of postverbal n-words lacking a preverbal negative marker have to be analyzed as real cases of optional negative concord, as some constructions are known to typically license n-words as polarity items even without the presence of the negative marker. One such case is represented by if-clauses, which in OI are consistently found without the negative marker.

- (12) S’io dico nulla, s’i son ripigliato...  
 if I say.1sg nothing so am caught.again  
 ‘If I say anything, so I am caught again.’ (C. Davanzati CXVII, 360)

Cases like (12) are well known in the literature on languages like English, where negative polarity items are possible although no negation is around. Hence, all if-clauses will be eliminated from the examples investigated. The same is true of interrogative clauses, which are known to license negative polarity items and in fact do so also in OI.<sup>6</sup>

- (13) Dimmi, Merlino, dell'avere d'Atene fu trovato niente?  
 tell.me. Merlin of.the possessions of Athens was found nothing  
 'Tell me, Merlin, was anything from the goods of Athens discovered?'  
 (*Merlino* 48)

All these cases are known to be instances of weak polarity items, which do not need to be licensed through the negative marker, but are also compatible with other operators. Martins (2001) already shows that this is the case in all Old Romance languages, and that there is a general trend in evolution according to which weak polarity items have become strong polarity items (which can only be licensed in negative environments), thus restricting their span of possible contexts. However, the Florentine variety of Italian has never changed with respect to this property, as cases like (12) or (13) are perfectly possible in Modern Florentine (Jacopo Garzonio, p.c.) while other standard Italian speakers find cases like (13) perfect, but cases like (12) marginal, though not totally excluded. Martins provides a longer list of contexts in which only weak polarity items occur, which I do not discuss here any further, I only point out that at least some of these contexts are still active, so according to her view modern Italian still has weak polarity items. All the weak polarity contexts mentioned by Martins have been taken out from the sample I use here. Hence, the following chapter only considers the distribution of *niente/neente/neiente/neuna cosa* as a strong NPI.

Further cases that have been excluded from the analysis are those where postverbal n-words never occur with the negative marker are clearly fixed expressions, as with the verb 'tornare a niente' literally 'amount to nothing', 'become nothing':

- (14) a. Cadendo diventa picciola, e spesso torna a niente...  
 falling becomes small and often gets to nothing  
 'When it falls it becomes small and often disappears' (*Pucci* 25)  
 b. Et poi che' savi intralassar lo studio d' eloquenzia, ella tornò ad neente

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<sup>6</sup> This is also true of modern standard Italian, but not of several modern Southern Italian dialects, where n.-words are substituted in interrogatives by an existential quantifier.

and after that wisemen glossed over the study of eloquence it got.3sg to nothing  
 ‘And after the wisemen glossed over the study of eloquence, it disappeared’  
 (*Rettorica* 34)

Also these cases have been taken out of the sample of examples used in the following sections. Moreover, the time limit has been set to the year 1315, as after this period the grammar radically changes (as we will see below). The reason why I will concentrate on the elements meaning ‘nothing’, is that, as mentioned above, they display clear distributional properties that can help us to show that the phenomenon of negative concord is sensitive to the position of the n-word and this is also true of the actual form of the element.

### 3. The asymmetric distribution of *niente/neiente/neente*<sup>7</sup>

If we consider modern languages, we expect to find a distinction between positive and negative quantifiers, for instance Svenonius (2000) shows that while positive quantifiers (and quantified DPs as well) only optionally occur in front of the past participle in Icelandic, negative quantifiers are obligatorily preposed, while non quantified DPs only display VO order. That negative quantifiers have a different distribution with respect to other quantifiers is also shown by Old Italian. In what follows I will examine the distribution of the bare quantifier *niente/neente/neiente*<sup>8</sup> ‘nothing’ and discuss how its exceptional behavior might depend on its internal structure. In the OVI data base there are 1914 occurrences of *niente*, 603 of *neente* and 63 of *neiente*. The three lexemes do not seem to display a different distribution, however I will keep the data concerning *neente* and *niente* apart and will not report here those on *neiente*, because they essentially confirm what can be observed for the other two items, but they are quantitatively too few in order to establish well grounded empirical generalizations.

As anticipated above, the n-word *niente* is special as it displays two distinct usages, it can be used as an argument:

- (15) e non hanno potuto avere niente  
 and not have.3pl been.able get.inf nothing  
 ‘...and they couldn’t get anything’ (*VeV* 24)

<sup>7</sup> The three attested forms present an identical syntax, therefore I will treat them alike.

<sup>8</sup> In what follows I will refer to the set of elements *niente/neiente/neente/nulla* as *niente*, whose distribution has similar properties when not otherwise indicated.

or as an adverb roughly meaning ‘at all’ which emphasizes negation.

- (16)           Elli non si ispezzerebbe    niente...  
          he not refl would.break.3sg nothing  
          ‘It would not break at all’ (*Tesoro* 11)

Although modern Standard Italian does not display the adverbial usage, there are several (mainly Northern) colloquial varieties where *niente* occurs in the adverbial usage with a series of intransitive verbs (see Garzonio and Poletto (2009) for a description of the distribution of *niente* in Veneto).

In OI adverbial *niente* is rather frequent: for instance the data base contains 91 cases of bare object *neente* (the others are PPs) and 39 examples of adverbial *neente*.<sup>9</sup> The adverbial usage is found in Germanic varieties and colloquial English as pointed out by Bayer (2009) and in the development of Low German *nichts* (as pointed out by Breitbarth (to appear)), which started out doubling the preverbal negative marker *en* precisely with the same meaning. Both Bayer (2009) and Breitbarth (to appear) observe that in Germanic varieties the adverbial usage of ‘nothing’ is only possible when there is no direct object present. This is clearly not the case in OI, as shown by the following examples, where *niente* co-occurs with a definite object (17a) or with an object clitic (17b):<sup>10</sup>

- (17) a       Molte cose dissero di che non mostrano niente la veritade...  
          Many things said.3pl of which not show.3pl nothing the truth  
          ‘They said many things about which they did not show the truth at all’ (*Tesoro* b53)
- b.       Che no la pò om neiente fugire...  
          that not it can.3sg man nothing flee  
          ‘that a man cannot avoid it at all’ (*C. Davanzati* XI, 45)

The interesting thing is that there is a striking asymmetry between the two usages: the adverbial element always triggers negative concord while the argument only optionally does so. Garzonio and Poletto (2012) investigated the whole OVI corpus for the forms *niente/neente/neiente* and found that the percentage of lack of negative concord in the adverbial usage is 0%. Only examples with negative concord are possible, as illustrated below:

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<sup>9</sup> Some cases are ambiguous between an argumental and an adverbial usage when the verb can be used in a transitive and intransitive way. Here I have only counted as adverbial the cases which are unambiguously so.

<sup>10</sup> It might be the case that OI *niente* was already undergoing a first stage of grammaticalization of the Jespersen cycle, as suggested by A. Breitbarth (p.c.). However, I will not pursue this problem here.

- (18) Egli non si dee niente disperare...  
 he not refl must.3sg nothing give.up.to.despair.inf  
 ‘He must not despair at all’ (*Tesoro* d300)

On the other hand, the argumental usage of *neente* displays 35,1% of lack of negative concord (82 cases out of 233 cases).

- (19) a. ...l’altre parti della diceria, delle quali non è detto neente...  
 the other parts of.the message of.the which not is said nothing  
 ‘...the other parts of the message, about which nothing is said...’ (*Rettorica* 142)
- b. E fede senza opera, overo opera senza fede, è neente a potere aver paradiso  
 and faith without deeds or deeds without faith is nothing to can.inf have.inf heaven  
 ‘And faith without deeds or deeds without faith are worth nothing for going to  
 heaven.’ (*VeV* 14)

The percentage is suspiciously similar to the ones found in chapter 2 and 5 for cases of scrambling of definite DPs or quantified DPs, an indication which I will take back later on. In any case, we can formulate the following generalization:

- (20) Generalization: argumental *niente* can be found in postverbal position without the negative marker while adverbial *niente* cannot.

It is important to notice that adverbial *niente* is not special in any sense with respect to other negative adverbs, as *mai*, ‘never’ *mica*<sup>11</sup> ‘not at all’ or *piú* ‘no-more’, as they display obligatory negative concord, both in pre- and postverbal position:

- (21) a. ...elli istava tutto tempo tristo e dolente e mai non faceva bella ciera  
 he stayed.3sg all time sad and grieving and never not did.3sg nice face  
 ‘He was sad all the time, and suffering, and never had a good aspect’  
 (*Egidio Romano* 251)
- b. Ché non retorna mai la parola ch’è detta...

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<sup>11</sup> See Garzonio (2008) and Garzoni and Poletto (2012) for a detailed discussion of the distribution of *mica* in OI and its subsequent development.

since not comes.back never the word that is said  
 ‘Since a spoken word never comes back’ (*Tesoretto* 232)

- c. Non si posa mai in alcun ramo verde...  
 not refl lays never on any branch green  
 ‘It never stays on a green branch’ (*Tesoro* b197)

*Mica* (a negative adverbial marker with different pragmatic interpretations; see Cinque 1976) can also only appear in postverbal position but before objects and past participle (i.e. in the low IP area) and always displays negative concord.

- (22) a. No ‘l vo’ celare mica...  
 not it want.1sg hide.inf not  
 ‘I do not want to conceal it’ (*Neri Poponi* 259)
- b. La grandezza delle magioni non cessa mica la febbre  
 the largeness of.the houses not extinguishes not the fever  
 ‘The large size of a home does not extinguish the fever’ (*Tesoro* c461)
- c. Lo re Artù nonn è mica morto...  
 the king Arthur not is not dead  
 ‘King Arthur is not dead...’ (*Tristano* 400)

As Garzonio and Poletto (2012) notice, *mica* can be raised to preverbal position only in a cluster with *né* (or *non*), a configuration derived through movement of the whole negated constituent from its basic position to [Spec, Focus] in CP:

- (23) E quando ‘l Grande Kane seppe queste cose, egli non si spaventòe né mica...  
 and when the great Khan knew.3sg these things he not refl feared.3sg and.not not  
 ‘And when the Great Khan learned these things, he didn’t get scared’  
 (*Milione* 116)

- (24) a. Né mica disse istamane cotestui il paternostro di san Giuliano  
 and.not not said.3sg this.morning he the paternoster of saint G.  
 ‘This morning he did not say the paternoster of Saint Julian’  
 (*Trecentonovelle* XXXIII, 78)
- b. Federigo di Stoffo già né mica par che si celi...

F. of Hohenstaufen already and not not seems that refl hides  
'Frederick of Hohenstaufen does not appear to hide...' (*Monte* 470)

We can thus reformulate the generalization above as follows:

- (25) Only argumental n-elements can display lack of negative concord in OI, adverbial n-elements always require it.

In order to explain this generalization, we evidently have to capitalize on the distinction between adverbs and arguments. The most straightforward hypothesis that comes to mind is that the distinction might be related to the merged position of arguments and adverbs. Arguments are inserted in the low vP phase, while adverbs are inserted higher than the vP. According to Cinque's (1999) view on the syntax of AdvPs, which I adopt here, adverbs are merged in a functional domain higher than the argumental one in specifier positions of FPs related to their semantic value. Hence, adverbs are always merged in the same phase where the negative marker also occurs, as NegP is most probably located higher than TP in both old and modern Italian (see Zanuttini (1997)). If one thinks of negative concord as an agreement procedure of some sort (as recently proposed by Zeijlstra (2004) and Haegeman and Londahl (2010)), the obvious hypothesis which comes to mind is that negative concord is always obligatory within a phase and impossible across phases. If adverbs are merged in the same phase as *non*, then the agreement procedure is forced to apply, resulting in obligatory negative concord. If this hypothesis is correct, the prediction made by Cinque's theory is that adverbial *niente* should occur on the left of some lower adverbs. In the following section I will consider the position of adverbial *niente*.

As for arguments, we know that they are generated in the VP, hence not in the same phase as the negative marker, hence, negative concord should always be blocked. However, as we have seen, argumental *niente* displays optionality. In section 2.3 I will argue that arguments can occupy more than one position, they can either stay within the VP (in which case no negative concord applies) or they can move to higher positions, either at the edge of the vP or higher than it, and in both cases negative concord applies.

### 3.2 The position of adverbial *niente*





- (29) Sanza ch' alcun se 'n parta mai niente...  
 without that anyone refl from.it separates never nothing  
 'Without anyone ever separating from it at all' (*Ameto* 722)

This prediction is borne out as well.

The following structure summarizes the position of *niente* with respect to *mai* and *bene* according to Cinque's adverbial hierarchy:

- (30) a. [<sub>AspP</sub> perfect *mai*.... [<sub>AspP</sub> completive *tutto* [<sub>XP</sub> ***niente*** [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *bene*  
 [<sub>TopicP</sub> scrambled XPs [<sub>FocusP</sub> scrambled XPs [<sub>VP</sub>]]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>AspP</sub> perfect *mai*.... [<sub>AspP</sub> completive *tutto* [<sub>XP</sub> [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *bene* [<sub>TopicP</sub> scrambled XPs  
 [<sub>FocusP</sub> scrambled XPs [<sub>VP</sub> ***niente***]]]]]]

Hence, I conclude that adverbial *niente* is indeed located higher than the vP, in the lower part of the IP layer.

### 3.3 Argumental *niente*

If the analysis that links negative concord to the position of the n-words is correct, we expect to find no negative concord with arguments, which, as already shown in the introduction, is not true. I would like to put forth that the optionality of negative concord with argumental *niente* is related to the fact that arguments can occupy more than one position, not only the merge-position in the VP. This is actually true of all arguments, as discussed in chapter 2, because they can all be scrambled to the edge of the vP to Topic or Focus positions. Hence, argumental *niente* can at least have two positions, the basic one inside the VP and the one indicated with XP at the edge of the vP, as illustrated in (31).

- (31) a. [<sub>AspP</sub> perfect *mai*..[<sub>AspP</sub> completive *tutto* [<sub>XP</sub>.... [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *bene* [<sub>VP</sub> ***niente***]]]]]]  
 b. [<sub>AspP</sub> perfect *mai* [<sub>AspP</sub> completive *tutto* [<sub>XP</sub> ....[<sub>VoiceP</sub> *bene* [<sub>GroundP</sub>  
 [<sub>FocusP</sub> ***niente*** [<sub>VP</sub>[<sub>VP</sub> ***niente***] ]...]

Furthermore, a third possibility arises, given that the element is lexically ambiguous between an argumental and an adverbial reading, namely that the argument also exploits the adverbial position, as *tutto* obligatorily does in OI (as we have already seen in chapter 5).

(32) [AspP perfect *mai*..[AspP complet *tutto* [XP *niente* [VoiceP *bene* [VP *niente*]]]]

Hence, Bayer's intuition that there is a link between the argumental and the adverbial usage of the *n*-word is fundamentally correct. However, given that the adverbial usage is indeed compatible with a direct object in OI, i.e. *niente* cannot be generated in the object position, I propose that the link between the adverbial and the argumental usage is reversed with respect to the intuition that Bayer develops in his work on German: in OI it is the argument that exploits the adverbial position rather than the opposite as in the Germanic varieties investigated by Bayer. Notice that this is exactly the analysis already proposed by Cinque (1999) for the bare quantifier *tutto*, which I simply extend to bare *niente*. In what follows I will review some arguments in favor of this analysis.

Before doing that, I just point out that *niente* has a different behavior with respect to the bare quantifier *tutto*, because *tutto* invariably surfaces in the adverbial position (as in (32)), i.e. before the past participle and before all scrambled objects, and cannot remain inside the VP or exploits the topic and focus positions at the edge of the vP.

At the end of the chapter I will go back to the problem and try to relate it to the more complex internal structure of the quantifier *niente* with respect to *tutto*.

#### 4. Arguments in favor of the analysis

In this section I review three arguments that show that while adverbial *niente* occur in a fixed position, argumental *niente* can occupy more than one position.

##### 4.1 Minimal variation

If the analysis provided above is correct, we expect argumental *niente* to occur higher than low adverbs like *bene* 'well' but lower than adverbs like *mai* 'never', as already shown with adverbial *niente* (see above (28)/(29)). However, the OVI data base does not contain any examples for old Florentine of the combinations of argumental *niente* with any of the following low adverbs: *bene*, *ben* 'well', *male*, *mal* 'bad(ly)', *di sicuro* 'surely', *del tutto* 'completely', *sempre* 'always', *così*, *sì*

‘in this way’. The whole corpus contains a single example of *mai* ‘never’ followed by the form *neente*, which confirms the analysis, but it is still a case of adverbial *niente*:

- (33) Affano non sofers’io mai neiente in voi amar  
pain not suffered I never nothing in you loving

Hence, the only possibility to test the prediction is the look at another OI variety, not Old Florentine, which is similar to Florentine and see whether we find the required sequence of *niente*+adverb.

The best candidate is Old Neapolitan, because it has already been thoroughly analyzed by Ledgeway (2009) in all its evolution from the oldest to the modern stage. Older phases of Neapolitan display a very similar system with respect to OI. The item *niente* exists in Neapolitan too, and the peculiar adverbial usage already illustrated for OI *niente* is also attested:

- (34) ...per quella feruta non essendo spaventato niente...  
for that wound not being scared nothing  
‘...not scared at all for that wound...’  
(LFT 172.24 quoted from Ledgeway, 2009: 691)<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, *niente* is generally located lower than *mai*, just like in OI:<sup>14</sup>

- (35) ...tu nun capisce maie niente!  
you not understand.2sg never nothing  
‘You never understand anything!’  
(De Filippo 204 quoted from Ledgeway, 2009: 691)

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<sup>13</sup> I report here the same abbreviations used by Ledgeway.

<sup>14</sup> The two grammatical systems are also similar in allowing for preverbal n-words in general to be followed by a negative marker (a property which has disappeared from both Neapolitan (i) and Florentine (ii)):

- (i) Volea che nessuno re non vincesse...  
wanted.3sg that no king not won.3sg  
‘He wanted that no king won...’ (Lupo de Spechio, *Summa* I 61.3)
- (ii) E neuno non andasse poscia in paradiso...  
and no-one not went.3sg after in heaven  
‘...(that) no one went in heavens after that...’ (VeV 78)

However, one interesting difference noticed by Ledgeway is the fact that Old Neapolitan, on a par with modern Italian, obligatorily requires the preverbal negative marker *non* when the n-word is postverbal. According to our analysis, this predicts that in Old Neapolitan, bare *niente* always moves to the IP space and thus precedes the lowest adverbs. This prediction is borne out, as there are several cases of *niente* combined with *cchiù* ‘no/anymore’ in Ledgeway’s corpus, and only the order *niente-cchiù* is found, as shown below:

- (36) a. Io non ve dico niente cchiù...  
 I not to.you say.1sg nothing anymore  
 ‘I do not tell you anything more...’ (Scarpetta)
- b. Non potimmo fa niente cchiù  
 not can.1pl do.inf nothing more  
 ‘We cannot do anything more’ (Scarpetta)

Hence the prediction that cannot be tested in Old Florentine is verified by the Old Neapolitan system: when *niente* co-occurs with a low adverb, it precedes it and crucially, negative concord is obligatory in this case.

#### 4.2 PPs including niente

Another piece of evidence in favor of the idea that lack of negative concord is only possible in the merge object position, while movement of the quantifier triggers negative concord, is provided by the following observation: bare *niente* can also occur preceded by a preposition. In these cases the percentage of negative concord drops dramatically. In the texts of the XIII century (until 1302) are 69 occurrences of bare object *neente* with negative concord and only 11 of non negative concord. If we consider PPs, the percentages are the opposite: only 4 cases have negative concord and 44 lack negative concord. Also the form *niente* displays a similar asymmetry: when it is bare, it has negative concord in 73 cases, with only 8 cases of absence of negative concord, while when it is in a prepositional phrase, 19 occurrences lack negative concord, and only 5 have negative concord.<sup>15</sup>

These data are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1: Negative Concord of postverbal *niente/neente* in the XIII c.

<sup>15</sup> All the tables in this chapter are quoted from Garzonio and Poletto (2012).

The clear asymmetry between bare *niente* and P+*niente* with respect to negative concord has to do with the fact that bare *niente* can exploit three positions, and that two of them trigger obligatory negative concord, while the third does not. They are: a) the merge position, where no negative concord occurs, b) the scrambling position at the edge of the vP, where negative concord is obligatory, c) the position of adverbial *niente* where negative concord is also obligatory.

P+*niente* can only occur in the merge position inside the VP or in a scrambling positions at the left edge of the vP, where negative concord is obligatory. The third position, namely the adverbial one cannot be used as P+*niente* cannot be interpreted as ambiguous with adverbial *niente*, because of the presence of the preposition. The different distribution of negative concord between bare *niente* and P+*niente* is thus to be attributed to the fact that only bare *niente* is lexically ambiguous between the argument and the adverb. This explains why in both cases negative concord is apparently optional: this is so, because only the merge position inside the VP blocks negative concord. However, given that bare *niente* has one more position where negative concord can apply (the one corresponding to the bare adverb), evidently the number of cases where negative concord is found in the corpus is much higher. On the other hand, when *niente* is associated to a P, the adverbial position is not available and the number of negative concord instances decreases.

Thus, the analysis presented here does not only account for the optionality on both bare *niente* and *niente* associated to a P, it also accounts for the fact that the number of negative concord cases with bare *niente* are higher than those with the PP.

Summing up, I have argued for the following analysis of the complex distributional pattern found with adverbial and argumental *niente*. I have shown that in OI negative concord is related to the position of the n-word: if *niente* stays *in situ* within the VP, no negative concord applies, if *niente* moves outside the VP, negative concord applies. Moreover, bare *niente* has two target positions where it can land when moved: the scrambling one at the left edge of the vP and the one higher than *bene* and located in the adverbial space. Both positions are visible from the high negative marker, therefore negative concord applies. P+*niente* cannot exploit the position of the bare adverb (precisely because it is not bare) and therefore the percentages of negative concord are much lower, though they still exist, because the other VP-external position, the scrambling one on the left edge of the vP, is available also to PPs. Notice that once again, *niente* seems to radically differ from *tutto*, a problem which I will discuss at the end of the chapter.

#### 4.3 Position with respect to the past participle

Another argument in favor of the idea that *niente* can occupy more than one position in the sentence comes from the fact that it can be found before or after the past participle, (or the non-finite form of the main verb), as shown in the following examples:

- (37) a. non hanno detto niente  
not have.3pl said nothing  
'They said nothing' (*FSI* 165)
- b. non hanno potuto avere niente  
not have.3pl been.able have.inf nothing  
'They could get nothing' (*VeV* 24)
- c. là non averemo noi niente guadagnato  
there not will.have.1pl we nothing gained  
'we will have gained nothing there' (*Paternostro* 42)
- d. Il mercatante non mi insegnò niente: no·lli era niente tenuto  
the merchant not me taught nothing not him was nothing obliged  
'The merchant taught me nothing, and nothing was due to him.' (*Nov.* VII, 144)

In (37a,b) argumental *niente* occurs after the inflected verb form while in (37c,d) it occurs before the past participle.

If we consider the position of adverbial *niente* with respect to non finite verbal forms, we observe the following situation:

- (38) a. L'uomo non dee niente acquistare le dignità per la Gloria  
the man not must.3sg nothing get.inf the dignities for the Glory  
'A man should not covet ranks for the sake of Glory' (*Tesoro* c346)
- b. una cosa non si dee niente dimenticare  
one thing not refl must.3sg nothing forget.inf  
'One thing must not be forgotten' (*Tesoro* d293)

Adverbial *niente* always occur in front of the past participle. This is expected given the analysis set forth here, as adverbial *niente* is located higher in the sentence structure, while argumental

*niente* can occupy three positions, thus giving origin to apparent optionality also in the respective order with non finite verbal forms.

### 5. The asymmetric distribution of *niente* and *neuna cosa*

Up to now, we have not considered the preverbal position of *niente*, and what happens when the element is located in front of the inflected verb; let us now consider this case. As already noted by Zanuttini (2010) for Old Italian and Martins (2000) for Old Romance in general and mentioned in the introduction, is that n-words in preverbal position also allow for negative concord (which is either excluded in modern Italian for some speakers, or gives rise to double negation contexts for other speakers). This is also true for *niente* if one considers the data around 1300, as in (39b):

- (39) a. ...e niente poteva acquistare contro a quel populo  
 and nothing could.3sg gain.inf against to that people  
 ‘...and he could not gain anything against those people’ (*Nov.* XXXVI, 210)
- b. che niente non vale<sup>16</sup>  
 that nothing not is.worth  
 ‘that is worth nothing’ (*Tesoro* c487)

One very striking fact is however that until the turn of the century there are no cases of preverbal *niente* with negative concord, and that in general *niente* is very rarely found in preverbal position: if we divide the OI corpus in two and restrict the search to the texts before 1300, there are only 11 cases of bare *neente* in preverbal position against 80 of *neente* in postverbal position. Approximately the same rate is obtained with the form *niente*, where there are 11 cases of preverbal *niente* over 75 cases of *niente* in postverbal position. The rare preverbal cases of *niente* seem all to be cases where *niente* is focused, not cases where *niente* is in the preverbal subject position:<sup>17</sup>

- (40) ...e niente poteva acquistare contro a quel populo  
 and nothing could.3sg gain.inf against to that people  
 ‘...and he could not gain anything against those people’ (*Nov.* XXXVI, 210)

<sup>16</sup> In OI relative clauses very often display preposing of one XP immediately after the complementizer or the relative pronoun. This phenomenon is interpreted as stylistic fronting in Franco (2007). I will not enter any discussion here, as the matter is tangential to the topic of this chapter.

<sup>17</sup> All the 9 cases of preverbal *neente* and the 11 ones of preverbal *niente* found in the XIII texts are argumental cases, (and they do not have negative concord). The adverbial form does not seem to raise during this period. This radically changes around the turn of the century, but at least the older system is stable.

Therefore, the system of the XIII century does not allow for preverbal *niente* with negative concord and *niente* can only be preverbal if it is focused. Reading the texts it is easy to see why this is so: in the preverbal position the bare form *niente* is generally substituted by *neuna cosa* literally ‘not-one thing’ which expresses the same meaning. This is true of both complements placed in a preverbal position, and preverbal subjects:

- (41) a. Di neuna cosa ci dobbiamo più vergognare che quando parliamo di Dio  
of no thing refl must.1pl more be.ashamed than when talk.1pl of God  
‘Of nothing we have to be more ashamed than when we talk about God’ (*FSI* 130)
- b. perchè neuna cosa è maggiormente da guardare  
because no thing is better to look.at  
‘because there is nothing better to consider’ (*Vegezio* 17)

Notice that the complex item *neuna cosa* was at that time definitely not perceived as a single lexical entry as it is for instance in English. There is clear evidence for this, as elements like *altra* ‘other’ can intervene between *neuna* and *cosa*.

- (42) Per neuna altra cosa veggiamo che il popolo di Roma tutto il mondo mise sotto  
for no other thing see.1pl that the people of Rome all the world put.3sg under  
‘We see that the Romans subdued the whole world by no other thing’ (*Vegezio* 6)

Moreover, it is also possible to find the reverse order ‘cosa neuna’ as it is generally the case also with other nouns and with other quantifiers (like *alcuno/a* ‘some/any’). The same is true of nouns other than *cosa*:<sup>18</sup>

- (43) a. se tra queste à cosa neuna che tti piaccia  
if among these has thing no that to.you likes  
‘if there is something you like among these things’ (*Disc. Cler.* 76)
- b. e senza fatica neuna li vinse

<sup>18</sup> When *cosa* is paired to an adjective, this can be moved with *cosa* or left behind. I did not find examples of adjectives alone without the N in pre-*neuna* position (this confirms Cinque’s theory that the movements internal to the DP must always contain the head noun).



and without effort no them won.3sg  
 ‘and won over them with no effort’ (*Pagani* 131)

On the other hand, *neuna cosa* is almost exclusively preverbal up to the beginning of the XIII century: in the corpus there are 64 cases of preverbal *neuna cosa* without negative concord and 48 cases of preverbal occurrences with negative concord, for a total of 112 cases.<sup>19</sup> The postverbal occurrences are only 11 with negative concord and none without negative concord.

The data are summarized in Table 2:

Table 2: Position of *neuna cosa*, *niente* and *neente* in the XIII c.

Again we are confronted with a case of optionality, though one option is much less represented than the other. In the spirit of the whole work, I will also interpret these cases as indicating that *niente* was actually only postverbal and *neuna cosa* only preverbal, and that the exceptional cases of both preverbal *niente* and postverbal *neuna cosa* (which are about 10% of all the instances) are due to focalization (which can occur in the CP or in the vP periphery, given that both peripheries contain a focus position).

Interestingly, the 11 postverbal cases of *neuna cosa* seem to be related to focus: here *cosa* has a lexical interpretation, as shown in (44) where *cosa* is contrasted (in the example below with *dodici vergati di Guanto*):

- (44) Non si ricorda che gli facesse recare neuna cosa da Sant’Omieri  
 not refl remembers that to.him did.3SG bring.inf no thing from S. O.  
 se nno dodici vergati di Guanto...  
 if not 12 *vergati di Guanto*

---

<sup>19</sup> Notice that the rate of negative concord with preverbal *neuna cosa* is rather high, which makes the fact that there are no cases of negative concord with preverbal *niente* even more surprising.

‘He does not remember that he had to bring anything from S.O. if not 12 *vergati di Guanto* (a type of fabric)’ (*C. de Cerchi Inghilterra* 597)

Alternatively, postverbal *neuna cosa* occurs when it is modified by a relative clause, as in the following example:

- (45)            Disprezza    la    morte e    non temerai    neuna cosa che induca la morte  
                  despise.imp the death and not will.fear.2sg no thing that brings the death  
                  ‘Despise death and you will fear nothing that brings it’ (*FSI* 187)

Postverbal *neuna cosa* can be interpreted as the effect of two phenomena: when it is modified by a relative clause, it is an instance of the same phenomenon already described for the quantifier *tutto*, namely, the fact that no bare quantifier can be directly modified by a relative clause, but must be followed by some other nominal element (in the case of *tutto* it is the pronoun *ció*, as shown in chapter 5). Other cases of postverbal *neuna cosa* are due to the ambiguity between ‘nothing’ and ‘not a single thing’, hence with a lexical *cosa*, found in cases of contrastive focalization.

The reason why postverbal *neuna cosa* always requires negative concord might be due to the fact that when it is postverbal, it is always in the vP peripheral position in Focus, being contrasted, or in the Identification position where quantifiers modified by a relative clause are in the left periphery of the vP. In any case, *neuna cosa* never occurs in the VP internal argumental position.

Summing up: the item corresponding to ‘nothing’ is realized as bare *niente* in postverbal position, while the few preverbal occurrences of bare *niente* in the older system (until the beginning of the XIV century) are to be attributed to CP focalization, a phenomenon which is known to occur independently in OI. In preverbal position ‘nothing’ is realized as *neuna cosa*, and the few postverbal occurrences are either due to Focus in the vP area or to modification by a relative clause. Once we factor out these cases, we are left with a neat asymmetry between the preverbal and the postverbal position, which has to be accounted for.

However, this does not mean that OI displays a typical subject/object asymmetry, with *neuna cosa* being the preverbal subject and *niente* the postverbal object, because there is no link to the thematic role of the quantifier, as also PPs can be found in preverbal position. Nevertheless, this asymmetry still recalls the class of asymmetries between the preverbal and the postverbal position that in the traditional G&B framework were analyzed as instances of head government, namely cases where a null element (in our case the noun corresponding to *cosa*) can be licensed by the verbal head under government, while this is evidently not the case for the preverbal position, which is not head-

governed by the verb. Notice however that for the parallel to be perfect we should also find the adjectival form *neuna* in postverbal position and not the form *niente*, which is also a compound of a negative prefix *n-* plus the word *-ente* (this is very evident in the allomorph *ne-ente*) which meant ‘existing item, something that exists’, similarly to English ‘no-thing’.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, I will rather explore the possibility that the distribution of *niente* and *neuna cosa* is rather related to the internal structure of the quantifier.

The morphological makeup of *niente* is rather telling and shows that also the apparently simple form *niente* is actually complex and contains an incorporated ‘thing’ (existential) element. Hence, the internal structure of the element meaning ‘nothing’ must at least contain a classifier-like expression lexicalized by the ‘ente’ morpheme, as illustrated in (46).

(46) [NegP *ne* [ClassP *ente* [RestrP 0]

(46) shows that *niente* can be split into at least a) a negative projection containing the morpheme *ne*, b) a projection containing the classifier element *ente* and c) the lexical item internal to every nominal expression, often referred to as the lexical restrictor. This still does not make it completely parallel to *neuna cosa*, where there is an additional existential element represented by the indefinite article *una*, which also displays standard agreement with the classifier N *cosa*.

Hence, the structure of *neuna cosa* is actually even more complex than the one of *niente*:<sup>21</sup>

(47) [NegP *ne* [ExistP *una* [Class.(*ente*)/*cosa* [Restr 0]

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<sup>20</sup> The etymology of *niente/neente/neiente* suggests that the element is indeed morphologically complex, as it consists of a negative morpheme ‘ne(c)’ plus an item that could derive from:

- a) *ente(m)*, lit. ‘thing’;
- b) *inde* ‘from there’;
- c) *gente(m)* ‘people’.

I will not attempt to solve this problem here as all three possibilities are compatible with the analysis to be presented below.

<sup>21</sup> Notice that (42) also allows for an interpretation of *niente* including a sort of minimizer, so that the item would roughly mean ‘not even the smallest thing’. Actually several of the examples without negative concord can really be interpreted in this way:

- (i) E fede senza opera, overo opera senza fede,  
and faith without deed or deed without faith  
è neente a potere aver paradiso  
is nothing to can.inf have.inf heaven  
‘Faith without deeds or deeds without faith are worth nothing to reach heaven’  
(VeV 30)

Here the meaning is the one of an irrelevant quantity, not actually zero.

Notice furthermore that *cosa* never incorporates into the negative element, though *ne-* is clearly a bound morpheme requiring another supporting element; this is so because it is the indefinite/numeral which has incorporated (see Baker (1988) for a restriction on the number of elements that can be incorporated).

Actually, the structure of *neuna cosa* is ambiguous, as *cosa* can also be interpreted as a lexical item, as in (48):

(48) [NegP *ne* [ExistP *una* [Class [Restr *cosa*]

This is probably the internal structure of the postverbal cases like (44), where the element is contrastively focused or it is modified by a relative clause.

However, also the item *niente* is ambiguous, as it can also be interpreted as an adverb, and clearly an adverb cannot have a nominal restrictor, and probably not even a classifier. In this case the internal structure of adverbial *niente* should be something like (46), where *ente* is not analyzed as an independent classifier:<sup>22</sup>

(49) [NegP *neente*]

This means that *niente* in OI can still be interpreted as compound ‘no-thing’, or as a single morpheme. When it is a compound, (as in 50a) it can stay in the low argumental position. When *ente* is not interpreted as an independent formative, it can use the adverbial position, and the phonological sequence is identical to the adverb (see (50b)). The alternating structures are therefore:

(50) a. [NegP *ne* [ClassP *ente* [RestrP 0]  
 b. [NegP *neente* [XP [YP 0...]

This also explains why PPs cannot be moved to the adverbial position. They cannot be interpreted according to structure (50b) because they contain an additional layer with the preposition inside which requires a nominal element (in our case the nominal restrictor), thus forcing the analysis in (50a). Evidently, *neuna cosa* can never have a structure like (50b), because *cosa* cannot be reanalyzed as a single morpheme with *neuna*.

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<sup>22</sup> Most probably the internal structure of the adverb will also contain other functional projections that make it an adverb and not an argument, but this is now tangential to the present discussion.

Once we have seen what the internal structure of *niente* and *neuna cosa* is, let us try to derive their distribution: the only projection that seems never to be lexicalized in *niente* and always to be present in *neuna cosa* is the one corresponding to the indefinite.

I would like to propose that this is the distinction that is responsible for the distribution of the two alternants in the following way:

Renzi (2010) discusses a phenomenon of omission of the indefinite non-specific determiner (as is also the determiner in (48) and (50a)) when the N is in a negative context, I report here one of his examples (Renzi (2010): 311):

- (51)            ch'egli non vide    piú vil cosa  
                   that he not saw.3sg more vile thing  
                   'that he saw no viler thing' (*Tesoro* c221)

Crucially Renzi does not report cases of omission of indefinite determiners when the DP c-commands the negative marker, but only when the DP is in the c-command domain of the negative marker. This means that the empty indefinite non-specific determiner can only be licensed in postverbal position, never in preverbal position. This explains why in preverbal position we do not find *niente*, but *neuna cosa*, which contains the lexical determiner. The rare cases of preverbal *niente* are all cases of focus (see above), which might be the operator licensing the null determiner contained in *niente*. Therefore, the internal structure of *niente* and *neuna cosa* are completely similar:

- (52)            [NegP *ne* [ ExistP *una/UNA* [Class.*ente/cosa* [Restr 0]]]]

The only difference between the two forms has to do with the fact that the determiner can be either lexically realized or empty. When it is empty, it needs to be in the c-command domain of the negative marker to be licensed, and this is only the case when it is postverbal. Notice furthermore, that this means that there should exist cases of 'ne cosa' in postverbal position. However, this prediction is not met, presumably because *ne* is not an independent morpheme but there is something very similar, namely *cosa* can occur alone as an NPI in OI:<sup>23 24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The same is true of the item *persona*:

- (i)            cose non convenevoli [a]lla persona di colui che l' adomanda  
                   things not appropriate to.the person of that that it asks  
                   'things not appropriate for who asks about it' (*TVV* 147)

- (53) a. non sia agevole cosa l'antica favola col nuovo fatto agguagliare  
 not is easy thing the ancient telling with.the new fact compare.inf  
 'it is not easy to compare the ancient story with a new fact' (*Pagani* 121)
- b. Non potrai dire cosa che buona sia  
 not will.be.able.2sg say.inf thing that good is  
 'You will not be able to say anything good' (*Albertano* 30)

Once we have analyzed the distribution of the negative element 'nothing', let us briefly sketch how the system changed around the turn of the XIII to XIV century.

## 6. A change in the system

As mentioned a few times above, the system of negative concord radically changes around the year 1300. Here I will not attempt to provide a detailed analysis of the new system for the reasons mentioned in the introduction, but I provide at least a summary of the differences found that can be helpful to future research.

The first change found in the system is that *niente* starts being found in preverbal position as well as in postverbal position, with about the same rate; after the year 1300, the occurrences of *neente* (until 1350) are 92 for the postverbal position and 80 for the preverbal one, the occurrences of *niente* are 193 for the postverbal position and 127 for the preverbal one. This is clear evidence that a rather sharp increase of the cases of preverbal bare *niente/neente* has taken place. The same is true for *niente/neente* when it is inserted inside a PP: the preverbal cases become much more frequent. We think that this has to do with a radical change in the whole system of negative concord, and it is not *per se* related to properties of the bare quantifier we have been observing.

The change is probably related to another astonishing fact, namely the rise of contexts where preverbal n-words like *neuno/a/i* plus Noun display negative concord. At the same time, also the number of postverbal n-words without negative concord raises. This seems to last for a relatively brief period of time, and it can probably be traced back to French influence in texts like *La Tavola*

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<sup>24</sup> *Cosa* also occurs in contexts where in Modern Italian there is only an adjective, suggesting that Modern Italian allows for a null version of it in contexts like the following:

- (i) Lieve cosa ti parrà ad rispondere bene...  
 Light thing to.you will.seem.3sg to answer.inf well  
 'It will be easy to you to answer appropriately' (*Albertano* 182)

*ritonda, La Storia del Santo Gradale or l'Istoria di Tristano*, at least for the preverbal cases, but this is also the system found in authors like Zuccherò Bencivenni, where no plausible French influence can be claimed to be at work in texts that are no translations of French texts but works written by the author himself.

It seems that, at least for some authors, there is a change toward a strict negative concord system similar to the Slavic languages, where the negative marker is always obligatory both with pre- and postverbal n-words. Other authors do not have such a clear system and just display optionality. Nevertheless, as I have tried to show here for 'nothing', it might be the case that the optionality seen in the distribution of negative concord is always only apparent and that negative concord depends on the position of n-words. As for postverbal n-words, it might also be the case that they never have negative concord when they stay in the base position inside the VP and require negative concord when they are moved to the edge of the vP phase.

As for preverbal n-words the problem is more complex: clearly lack of negative concord cannot be due to the fact that the negative marker and the n-word are in two different phases, because they are not. However, being in the same phase is a necessary, not a sufficient condition for negative concord to take place. A possible line of research which could be pursued comes from an observation made above: when *niente* is preverbal in the old system of the XIII century, it is in the CP focus position, and it never displays negative concord. If the analysis presented here is on the right track, one could extend it to other n-words by proposing that it is the CP focus position that prevents negative concord, while the V2 position or the subject position do not. In order to actually prove whether this is correct, one has to investigate each author and each type of text (as poetic texts clearly make use of more syntactic possibilities, especially for emphasis or for metrical reasons) and see whether it is indeed plausible that the contexts that do not display negative concord are indeed Focus, while those that display negative concord are not.

I will not attempt to do this here, because I think that before we can make sense of the general change, it is necessary to consider the whole system of negation and negative concord across the two centuries, and relate it on the one hand to the distribution of other quantifiers and on the other to a more general change in the architecture of the clause, an analysis I will not try here.

## **7. *Tutto* and *niente*: a comparison**

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to compare the distribution of the universal negative quantifier *tutto* with the one of the n-word *niente/neuna cosa*, as the two items display clear distinctions that I will try to summarize here.

The first distinction is that the quantifier *tutto* is always located before the past participle (see chapter 5), never in the base position of the argument. I report here just one examples from chapter 5:

- (54) e come l'à tutto perduto  
 and how it has all lost  
 'and how he lost it all' (*FR* 75)

This is not true of *niente*, which can be either post- or preparticipial depending on its position, and this alternation is even found in the same texts:

- (55) a. ch'io non t'ho tolto niente  
 that I not from.you have.1sg removed nothing  
 'that I have taken nothing from you' (*Nov.* LXXII, 294)
- b. Il mercatante non mi insegnò niente: no·lli era niente tenuto  
 the merchant not me taught nothing not him was nothing obliged  
 'The merchant taught me nothing, and nothing was due to him.' (*Nov.* VII, 144)

Furthermore, *tutto* and *tutte cose* do not display complementary distribution in pre- and postverbal position, *tutte cose* can be found in postverbal position when it is not modified by a relative clause or focussed:

- (56) Et dice che sapienzia è amodenatrice di tutte cose però che  
 and says that wisdom is moderator of all things because that  
 ella sae antivedere e porre a tutte cose certo modo e certo fine  
 she knows aforesee.inf and put.inf to all things sure measure and sure end  
 'and he says that wisdom moderates everything because she can foresee everything  
 and put a sure measure and a sure end to everything' (*Rettorica* 37)

- (57) fue in opinione che el parladore possa molto bene dire di tutte cose  
 was in opinion that the speaker can.3sg very well say.inf of all things  
 'He thought that an orator can talk very well about everything' (*Rettorica* 53)



The third difference between *tutto* and *niente* is that *tutto* is always located in front of all scrambled XPs, while *niente* can interestingly also occur after topicalized internal arguments. In the texts from 1200 to 1302, there are several cases of combination of *niente* and scrambling, and they display the order scrambled XP - *niente*, as shown by the following examples:<sup>25</sup>

- (58) a. e non vede in lui niente perchè sia degno del pane  
 and not sees in him nothing because is worth of.the bread  
 ‘and does not see anything in him that would make him worth of the bread’  
 (*Paternostro* 25)
- b. perchè non fa a questo fatto niente  
 because not does to this fact nothing  
 ‘because it does not do anything to this’ (*FR* 23)
- c. dicessono a llui niente  
 say.3pl to him nothing  
 ‘they would say nothing to him’ (*Merlino* 37)
- d. non sapendo di Paolo niente  
 not knowing of P. nothing  
 ‘not knowing anything of P.’ (*Cavalca* 88)

Interestingly, this is not the case when *niente* has a clear adverbial interpretation, in this case, it occurs before all arguments, as expected by the analysis put forth in section 3:

- (59) ...la quale non amava niente lui  
 the which not loved.3sg nothing him  
 ‘...who did not love him at all’ (*Nov. XCIX*, 348)

The difference could be related to the internal structure of the quantifier, which would be less complex in the case of the universal and more complex in the case of the n-word, which might contain a universal as well as an existential projection, in addition to other projections. However, before the reason for this distinction between *tutto* and *niente* can be understood, and a detailed hypothesis of the internal structure of the item *niente* can be made, it is necessary to take into

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<sup>25</sup> Notice however that all the cases of scrambling are either personal pronouns or DPs with a demonstrative, which might suggest that in all these cases the scrambled XP occupies a Topic position, leaving the (lower) Focus position free.

account the development of *niente*. In the following stages *niente* loses all the properties listed here, keeping in the end one single position.

A first screening of examples from the XIV century shows that the order past participle - *niente* is still attested, we start to find more and more cases of the order *niente* - past participle:

- (60) a. Non avea niente perduto  
not had.3sg nothing lost  
'He lost nothing' (*Seneca* 17)
- b. Sì che non era nostra intenzione essere che ce ne sia niente renduto  
so that not was our intention be.inf that us of.it is nothing given.back  
'So that we did not want that anything of it would be given us back' (*Giachino* 17)

This might be related to the “explosion” of negative concord with preverbal n-words around the turn of the century, (see above) or to the increasing rate of preverbal *niente* or to both.

The change could also be related to a more general restructuring of the syntactic movement properties to phase edges, as the texts show clear indications that after the 1300 the whole system of V2 and scrambling deteriorates, the (inflected and past participle) verb does not obligatorily raise as high as it does in the XIII century and the number and type of items that can be moved to the left periphery becomes more and more restricted, yielding more and more SVO sequences, and therefore less subject inversion, less OV constructions (both before the inflected verb and before the past participle) and less DP internal scrambling (see chapter 2 and 3).

In Modern Italian, *niente* a) has a fixed position after the past participle (like *tutto*), b) it cannot scramble, c) it does not alternate with *neuna cosa* and d) it does not have an adverbial usage (though there are non-standard varieties that have kept this usage). Hence, I will leave this problem open, as it requires an analysis of later stages of the Italian language, and most probably also the analysis of other modern varieties, not only Florentine.

## 8. Conclusive Remarks

In this chapter I have analyzed the distribution of a single n-word, the element *niente* in order to show that the phenomenon of negative concord in Old Italian depends on the position of *niente*.

Contrary to QPs like *tutto*, which have a fixed position, *niente* can occupy more than one position and the apparent optionality of negative concord is actually due to the different position where *niente* can surface. If *niente* is located in the argumental position in the vP phase, no negative

concord can apply because the agreement procedure is blocked by the phase boundary; if *niente* is in the same phase of the negative marker (or in the scrambling position at the edge of the vP), negative concord is obligatory. Hence, the conclusion I arrive at is that negative concord is phase dependent in OI (See D'Alessandro-Roberts 2008 on Agree relations across Phases), in the sense that being in the same phase is a necessary (though probably not sufficient) condition to trigger negative concord. It is not clear whether this analysis can be applied to all n-words in general, but this would evidently solve the problem of optionality of negative concord, at least for postverbal n-words.<sup>26</sup>

The analysis presented here also shows that it is the internal structure of *niente* which, at least partly, determines its distribution and in turn negative concord, as already suggested in other work on other Romance languages (see Martins (2001) and Depréz (to appear)).

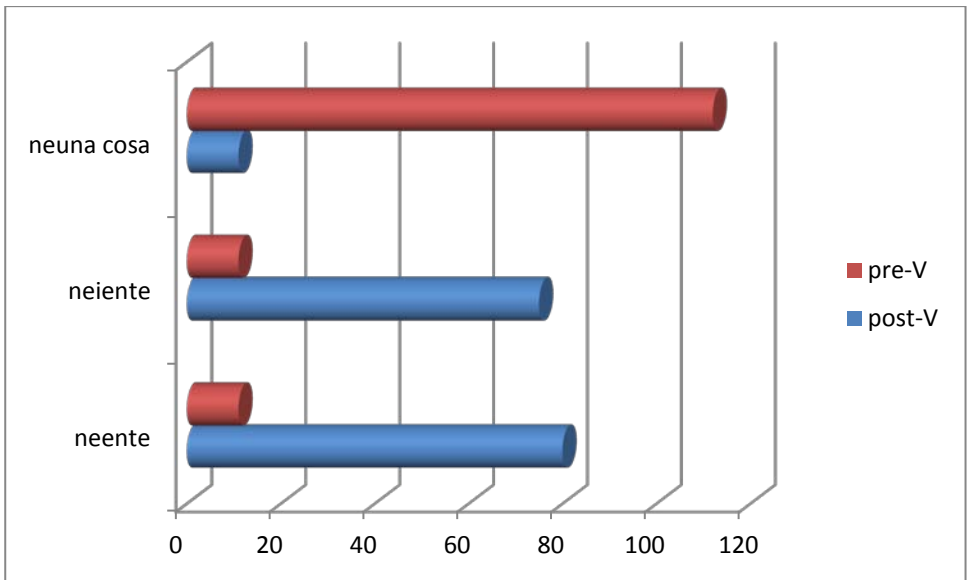
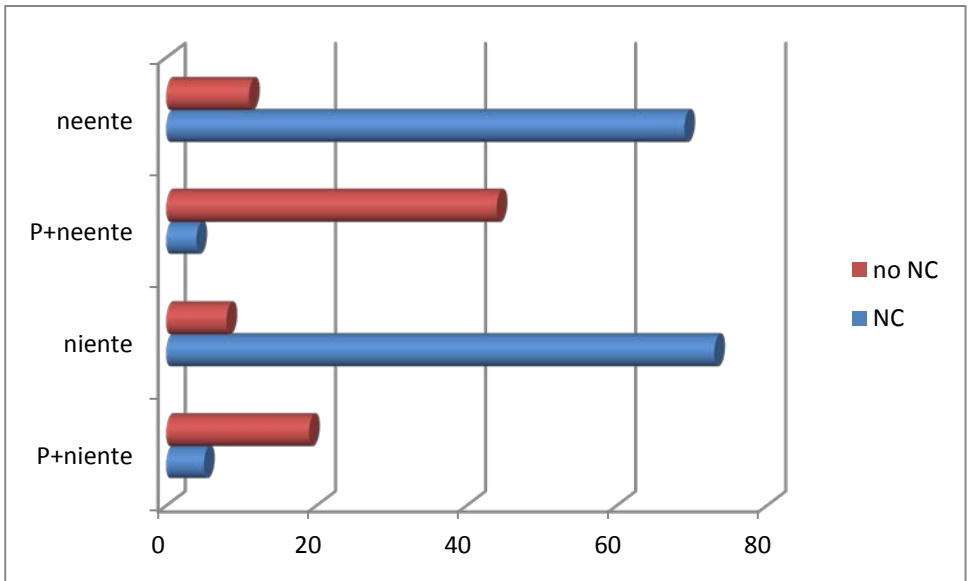
I have proposed that *niente* can be analyzed as containing a classifier (*-ente*) and a null nominal restrictor or as a single morpheme, and this determines its distribution as an adverb or as an argument. The internal structure of *niente* is even more complex, as it includes an existential projection, containing the null counterpart of *una* in *neuna cosa*, which is licensed by the negative marker through c-command, as it is the case for other determinerless Ns, as noticed by Renzi (2010). The necessity to license the null existential explains the complementary distribution between *niente* and *neuna cosa*, which only occur in post- and preverbal position respectively.

There is still much work to be done to understand the distribution of all n-words in OI, negative concord and their development in the following stages, but the main point of this chapter (and of the whole book) was to prove that what looks like optionality might hid ambiguous structures, and at a closer look, there are clear distributional clues that this is the case.

Moreover, it seems that, at least for what the syntax of n-words is concerned, there is a rather sharp break around the beginning of the XIV century, so that I had to limit my investigation to tests preceding the year 1315. We do not know whether it is the case also for other phenomena (though the texts I have controlled for OV scrambling and DP internal scrambling are all included in this time span), though this might be a time limit that could be found also for other phenomena, and which in the end will lead to a new division of the older stages of Italian.

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<sup>26</sup> Here I have put forth the hypothesis that the optional character of negative concord with preverbal n-words is also due to ambiguity: when the n-word is located in Focus negative concord seems to be blocked, when it is in any other position (topic, the preverbal subject position of the V2 position), then negative concord is obligatory.



## Chapter 7

### The grammar of OI in a broader perspective

In what follows I will summarize the main theoretical results and research perspectives that emerge from this first systematic theoretical investigation on the sentence structure of OI. The first result I would like to point out has to do with the nature of optionality as a syntactic phenomenon. This investigation shows that we should be very careful in using the idea of competing grammars to account for optional phenomena. The reason is that simply dismissing optionality as a competition between two different systems prevents us from looking at more details which reveal an emerging pattern that can be explained within a single grammar. The case of OV structures in OI is paradigmatic in this sense, as it is traditionally considered to be due to the influence of Latin onto the vulgar language due to its prestige. So, it looks like the perfect case in which authors can either use a Latin or an Italian grammar. However, once one looks at the data in more detail, it is clear that OV orders display a very precise pattern which can be readily accounted for by means of one single VO grammar, and even exploiting proposals that have already been made by other scholars for other languages or other language stages, as it is the case here with the vP left periphery, already proposed by Belletti (2004) for Modern Italian. Essentially what medieval authors do in the texts examined is (semi-) consciously mimic an OV grammar, the one of Latin, using a VO grammar and in particular exploiting a possibility which is already given for free in their own language, namely the left periphery of each phase. The mechanism underlying this ‘mimic procedure’ might be the same underlying at least some other cases of language contact, where speakers of one language try to reproduce patterns of a different language which is not their own. The idea is very similar to the one of ambiguous structures put forth by several authors (see among other Roberts (1993) and Roberts and Clark (1993)) for language change. They propose that language change is triggered by linear sequences that are structurally ambiguous, like for instance the sequence subject-verb, which can be structurally interpreted at the CP level in a V2 language (with the subject in SpecC and the verb in C) or at the IP level in a non-V2 SVO language (with the subject in SpecIP/TP and the Verb in I/T). Roberts suggests that whenever children are confronted with ambiguous structures, they choose the one with less movement, i.e. the more economical one. In the case of OI scrambling, the speaker does not have a choice between two ambiguous structures, there is only one way to produce an OV sequence, namely using the left periphery. The ambiguity is not in the grammatical system, it is so to speak in the eye of the observer, which sees a “Latin” grammar because the linear sequence is similar. However, given that the syntactic system is not linear, but hierarchical, the

speaker does not really have a choice, when trying to “mimic” the other grammar: she has to use the only strategy possible in her grammatical system, namely scrambling. This means that in the cases examined here there is no real structural ambiguity or internal competition between grammars, the speaker simply exploits at its best the only system she has at her disposal in order to mimic an order belonging to a different grammar. Recent comparative work (see Roberts (2012)) on the VO/OV “parameter” shows that this is one of the most stable features of a language across history, and that it changes only under the massive pressure of extra-linguistic phenomena, as in the case of the change from Latin to Romance, which is standardly assumed to be a process similar to creolization due to Latin imposing on other languages already spoken in the area of the so called Romania continua. On the same line, research in acquisition has shown that this is one of the first features of the language acquired by children, who already use the basic word order of the language as soon as we are able to identify it (namely, as soon as the children reaches the two-word stage). If, as it seems from recent research (see Guasti and Nespor (2002), who have proposed that the child uses the prosody to determine whether its language is VO or OV already at a very early stage. If the distinction between VO and OV languages is so stable from the diachronic point of view and is set so early by children, it is rather implausible that OI speakers could use an OV grammar just because they were influenced by Latin texts. On the contrary, it is rather plausible that they mimicked an OV grammar using the means of a VO grammar.<sup>1</sup>

Does this mean that the idea of grammar in competition is wrong? Not at all, the assumption that a speaker can have more than one system competing is unavoidable, but what I would like to underline is that it has to be used as a sort of “last resort” hypothesis, which can only be invoked when we have already tried to make sense of the data on the basis of a single grammar. It could be the case that the grammar in competition idea works better for the type of parameters that in Roberts’ (2012) scale are identified as micro or even nanoparameter, i.e. properties that are more superficial in the sense that they are restated very rapidly (as the modal cycle of English or the Jespersen cycle of negation) across time and subject to more variation within a linguistic family. However, as we have seen in chapter 6, also the puzzle of the status of n-words in OI (and in Old Romance more generally, see Martins (2001)) inside a single grammatical system. The reason why the element *niente/neente/neiente/neuna cosa* displays optionality of negative concord is not due to two grammars competing but to a lexical ambiguity in the internal structure of the element ‘nothing’. Hence, also in this case we do not need to resort to grammars in competition to explain

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<sup>1</sup> The double base hypothesis, which exploits the idea of grammars in competition originally put forth to explain Old English texts where both VO and OV is found has been recently also reformulated in terms of movements related to the pragmatic interface, though in a somewhat different system than the one adopted here (see Taylor and Pintzuck (2010)).

the mixed system of OI. This means that the possibility to apply the “grammars in competitions” approach has really to be considered as the last possible option after we have tried to make sense of complex patterns inside a single system.

The second general result that has emerged from the investigation of the CP, vP and DP left peripheries, is that phases are parallel. Phases are most probably not completely identical in terms of the number and type of projections, but they are definitely similar in terms of the broader fields or Topic and Focus already outlined in Benincà (2001) for the CP layer.

The idea that there is a parallel in the syntactic properties of all the left peripheries constitutes, as already noted in Poletto (2006b) a potential tool to reformulate the old idea of parameters as a more abstract notion that captures several phenomena that are apparently unrelated in the language. What made the concept of parameter so powerful as an explanatory tool was the “one to many” relation between the single property to be learned and the various effects it had in the grammar. Assuming that phases are at least partially built in a parallel fashion preserves the “one to many” relation in the following way. There is general consensus that the language variation depends on the properties of the functional items lexicalized in a language. What the investigation of OI adds to the picture is the fact that the properties of a functional head can be stated phase-independently: for instance, if the Focus field requires to be filled by a head, it will be at all levels independently from the phase the Focus projection is associated with. This will force the movement of the inflected verb to Focus in the C domain, but also the movement of the past participle to the Focus position(s) in the left periphery of the vP and of the N to the DP internal left periphery. Hence, the fact that the properties of a given  $F^{\circ}$  are stated phase independently puts together phenomena that are apparently unrelated, like V2, OV and PP preposing internal to the DP/PP. This is precisely the effect we want to obtain and core of the old idea of parameter to be maintained. Moreover, the hypothesis that the properties of the left periphery are constant across phases opens up the possibility that also other functional areas are similar in the three phases CP, vP and DP and not only the left periphery. I think that at present we are still far from being able to verify this hypothesis on the basis of the knowledge we have cumulated in the last decades of detailed cartographic work on the various functional layers. It is clear that there exists a parallel between some projections in the IP space and projections in the DP space (for instance genitive work in some languages like subjects in the sense that the move to a position in the IP-like space of the DP to acquire case, see chapter 3 for OI), but before we can extend the idea that the syntactic properties of  $F^{\circ}$ s are all phase independent we have to have a precise chart of the FPs in all the three layers as well as a correspondence algorithm of the three phases. This “correspondence algorithm” could stem from the idea that  $F^{\circ}$  are not primitives, as standardly assumed in the cartographic approach, but clusters of more basic semantic components,

much in the same way as phonemes are clusters of articulatory properties. Some, but probably not all of these more basic components could be shared by the corresponding  $F^\circ$ 's in the three phases, while others would be specific of each phase. The common component would yield syntactic natural classes of  $F^\circ$ 's as we have phonological natural classes of phonemes which are the target of common syntactic phenomena, like movement/internal merge. The idea that some of the properties of  $F^\circ$  are phase independent while others are phase dependent could also solve an empirical problem raised by the idea that V2, OV orders and DP internal scrambling are the manifestations of a single more abstract underlying property. If this is correct, do we predict to find that all languages that are V2 also display OV order? Certainly not, first of all because the label V2 is actually not precise enough if we adopt a cartographic approach to the left periphery. As we have seen in chapter 1, what we call V2 can structurally correspond to different types of movement, one for each projection of the split CP. For instance, the type of V2 found in OI is very different from the standard Germanic one, though in both cases we have movement to the CP-domain. Since Rizzi's proposal that the left periphery is a layer of several FPs rather than a single project, many authors have pointed out that this does not capture the difference with Germanic languages, which seem not to have a "exploded" CP, but always a single projection active. Some authors have simply proposed that Germanic does not have a split left periphery, but there are some hints that at least in some limited cases a split left periphery is active also in these languages (see for instance V3 cases with wh-items in the Scandinavian languages treated by Vangnes and Vangnes and Westengaard (2005)). Two families of explanations have been provided to account for the strict linear requirement of V2 even assuming a split left periphery:

a) Some authors have proposed that Germanic V2 is very low and occurs in FinP, which then provides a bottle neck for further movements providing the V2 linear restriction. Haegeman (1998) and Robert (1997) develop ideas along this line. On this type of analyses the burden of explaining why Romance V2 can bypass the bottle neck and have  $V^*$  falls onto the special status Topics have in Romance. It is a fact that Romance have clitic pronouns that are not simply weak pronouns but real heads and the special status of Topics in Romance, which allow them to overrule the V2 condition could be related to the fact that Romance uses clitics as resumption elements, while the Germanic languages do not. If this line of thought were correct, we would expect Germanic dialects that have developed clitic heads to behave rather like Old Romance in not having a strict V2 linear restriction. At present there is work being done on V3 sequences in Northern Norwegian dialects (see Westergaard (2008), Vangnes (2006)) and work being done on the status of pronouns in Alemannic dialects (see Bayer and Brandner (2008)). The answer to the question whether the



explanation that attributes the V3 possibility to the special status of Topics in Romance is correct should come from this work.

b) The second family of proposals to account for the difference between Germanic and Romance assumes that Germanic V2 is much higher than V2 in Old Romance (see Poletto (2002) Brandner (2004) Grewendorf and Poletto (2010)), and is located in Force. According to this view, the V2 linear effect is provided by the fact that there are no higher projections in the structure to move to. Clearly this view goes against the freezing criterion proposed by Rizzi (2007), as it allows for further movement after an element has been moved to Focus (Topics are not criterial according to Rizzi's view). However, the effect might be circumvented by the fact that once the Focus is moved to Force, also the inflected verb has to follow recreating the same structural configuration destroyed below. One prediction made by this analysis is that we should find Topics and Focus lower than V2 but higher than the subject, in what corresponds to the left periphery of Romance. It is not yet clear whether this is really the case or not.

Before we can have the ultimate solution to the problem of how to integrate Germanic V2 into a view that sees the CP as a whole layer of projections, we have to take into account other distinctions, which I list here for future research.

a) embedded clauses in German can only contain the complementizer (when it is present), the whole left periphery is blocked, no Topic or Focus can be found on the left of the complementizer, and no V2 can occur on its right. This is not the case in Romance, where the complementizer is merged in the high Force position (at least in embedded declarative clauses, for interrogatives see Poletto (2000))

b) while Romance displays cases of double complementizers with the same form, Germanic complementizers, though they can be doubled, never present themselves with a repetition of the same form. This might also be an indication that the complementizers system has different properties in the two language families.

c) Germanic complementizers have two forms of agreement, only one of which is found in Romance: the complementizer can be fused with a subject clitic (which is also found in Romance (see Poletto (2000)) or it can directly have verbal endings on itself, which is never found in the Romance area, or the complementizers can carry verbal inflectional endings, and this is never found in Romance (at least to my knowledge). Again, this seems an indication that the properties of the left periphery in the two language families are different at least with respect to the realization of agreement features.

d) it is standardly assumed that Old Romance pro drop is licensed through a movement of the verb to C, this is not necessary in the Germanic domain: when C has this licensing property, then it

always licenses *pro*, it does not need the verb to go to C. In Romance C by itself never licenses *pro*, it is always the verb that does (in a government configuration, according to the GB approach).

Again this indicates that the CP domain in Romance does not possess an agreement feature, while Germanic does.

e) another striking difference is the one found in infinitival clauses: as we have seen in chapter 4, Old Italian can have subjects and cases of movements to the left periphery in infinitival clauses, which then behave as inflected ones, while this is never the case in Germanic.

All these differences point towards the same direction, which is the one already pointed out in chapter 1: although in both language families the inflected verb moves to the left periphery (and at present it is not clear yet whether it moves to exactly the same projection or not), the trigger of the movement is different. The CP layer displays agreement features in Germanic that are absent in Romance and the complementizers system also displays distinct properties.

Hence, the special configuration found in OI which forces movement to the Focus head phase independently is not to be expected in Germanic languages. This means that there is not a one-to-one link between the movement of the verb to the left periphery and OV structure or DP internal scrambling. This cluster of phenomena depends on the properties of the Focus head, not on the general movement of the verb to the left periphery (which can be triggered by various other reasons).

The last theoretical result reached in this book concerns the status of QPs: OI data display a clear dichotomy between bare and non-bare quantifiers. While non-bare quantifiers have the same distribution as DPs, bare quantifiers access dedicated positions. This has been tied to the different internal structure of the two QP types. This asymmetry recalls the one found with *wh*-items, as shown in Munaro (1999) and Ambar (1988) bare *wh*-items occupy a different position with respect to non-bare ones. Recent work by Grewendorf (2012) shows that the element *was* 'what' in German is a 'pure operator' while non-bare *wh*-items are more topic-like (see also Rizzi (2007) on this). If the dichotomy is found also in the domain of quantifiers, this opens up new questions on whether the internal structure of bare quantifiers and bare *wh*-items has something in common and the internal structure of non-bare quantifier and non-bare *wh*-items also does. This requires a deeper investigation on the internal properties of the four classes of elements and again might be explained adopting the hypothesis that decomposes  $F^{\circ}$ s as clusters of more basic properties, some of which are shared by other  $F^{\circ}$ s, hence the parallel behaviour.

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