

# **Verbs, Subjects and Stylistic Fronting**

**A comparative analysis of the interaction of CP properties  
with verb movement and subject positions in Icelandic and Old Italian**

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*A Giovanni, il più bel regalo che ho ricevuto dai miei genitori*

*...and to all those who have a fancy for the cyclic movement of a bicycle chain*



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## Introduction

The present dissertation illustrates the results of a comparative analysis that involves two different language groups: Romance and Scandinavian. Despite sharing a common Indo-European root, Romance languages exhibit relevant parametric differences with respect to Scandinavian languages. The work presented here is based on the observation that a significant “distance” between two grammars analyzed with a synchronic approach may turn out to be shorter, if the investigated languages are considered in their respective diachronic evolution. The integration of a diachronic study into a comparative approach will hopefully operate a shift of perspective contributing to the explanation of some debated linguistic facts. To use an astronomic allegory, the present work is comparable to an attempt, in looking at the starry sky, to calculate the position of the stars without grouping them in astrological constellations. What is relevant to the astronomer is not the apparent location of a celestial body, but, rather, the frequency of its light, revealing its age and evolution. Similarly, the “history” of a language and the evolution of a grammar through possible changes in the parameter setting are explored in order to account for visible syntactic phenomena.

The domain of investigation includes specific syntactic phenomena occurring both in Modern Icelandic and in Old Italian. In carrying out the analysis, it was observed that the presence of Stylistic Fronting (SF) is not only attested in Insular Scandinavian languages, but also in Old Romance ones (Fischer and Alexiadou 2001). SF is a syntactic phenomenon productive only in Icelandic, and, to a minor extent in Faroese, among Modern Scandinavian languages. Basically, SF consists of a special kind of fronting, where a constituent (or part of a constituent) is moved to a preverbal position. This phenomenon differs from topicalization in many respects, all of which characterize both the Icelandic and the Old Italian SF. The complementary distribution of the SF construction with overt preverbal subjects, in Modern Icelandic and Faroese, and its function are not clear, despite extensive discussion in the literature. Given the unsatisfactory results of synchronic analyses of SF, a comparison with the Old Italian system, chosen as an instance of the Old Romance parameter setting, was carried out. The comparison is motivated by relevant analogies between Old Romance and Old Germanic languages, which display similar syntactic systems. Some of these characteristics are briefly illustrated below.

A first common aspect is that both Old Romance and Old Germanic languages are considered “V2 languages”, in the sense that the verb is required to move to the complementizer domain in a number of contexts (i.e. root contexts: main clauses and some embedded clauses with root interpretation), and preceded by a lexical item. The latter property is not identical in the two systems: Old Romance languages have a “relaxed V2” in the sense that more constituents can precede the verb moved to the CP (cf. Benincà 1993; Roberts 1993, 2008; Poletto 2005, a.o.). Old Germanic, instead, exhibits crosslinguistic variation with regard to the “rigidity” of V2 (cf. Eythórsson 1996). Specifically, Old Scandinavian has a rigid V2 order, allowing one and only one constituent in preverbal position. The parametric difference between Scandinavian and Romance is attributed to the operator vs. non-(necessarily)-operator status of the fronted constituents in the two language groups, respectively, which is responsible for the presence vs. absence of minimality effects. The importance of a diachronic study is

confirmed by the subsequent evolution of the two systems: Germanic languages<sup>1</sup> have preserved a V2 order, that has been lost in the Romance languages<sup>2</sup>.

A second, related aspect is that verb movement to the complementizers phrase (V-to-C) may license null subjects in both systems. The pro-drop parameter has undergone a significant change in Modern Scandinavian, in relation to the resetting of other parameters (e.g. verb inflection, verb movement, word order, cf. Falk 1993; Platzack 1996). Among the Scandinavian languages, only Icelandic has preserved a partial pro-drop, limited to expletives and quasi-arguments. By contrast, pro-drop is no longer dependent on V-to-C in Modern Romance languages, e.g. Italian. As a consequence, Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages (+V2; - pro-drop), turn out to be very different from some Modern Romance languages like Italian or Spanish (-V2; + pro-drop): a difference that calls for a diachronic integration of the explanation adopted.

A third characteristic found in Old Romance and Old Scandinavian languages is OV word order. Old Scandinavian languages preserve a basic OV order for a variable period of time in their history. Contrary to Mainland Scandinavian languages where the shift to VO is dated between 1500-1600, Icelandic has turned consistently into a VO language only recently (after 1800). By contrast, Old Romance languages have an OV order dependent on object movement to AgrOP (Egerland, 1996) or on movement of any potential candidate to a functional projection in the low left periphery (allegedly a Focus, according to Poletto 2005). Regardless its derivation, the resulting surface string has an OV order both in Old Romance and in Old Scandinavian. Interestingly, surface OV order is reproduced by SF when, for instance, a past participle is moved to the first position, and the inflected verb is second (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1994). It is not contingent, then, that the presence of SF and the OV order are somehow correlated.

Given that the changes in the parameter setting from Old to Modern Icelandic are relatively recent and scarce (i.e. the Modern Icelandic system is quite conservative), there is reason to believe that Old Italian and Modern Icelandic are more similar than one could guess at a first glance. In consideration of these facts, the diachronic integration of the present comparative study is motivated and supported by evidence of Universal Grammar principles in the systems under investigation. The explored parametric differences are understood as different syntactic strategies to meet the interface requirements imposed by the conceptual-intentional system.

Among the common characteristics mentioned above, some have not yet received a satisfactory explanation in the respect of economy principles. For instance, one of the major issues of V2 is the fact that it is not clear whether the location of the verb in second position is the effect of a unitary parameter, or of a set of properties connected more loosely. Despite the great amount of literature on V2, this phenomenon is still non-satisfactorily explained and represents a problem for fine-grained analyses of syntax. The work presented here follows a cartographic approach, (first proposed by Rizzi 1997, and further developed by Cinque 1999, a.o.) assuming that every feature is encoded syntactically in a specific projection, and is subject to locality constraints and to a hierarchical order. One of the major contributions of cartography is the possibility to account for the syntax of discourse-related properties, because information is

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<sup>1</sup> English is not considered among the Germanic languages, being a non-V2 language. Cf. Roberts (2008) and Eythórsson (1996) a.o. for an analysis of the evolution of Old English.

<sup>2</sup> With some exception, cf. the Rhaeto-Romance case discussed in Poletto (2000; 2003).

structurally encoded and visible through the configurational properties of languages. In this framework, issues such as the non-configurationality of a language (which Faarlund, 2008, attributes to Old Icelandic), or the generic character of preverbal fronting in V2 languages are problematic.

The literature proposing an account of V2 in the broad sense is extremely vast, and the goal of the study presented here certainly does not have the ambition of explaining V2. Nonetheless, V2-related phenomena are investigated in order to identify the structural properties which may determine V-to-C. Specifically, the relation between V-to-C and the subject requirement is considered. The reader will notice that the latter is not referred to as EPP, but rather as Subject Criterion, following Rizzi (2004). Some important aspects taken into consideration are the setting of the pro-drop parameter, and the conditions licensing topic- and subject-drop (cf. also Sigurðsson 2008). Accordingly, different realizations of the complementation systems are explored in a synchronic and diachronic perspective. In contrast to main clauses, subordinate clauses are generally a privileged environment of investigation, since the higher number of syntactic restrictions and the presence of complementizers contribute to the visibility of structural properties.

The domain of investigation is chosen so as to guarantee the accuracy of analysis, which proceeds as follows. Capitalizing on the correlation between SF and absence of preverbal subjects, Chapter 1. gives an overview of SF in Modern Icelandic. The most relevant works on this topic are discussed in a critical review and major problems related to the identification and function of SF are brought to attention. Specifically, problems with some accounts of the accessibility hierarchy characterizing the frontable items are discussed.

On the basis of the similarities between Old Italian and Icelandic systems, Chapter 2 proposes a comparison with Old Italian facts that were excerpted from three corpora dated between 1250 and 1300. The data mining was partially done through the online database of Old Italian (OVI, <http://gattoweb.oivi.cnr.it/>). Given the unspecific character of the searched data, i.e. the diverse types of lexical items fronted to the first position, the major part of the process was done manually on a paper version of the texts. For this reason, the data classification was double-checked and the data analysis revised more than once. All glosses and translations from the Old Italian corpora are mine. The analysis of SF is restricted to constructions that can hardly be confused with V2 topicalizations, such as fronting of verb particles, infinitives, past participles, nominal predicates and predicative adjectives. Also in Chapter 2, Old Italian characteristics are first illustrated in detail, then facts regarding SF, verb position and type/location of subjects are presented and discussed. The analysis of data provides a strong argument in support of the identification of the target of SF with a position in CP. Evidence in support of this analysis is provided in more occasions throughout the entire work. Moreover, different types of SF are singled out with respect to the clause-types in which SF occurs.

Chapter 3. illustrates the proposal for a derivation of SF by movement of a remnant XP to the CP, where it makes some features of Fin available to interpretation, enabling subject extractions or subject drop. The proposal is supported by comparative evidence from Old Italian and Icelandic. The chapter illustrates in detail how SF of different

lexical items is derived. Potential problems for the derivation of some surface strings are circumvented by considering additional facts which characterize the specific grammars. Chapter 4. analyzes the SF construction in a diachronic perspective, by observing the parametric changes related to pro-drop, V-to-C, verb inflection and complementation structure in Old and Non-standard Swedish, and Old Icelandic. After some preliminary remarks including an *interim* summary of the proposal and the relation of SF to other syntactic aspects, the setting of the pro-drop parameter in Old and Modern Swedish is presented in a diachronic perspective. Then, pro-drop of referential and quasi-arguments/expletives in Old and Modern Icelandic is discussed. The following sections illustrate the distribution of SF in Old Swedish and Old Icelandic and discuss the diachronic changes leading to the loss of SF in Mainland Scandinavian. A section on (the loss of) SF in Övdalian provides evidence against the idea that SF be directly dependent on V-to-I or pro-drop. It is argued that SF was originally a mechanism contributing to the information structure (cf. Fischer and Alexiadou 2001, for Old Romance) and then became a strategy of subject extraction. This strategy could remain productive only in Icelandic, as a consequence of the less radical changes occurring in the evolution from Old to Modern Icelandic. By contrast, it is argued that the different evolution of the Old Swedish system into Modern Mainland Scandinavian is responsible for the loss of SF in the latter language group.

Chapter 5. provides crosslinguistic support to the proposal concerning different complementation systems in Scandinavian presented in chapter 4. Comparative evidence consists of facts from Old Italian and Non-Standard Italian where double complementizer constructions and complementizer deletion reveal some structural properties of the CP system. Assuming that the morphosyntactic realizations of common interface conditions imposed on syntax are subject to crosslinguistic parametric variation, the additional facts presented in this chapter provide further support to the central claim.

With the purpose of shedding some light on syntactic phenomena such as SF, subject pro-drop and verb movement in relation to the syntax-pragmatics interface, the present dissertation provides a comparative analysis of Old Italian and Icelandic, where those phenomena are attested and relevant. The proposed analysis integrates a diachronic perspective with a synchronic one, both for the Scandinavian and the Romance language group to which the two languages under examination belong. Occasionally, specific properties of other languages belonging to one group or the other are investigated for comparison. The main claim is that the phenomenon of SF, which is derivable by remnant movement, contributes to the information structure (cf. also Fischer and Alexiadou 2001, and Fischer to app. a. and b.) and is adopted as a syntactic strategy to license subject drop or extraction. The implications of this proposal for a better understanding of the information structure and of the properties of the CP system are left as a topic for future research.

# Chapter 1

## Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic

### 1.1. Introduction

In this chapter I try to provide a satisfactory explanation of a syntactic phenomenon which is common in Modern Icelandic: Stylistic Fronting (SF). SF is also present in Old East and Old West Scandinavian (Old Swedish, Old and Middle Danish, Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic), but with some differences with respect to Modern Icelandic and Modern Faroese SF<sup>3</sup>.

For current syntactic theories, and for native-speaker syntacticians as well, SF is still much of mystery. The difficulty may be due to a phonologic requirement without any syntactic and/or pragmatic function (Holmberg 2000) or, rather, it is a marked construction and provides an import to the information structure, as proposed by Hrafnbjargarson (2003)<sup>4</sup>. If SF is part of narrow syntax, then it is not clear what its syntactic function is. The most problematic aspect of SF is probably the surprising heterogeneity of categories which can be fronted. This issue reminds of the first-position fronting characteristic of ordinary V2 constructions, although we will see that SF is not V2 topicalization in the technical sense.

Among all the aspects differentiating SF from V2 topicalization, the one most commonly adopted to identify SF is the absence of an overt subject, here defined as the Subject Gap Condition (SGC). However, this characteristic alone does not seem sufficient to unambiguously distinguish SF from other V2 constructions. SF allows movement of some syntactic categories (e.g. verbal heads), among others, which usually do not undergo topicalization in V2 structures. Thus, a good way to individuate SF is to observe if fronting of such categories occurs in contexts usually not allowing V2 and, at the same time, the SGC is satisfied. By analyzing which categories front more easily in specific syntactic contexts, it would be possible to determine the target position of SF, hence its nature and function, under the cartographic assumption that each feature is assigned to a specific structural position.

In this chapter I review the literature on SF and point out the major problems that are still unsolved.

### 1.2. Distinctive criteria of SF: differences from V2 topicalization

SF is a syntactic phenomenon first investigated by Joan Maling (1980). It is productive in Modern Icelandic, and less productive but still present in Modern Faroese. In the latter language, certain items front more easily than others, and the speech register plays an important role. Some similar observations also concern Icelandic SF: Jónsson (1991) distinguishes between SF in main and subordinate clauses, arguing that main clause SF is mostly restricted to literary language (including news reports<sup>5</sup>). Maling (1990) observes that SF is absent from Mainland Scandinavian languages, which, nonetheless,

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<sup>3</sup> Modern Faroese SF is less productive than Modern Icelandic SF, as is more restricted to the written language.

<sup>4</sup> A similar assumption, although with a different implementation, has been adopted to describe SF in Old Romance, see Fischer and Alexiadou (2001).

<sup>5</sup> This observation is mine.

have V2 in main and certain embedded clauses<sup>6</sup>. Therefore she distinguishes SF from topicalization in common V2 structures. By topicalization, I refer to the more or less unrestricted fronting of a lexical item to the first position in a V2 construction. The term does not tell anything about the target position of such movement, which can be a TopicP, a FocusP or any other projection in the CP field. The most distinctive features of SF are reported in Table 1. and compared with topicalization.

Table 1. (adapted from Maling (1990))

TOPICALIZATION	STYLISTIC FRONTING
Objects NPs; PPs, etc.	<b>Items from verbal complex</b>
Emphasis/focus on fronted constituent	Emphasis/focus not necessarily present
Uncommon in embedded clauses	<b>Common in embedded clauses</b>
Subject gap not required	<b>Subject gap required</b>
Unbounded (cyclic)	Clause bounded
Judgments vary wrt clause type	Accepted by all speakers

The points in bold in Table 1. are those that will be considered as most significant for the characterization of SF throughout the chapter. Before a closer examination of what such features consist, I take into account the other aspects, and the reasons why I prefer not to use them as primary criteria of distinction of SF from topicalization.

First of all, I discount speakers' acceptance of SF vs. topicalization for the simple reason that this criterion:

- (i) is not applicable to diachronic data;
- (ii) relies on a consistent number of native speakers willing to provide judgments.

### 1.3. Clause-boundedness

Clause boundedness is a valid criterion, although not easily testable as the cases of extraction must be constructed on purpose and are not very frequent in the old texts I analysed for a comparison. Clause boundedness is a condition holding for SF (as in (1)a. below) but not for topicalization, as (1)b. shows:

- (1) a. \*Bókin [sem **stolið** var sagt [að þú hefðir \_\_\_\_]] (Icelandic)  
           book.the that stolen was said that you had  
           "The book that was said that you had stolen"
- b. **Þessi bók** sagði strákurinn [að þú hefðir stolið \_\_\_\_]  
           this book said boy.the that you had stolen  
           "This book said the boy that you had stolen" [Thránsson 2007, 373, 7.78]

Furthermore, clause boundedness seems to depend on the "transparency" of the clausal edge, rather than on the actual division between root and subordinate clauses. Thus SF is

<sup>6</sup> There is vast literature on the typological distinction of clauses allowing V2. See Vikner (1995) and Wiklund et al. (to app.) a.o.

possible across clause boundaries provided that there is not overt material interfering with the movement of the stylistically fronted item. A minimality effect is triggered when SF crosses the complementizer *að* in (2)b., but is licit when C is a null head, as in (2)d.:

- (2) a. þetta er maðurinn sem lofaði [að lesa allar bækurnar]  
 this is man.the that promised to read all books.the  
 “This is the man that promised to read all the books”
- b. \*þetta er maðurinn sem **lesa** lofaði að \_\_\_ allar bækurnar]  
 this is man.the that read promised to all books.the  
 “This is the man that promised to read all the books”
- c. þetta er maðurinn sem vildi [lesa allar bækurnar]  
 this is man.the that wanted read all books.the  
 “This is the man that wanted to read all the books”
- d. þetta er maðurinn sem **lesa** vildi [ \_\_\_ allar bækurnar]  
 this is man.the that read wanted all books.the  
 “This is the man that wanted to read all the books” [Thráinsson 2007, 374, 7.79]

In this respect, (3) below illustrates a meaningful paradigm:

- (3) a. \*þeir sem **vera** telja [Maríu \_\_\_ hæfa eru mjög fáir]  
 they that be believe Mary qualified are very few  
 “They who believe Mary be qualified are very few”
- b. þeir sem **vinna** áttu [ \_\_\_ verkið létu ekki sjá sig]  
 they that work have.to job.the not show.up  
 “They who have to do the job don’t show up”
- c. \*Sá sem **lyfta** reyndi [að PRO \_\_\_ steininum gafst upp]  
 he that lift tried to PRO stone.the gave up  
 “He who tried to lift the stone gave up”
- d. ?Sá sem **lyfta** reyndi [PRO \_\_\_ steininum gafst upp]  
 he that lift tried to PRO stone.the gave up  
 “He who tried to lift the stone gave up” [Rögnvaldsson 1984]

Either a DP-subject ((3)a.) or an overt complementizer ((3)c.) acts as intervener on SF. On the contrary, SF is possible in modal complements, as in (3)b., which may as well be analysed as part of the same clause<sup>7</sup>. SF is more marginal in control structures with

<sup>7</sup> Thráinsson (2007), pp. 433-434 observes that “the presence of the infinitival *að* plays a crucial role” in fronting out of a modal complement, as shown by (i):

(i) þetta eru börn [sem lesa þurfa/kunna [(\*)að] \_\_\_ þessar bækur]  
 these are kids that read need/can (\*to) \_\_\_ these books  
 “These are kids that need to/can read these books” [Thráinsson 2007, 434, 8.103]

Comp-drop, where the fronted item would only cross a null-PRO. Furthermore, according to Thráinsson's (2007) data, SF out of aspectual complements is not acceptable, and even worse with an overt C-head:

- (4) a. \*þetta eru börnin sem **lesa** byrjuðu/voru [ \_\_\_\_ bækurnar]  
 these are kids.the that read began/were books.the  
 "These are the kids that began/were reading the books"
- b. \*\*þetta eru börnin sem **lesa** byriuðu/voru [að \_\_\_\_ bækurnar]  
 these are kids.the that read began/were to books.the  
 "These are the kids that began/were reading the books"  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 435, 8.106]

In summary, clause-boundedness seems to depend on:

- (i) the type of matrix verb: it is fine with modal verbs as they usually do not select full-fledged complements but only lexical verbs; less acceptable with control complements; bad with aspectual verb complements. Thráinsson (2007) does not explain this difference. One possibility is that the acceptability of SF in clausal complements depends on the selectional and semantic properties of the matrix verbs. Further investigation is needed on this point.
- (ii) the possibility of Comp-drop: the matrix verb must allow for complementizerless complements, as the presence of *að* (or other C-like elements) triggers minimality effects. It is worth pointing out that the complementizer *að* in Icelandic introduces both finite and non-finite clauses as well as the complements of certain modal verbs. The possibility of Comp-drop could be accounted for by the hypothesis that SF is head movement<sup>8</sup>. Assuming that *að* is commonly merged in the higher C-head of a split-CP structure, the ungrammaticality of SF out of *að*-finite/non-finite clauses is related to the presence of an overt Force-head realized with the complementizer and blocking SF movement out of the clause. Where this head is not present, SF can pass through the lower Fin to the higher target position. Thráinsson (2007) provides support to this hypothesis by showing that cross-clausal fronting of a maximal projection is judged marginal regardless the presence or absence of a C-head. Compare the facts in (4) with (5) below:

- (5) a. ?þetta er maðurinn sem **allar bækurnar** reyndi [að lesa \_\_\_\_]  
 this is man.the that all books tried to read  
 "This is the man that tried to read all the books"
- b. ?þetta er maðurinn sem **allar bækurnar** vildi [ lesa \_\_\_\_]  
 this is man.the that all books wanted read  
 "This is the man that wanted to read all the books"  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 374, 7.80]

The fact that both a. and b. sentences in (5) above receive the same judgment suggests that phrase-fronting is not sensitive to the presence of an intervening head, therefore XP

<sup>8</sup> Although a different analysis is proposed in Chapter 3.



fronting must be distinguished from SF of a head. Specifically, (5) above does not reveal anything on the intermediate steps or target position of the fronted XP.

Significantly, the clause-boundedness restriction does not apply to topicalization. Icelandic *að*-clauses allow for (non-subject initial) embedded V2. A plausible derivation for such structures is that verb movement be possible at least up to the lower C-head, Fin, and the first-position XP is extracted to a criterial position in the main clause, after taking an intermediate step in the subordinate Spec,FinP, as illustrated in (6).

(6) [<sub>CP</sub> TopP/FocP XP V S ... [<sub>CP</sub> *að* ... FinP <XP><sub>Fin</sub> V ...]]

The analysis of SF as head movement would be applicable even to cases like the one in (3)a., repeated here as (7) for convenience:

(7) \*þeir sem **vera** telja [*Maríu* \_\_\_\_ hæfa eru mjög fáir]  
 they that be believe Mary qualified are very few  
 “they who believe Mary be qualified are very few”

The presence of a lexical subject in the IP field (allegedly in SubjP) would force movement of the stylistically fronted item into the head of the subject position (Subj). This move does not seem possible, since SF neither needs being in a local configuration with the subject, nor is sufficiently specified to move there. If SF skipped Subj, there would be a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). The analysis of SF as pure head movement is in fact quite controversial for the reason that SF moves syntactic material from a low position to a structurally much higher one. Since head movement has to respect locality constraints (e.g. HMC), long head movement (LHM), of which SF would be an instance, is generally considered problematic.

Another difficulty related to the account of SF as head movement is given by the assumption that not only heads, but also DPs and PPs can be fronted, as proposed by Holmberg (1999, 2000). Before entering the details of this issue, let us consider the last aspect which cannot be adopted as a criterion to individuate SF.

#### 1.4. Absence of emphasis and focus

The absence of emphasis and focus in SF is debated, and indeed challenged by Hrafnbjargarson (2003, 2004) who claims that SF targets the FocusP in CP, either as movement of a head to Foc° or as movement of an XP to Spec,FocP (or both). The problems with Hrafnbjargarson’s proposal are the following:

1. As noted by Thráinsson (2007), most of Hrafnbjargarson’s examples allegedly showing that SF is movement to FocusP involve fronting of constituents which can be interpreted as XPs, such as adverbs and negation. Furthermore, negation has a special behavior in many languages, being subject to scope-driven movement. The examples provided by Hrafnbjargarson are of the following kind:

(8) Allir sem **ekki** höfðu \_\_\_\_ fengið lýsi veiktust  
 all that not had received cod.liver.oil got.sick  
 “All those who hadn’t had cod liver oil got sick” [Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 168, 31]

It is hardly possible to talk about SF as head movement into Foc°. Indeed simple head movement to Foc° would be problematic since FocP is quantificational and requires movement of an operator to its specifier. According to Thráinsson (2007), what he considers clear cases of head movement, as the one in (9) below, cannot be interpreted as movement to Foc° because these cases do not get any more special focus reading than if they were stressed in situ.

(9) Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smygglað** hafði verið \_\_\_\_ inn

He showed me bottles.the that smuggled had been \_\_\_\_ in

“He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled in”

[Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 165, 24]

Thráinsson’s (2007) argument does not seem so strong for the reason that the realization of the Foc head is in principle an option to satisfy a criterial requirement, when the specifier of FocP is not overt. Nonetheless, Hrafnbjargarson’s argument should apply also to XP-Focus fronting in general, which is instead not accepted in Icelandic extraction contexts such as indirect questions and relatives.

2. Assuming that what moves by SF is an XP, and that FocP is quantificational, movement to FocP would produce an intervention effect in contexts where another OP moves, such as in relative clauses. Instead it turns out that relative clauses are one of the most favorable environment to SF, whereas topicalization of the type found in other V2 clauses is usually not possible. Under the tentative hypothesis that XPs can move by SF, (10)b. would be a case of SF, but (10)a. a topicalization:

(10)a. \*þeir sem í **Danmörku** hafði hann hitt \_\_\_\_ ...

they that in Denmark had he met

“They whom he had met in Denmark”

b. þeir sem í **Danmörku** hafa verið \_\_\_\_ ...

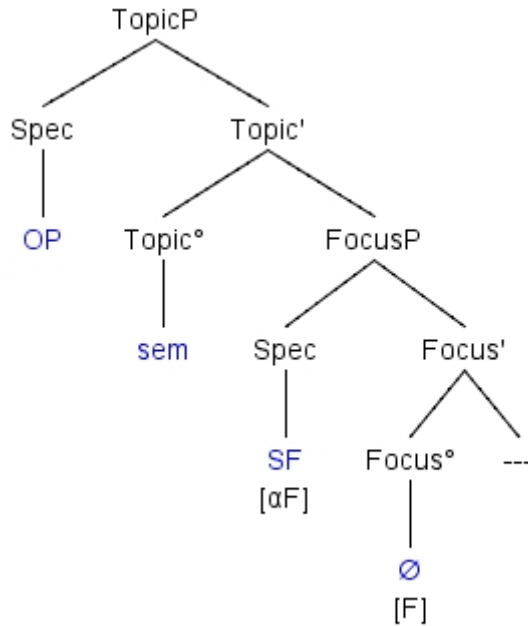
they that in Denmark have been

“They who have been in Denmark”

[Thráinsson 2007, 380, 7.96]

In Hrafnbjargarson’s analysis, relative clauses are derived by OP-movement to a TopP, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1.



This hypothesis cannot apply to other languages, where the relative head is clearly in a much higher position, as indicated by the presence of overt topics, shown by the following Italian example:

- (11) Ho visto il ciclista che, **durante la gara**, Andrea ha superato più volte  
 I saw the cyclist that during the competition Andrew has overpassed more times  
 “I saw the cyclist that Andrew has overpassed more than once during the competition”

However, regardless its target position, the relative OP movement would interfere with the stylistically fronted XP if the latter were quantificational, as constituents moving to FocP need to be<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Even for Modern Italian, which is no longer V2 and where the periphery is usually available to multiple frontings, there seems to be restrictions on focalization in extraction contexts. See for instance the paradigm in (i) below:

- (i) a. Il ragazzo a cui GIANNI ha dato il libro  
 The boy to who Gianni has given the book  
 “The boy to whom John has given the book”  
 b. ?Il ragazzo a cui IL LIBRO pro ho dato (non la penna)  
 The boy to who the book have.1s given (not the pen)  
 “The boy to whom I have given the book (not the pen)”  
 c. Il ragazzo a cui IERI pro ho dato il libro (non oggi)  
 The boy to who yesterday have.1s given the book (not today)  
 “The boy to whom I have given the book yesterday (not today)”  
 d. \*?Il ragazzo a cui IL LIBRO ha dato Gianni (non la penna)  
 the boy to who the book has given Gianni (not the pen)  
 “The boy to whom Gianni has given the book (not the pen)”

3. Hrafnbjargarson (2003) argues that it is possible to front more than one constituent, but no more than two: the first one in the linear order targets Spec,FocP, the second one, Foc°. However, all his examples involve an adverb and a negation or a degree adverb, but crucially no other combinations, as, for instance, [-fin] verb and particle fronting or adverb and verb fronting.

His examples are given in (12) below. Notice that fronting of more than two elements is prohibited:

(12) a. Hann henti öllu sem **áreiðanlega ekki** hafði verið tæmt

He threw away all that undoubtedly not had been emptied

“He threw away all that undoubtedly had not been emptied”

b. Hann henti öllu sem **ekki áreiðanlega** hafði verið tæmt

He threw away all that not undoubtedly had been emptied

“He threw away all that not undoubtedly had been emptied”

c. \*Hann henti öllu sem **ekki alveg áreiðanlega** hafði verið tæmt

He threw away all that not most undoubtedly had been emptied

He threw away all that most undoubtedly had not been emptied”

[Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 193-94, 88, 90]

Hrafnbjargarson argues that Icelandic adverbs have an ambiguous status: they may be heads or phrases, thus *ekki* in (12)b. would be an XP, whereas in (12)a. it would be a head. Notice however, that there is a simpler explanation for the facts in (12), which also holds for the ungrammaticality of (12)c. Either the negation or the adverb is a modifier of the stylistically fronted element. I presume that there is a slightly different interpretation between (12)a. and (12)b. depending on the scope of the negation. This automatically explains why (12)c. is ruled out: the negation cannot scope over a degree adverb (modifying the fronted element), unless a special shift in the interpretation is allowed, which is not the case here. Therefore, SF can still be interpreted as movement of one and only one constituent to the preverbal position. It seems that this kind of fronting (of adverbs, negation, degree modifiers...) involves some sort of “quantificational” material, although not in the sense of the one reaching FocP, for the reasons given above. In my comparative analysis, I show that fronting of similar elements is also found in Old Italian, and may target a dedicated position in the low left periphery.

Let us now turn to the characteristics of SF individuated by Maling (1990) which were chosen as criteria of identification. I now describe them and motivate the choice.

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Note that (i)a. may as well be a case of Focus in situ, whereas the only good non subject focalization is given in (i)c. where the fronted element is an adverb. I think the acceptability of (i)c. in contrast to the slightly degraded status of (i)b. and the much worse (i)d. could be explained with the type of emphasis put on the adverb and the lack of an overt subject. These facts can be accounted for under the analysis proposed in section 3.5. below.

### 1.5. Items from the verbal complex

Maling (1990) labels “items from the verbal complex” some stylistically fronted item a.o. She refers to non-finite verbal heads, verb particles, predicative adjectives and nominal predicates that usually are not proper goals for the type of topicalization found in non-subject initial V2 structures. Some examples are given in (13)-(15) below.

- (13) Hann spurði hver **sullað** hefði \_\_ bjórnum (past participle)  
He asked who spilt had beer.the  
“He asked who had spilt the beer”

- (14) Hann syndi mér flóskunnar sem **inn** verið smyggað \_\_ (verb particle)  
He showed me bottles.the that in were smuggled  
“He showed me the bottles that were smuggled in”  
[Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 11, 19, 58-60 ]

- (15) Sá sem **fyrstur** er \_\_ að skora mark fær sérstök verðlaun (nominal predicate)  
he that first is to score goal gets special prize  
“He who is first to score a goal gets a special prize”  
[Jónsson 1991,1,3]

In Icelandic, SF is very common in relative and adverbial clauses. It is possible also in declarative complements and main clauses, but, according to Jónsson (1991), the latter use is restricted to literary language (in the sense that it is peculiar of the written language, of newspapers and TV- news):

- (16) **Keypt** hefur verið \_\_ tölva fyrir starfsfólkið  
Bought has been a computer for the staff  
“It has been bought a computer for the staff”

- (17) **Fallið** hafa \_\_ margir hermenn í þessu stríði<sup>10</sup>  
Died have many soldiers in this war  
“Many soldiers died in this war”  
[Jónsson, 1991, 24, 46]

Since VP-fronting is not possible in Icelandic, as shown in (18) below, SF has been analysed as movement of one head to a preverbal position.

- (18) \***Lesa allar bækurnar** mun hún  
read all books.the will she  
“She will read all the books”  
[Thráinsson 2007, 349, 7.18 d]

The present literature still lacks a satisfactory proposal motivating syntactically the phenomenon of SF. I have shown that Hrafnbjargarson’s (2003) proposal does not work because SF cannot be analysed as Focus-movement; now I consider Maling’s (1990)

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<sup>10</sup> The presence of subjects in postverbal position doesn’t constitute an exception to the Subject Gap Condition which rules out SF in constructions where the subject is preverbal or in a higher position. I discuss this issue later in the chapter.

generalization concerning the accessibility hierarchy to which the frontable categories are allegedly subject.

### 1.6. The accessibility hierarchy

All the frontable categories encountered so far (negation, adverbials, items from the verbal complex) are ranked by Maling (1990) in the following accessibility hierarchy:

(19) Negation/Phrasal adv > Predicative adjective > Past Participle/Verb particle

According to (19), the presence of a phrasal adverb or of a negation would block fronting of any category ranked lower (i.e. predicative adjectives and past participles or verb particles), as shown in (20) below:

(20) a. þetta er aðferð sem **ekki** hefur \_\_\_ verið reynd á mönnum  
this is method that not has been tried on people  
“This is a method that has not been tried on people”

b. \* þetta er aðferð sem **reynd** hefur *ekki* verið \_\_\_ á mönnum  
this is method that tried has not been on people  
“This is a method that has not been tried on people” [Jónsson 1991, 5, 11]

However, the hierarchy in (19) does not account properly for all the facts regarding SF, for at least three reasons.

#### 1.6.1. 1<sup>st</sup> problem with Maling’s hierarchy

It is not clear whether SF freely chooses negation or high phrasal adverbs when they are both present in the clause as proposed by Hrafnbjargarson (2003), or rather there is a specific hierarchy among them as well (Jónsson, p.c.). Hrafnbjargarson’s data seem to confirm the free ordering of the content of the highest step in Maling’s hierarchy:

(21) a. Hann henti öllu sem **áreiðanlega** hafði *ekki* verið tæmt  
He threw.away all that undoubtedly had not been emptied  
“He threw away all that undoubtedly had not been emptied”

b. Hann henti öllu sem **ekki** hafði *áreiðanlega* verið tæmt  
He threw.away all that not had undoubtedly been emptied  
“He threw away all that had not undoubtedly been emptied”  
[Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 193, 88]

On the contrary, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson (p.c.) argues that

“It is always impossible to move something by SF across another element that can also move”

As a consequence, negation fronting is blocked by adverbs located higher in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy:

- (22) a. þetta er maðurinn sem **vissulega** hitti \_\_\_ Maríu í gær  
 this is man.the that certainly met Mary.ACC yesterday  
 “This is the man that certainly met Mary yesterday”
- b. \*þetta er maðurinn sem **ekki** hitti *vissulega* Maríu í gær  
 this is man.the that not met certainly Mary.ACC yesterday  
 “This is the man that didn’t certainly meet Mary yesterday” [Jónsson (p.c.)]

Perhaps this contrast is related to the presence of the negation and its scopal properties, which render the facts on SF opaque. This is an open issue.

### 1.6.2. 2<sup>nd</sup> problem with Maling’s hierarchy

The hierarchy in (19) treats Past Participles and Verb Particles as equidistant goals from the SF probe. On the one hand, SF of verb particles is possible only if the verb selecting it is not in the active transitive form, as the contrast with (27) below shows. On the other hand, P-fronting is not allowed out of PPs: (28) shows that P-complement stranding is not allowed in Icelandic.

- (23) maðurinn sem **um** var rættt \_\_\_ *pseudo-passive*  
 man that about was talked  
 “The man that was talked about”
- (24) Verðbólgan varð verri en **við** hafði verið búist \_\_\_ *impersonal passive*  
 inflation.the was worse than PRT had been expected  
 “The inflation was worse than expected”
- (25) **Fram** hefur komið \_\_\_ að fiskað hefur verið *unaccusative*  
 forth has come that fished has been  
 í leyfisleya í chílensku fiskivæði  
 illegally in Chilean fishing zone  
 “It has been reported that there has been illegal fishing in the Chilean fishing zone”
- (26) Hann syndi mér flóskunnar sem **inn** verið smyggað \_\_\_ *passive*  
 He showed me bottles.the that in were smuggled  
 “He showed me the bottles that were smuggled in”
- (27) \*Stelpa sem **út** hefur sloppið \_\_\_ kettinum *\*transitive*  
 Girl.the that out has let cat.the  
 “The girl that has let out the cat”
- (28) \*þeir sem í hafa búið \_\_\_ *Oslo* *\*P-complement stranding*  
 they that in have lived Oslo  
 “They that have lived in Oslo”  
 [Holmberg 1999, 26-27: (62); (64); Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 159: (16)]

The possibility to choose whether to front the particle, rather than the past participle, may reside in the fact that the particle undergoes a mechanism of “particle shift” and is first moved to a higher head position in the lower part of the phrase. According to Svenonius (1996), “the verb-particle construction is essentially causative or resultative”: notice that sentences (23)-(26) above all have a resultative reading. In resultative constructions, particle shift is possible provided that the “Ground” (namely the object of the preposition) is not expressed. This explains the ungrammaticality of (28) above: assuming by hypothesis that the preposition *í* could undergo particle shift if the Ground were not expressed, the presence of the NP *Oslo* blocks such movement and particle SF is not possible. Sentences (29)a. and b. shows particle shift in Norwegian and Icelandic respectively. By contrast, the impossibility of moving the particle to the intermediate step of the “Shift-position”, i.e. the Resultative Phrase, is shown by the Icelandic facts in (29)d. below. The presence of an overt GroundP not only blocks particle-shift, but also impedes particle SF in Icelandic (cf. (28) above). The same construction disallows particle shift in Norwegian since SF is not possible in this language, cf. (29)c.

- (29) a. Mannen har drukket {opp} vinen {opp} (Norwegian)  
           the.man has drunk up the.wine up  
       b. Maðurinn hefur drukkið {upp} vínið {upp} (Icelandic)  
           the.man has drunk up the.wine up  
           “The man has drunk {up} the wine {up}”  
       c. Vi kastet {\*ut} hunden {ut} av huset. (Norwegian)  
           we threw out the.dog out of the.house  
       d. Við hentum {\*út} hundinum {út} úr húsinu. (Icelandic)  
           we threw out the.dog out of the.house  
           “We threw the dog out of the house” [Svenonius 1996, 11, 27, 28]

Svenonius shows that the order particle-NP is not allowed with non-resultative verbs, as (30) illustrates:

- (30) a. We consider {\*on} the deal {on}.  
       b. A supply train followed {\*up} the climbers {up}. [Svenonius 1996, 4, 10]

In order to identify the stylistically frontable categories, it is worth pointing out the parallelism between the syntactic behavior of particles and other lexical items. For instance, the same type of shift applies also to predicative adjectives, which pattern like particles (i.e. they do not shift in non-resultative contexts):

- (31) You can consider {\*free} yourself {free}

- (32) The activists set {free} the lab rats {free}. [(32) is from Svenonius 1996, 5, 12]

The intuition resting on these facts is that the particle/adjective/adverb-shift mechanism resets the locality relations of the categories candidate to SF. In other words, by shifting to a higher head position within the first phase (see discussion below), the particle (or



another postverbal lexical element) in resultative constructions moves out of the PP complement and makes itself available to SF (for a possible structure illustrating particle shift see Figure 2.).<sup>11</sup>

If what I have proposed so far is the correct analysis for particle SF in Icelandic, the expectation is that also Faroese particle-SF is possible exclusively in absence of a complement XP. According to Svenonius' (1996) data, Faroese behaves much like Danish as for NP-particle word order, namely it does not allow particle shift. Even though the particle does not raise to a higher head position, it is visible to the SF probe at least in two contexts:

(i) where the lexical verb does not select any complement, which would be merged as specifier of the PP whose head is the particle, so that the particle does not need to “leap over” it for visibility;

(ii) where the verb is not in a periphrastic form (i.e. there is no past participle head intervening between the particle and the SF target position as a closer candidate).

One example, not contradicting the expectations, is given below:

(33) Hann sá, hvør **inn** kom

(Faroese)

he saw who in came

“He saw who came in”

[Thráinsson et al. 2004, 299, 201]

<sup>11</sup> Svenonius (1996) proposes that in Icelandic the periphery of the small clause in which the particle and the object NP are contained has similar properties to the IP periphery where subjects moves. In Icelandic, postverbal definite subjects in V2 constructions preferably precede sentential adverbs, whereas indefinite ones can either precede or follow them. The same “definiteness effect” is found in the small clause: the order particle - NP is dispreferred if the NP is definite, whereas the alternation between particle – NP and NP- particle orders is available with non-definite NPs, provided that the verb licenses particle shift. See the comparison below:

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <p>(i) a. þá kölluðu <b>nokkrar fyllibutar</b> skyndilega upp nafnið mitt.<br/> <i>then called some drunks suddenly up the.name my</i><br/> Then some drunks suddenly called out my name.</p> <p>b. fíá kölluðu skyndilega <b>nokkrar fyllibutar</b> upp nafnið mitt.<br/> <i>then called suddenly some drunks up the.name my</i><br/> Then some drunks suddenly called out my name.</p>              | <p>Indefinite NP position</p> |
| <p>(ii) a. þá kölluðu <b>fyllibuturnar</b> skyndilega upp nafnið mitt.<br/> <i>then called the.dunks suddenly up the.name my</i><br/> Then the drunks suddenly called out my name.</p> <p>b. ?þá kölluðu skyndilega <b>fyllibuturnar</b> upp nafnið mitt.<br/> <i>then called suddenly the.dunks up the.name my</i><br/> Then the drunks suddenly called out my name.</p>                             | <p>Definite NP position</p>   |
| <p>(iii) a. Ég ætla að henda {<b>fyllibutunum</b>} út {<b>?fyllibutunum</b>}. NP position in the Small Clause<br/> <i>I plan to throw the.dunks out the.dunks</i><br/> I'm going to throw the drunks out.</p> <p>b. Ég ætla að henda {<b>nokkrum fyllibutum</b>} út {<b>nokkrum fyllibutum</b>}.<br/> <i>I plan to throw some drunks out some drunks</i><br/> I'm going to throw some drunks out.</p> |                               |

Furthermore, particle incorporation is not possible in Icelandic, contrary to Swedish, and, more restrictively, West Norwegian and Faroese (see Svenonius (1996) for a detailed analysis). Thus the particle is potentially “free” to undergo SF. Further comparative investigations on the relation between particle SF and particle incorporation is needed.

However, further research is needed in order to provide the proper data on the specific contexts<sup>12</sup> licensing SF of verbal particles in Faroese.

The assumption that Faroese does not allow particle shift and, more generally, that particle-shift is an optional mechanism at least in Icelandic (Svenonius 1996) is problematic. Under this perspective, one would expect that Faroese allows particle-SF regardless the interpretation of the verb as resultative, provided that the conditions in (i) and (ii) above are respected. However, in comparison with Icelandic data and in consideration of the absence of “particle-shift” in Faroese, such expectation seems counterintuitive.

Ramchand’s (2008) proposal obviates this problem. She bases her account of the V-particle construction on Svenonius (1986) and Svenonius and Ramchand (2002), although with a significant difference. In Ramchand (2008) particle-shift is the obligatory movement of the particle from the P head of the complement to the head of a ResultativeP, Res<sup>o</sup><sup>13</sup>, when semantically selected by the verb. What changes the linear order from Particle – NP to NP- Particle is not the presence vs. absence of Particle-to-Res<sup>o</sup> movement, but, the point of spell out of the NP, moving from the specifier position of the PP complement to the specifier of ResultativeP. For clarity’s sake I illustrate the structure of particle shift in Figure 2. below (as proposed in Ramchand (2008) for the lower phase, where initP is the initiator phrase, and procP, the process phrase):

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<sup>12</sup> Specifically, it is to be understood whether SF of a particle is possible in presence of a past participle verb, and, given that SF does not depend on particle shift, with non resultative interpretation. I assume that, by analogy with Icelandic, complement stranding with particle SF is equally impossible.

<sup>13</sup> The particle is directly merged in Res<sup>o</sup> if the lower P<sup>o</sup> is already occupied by another preposition, as in (i):

(i) Mary sent the schedules [<sub>Res<sup>o</sup></sub> [<sub>P</sub> to the shareholders]] (Ramchand, 2008, 136, 62a)

Nonetheless, the condition of having a “silent” ground in order to have particle shift seems to hold also for this proposal (cf. (29) above).

Figure 2.

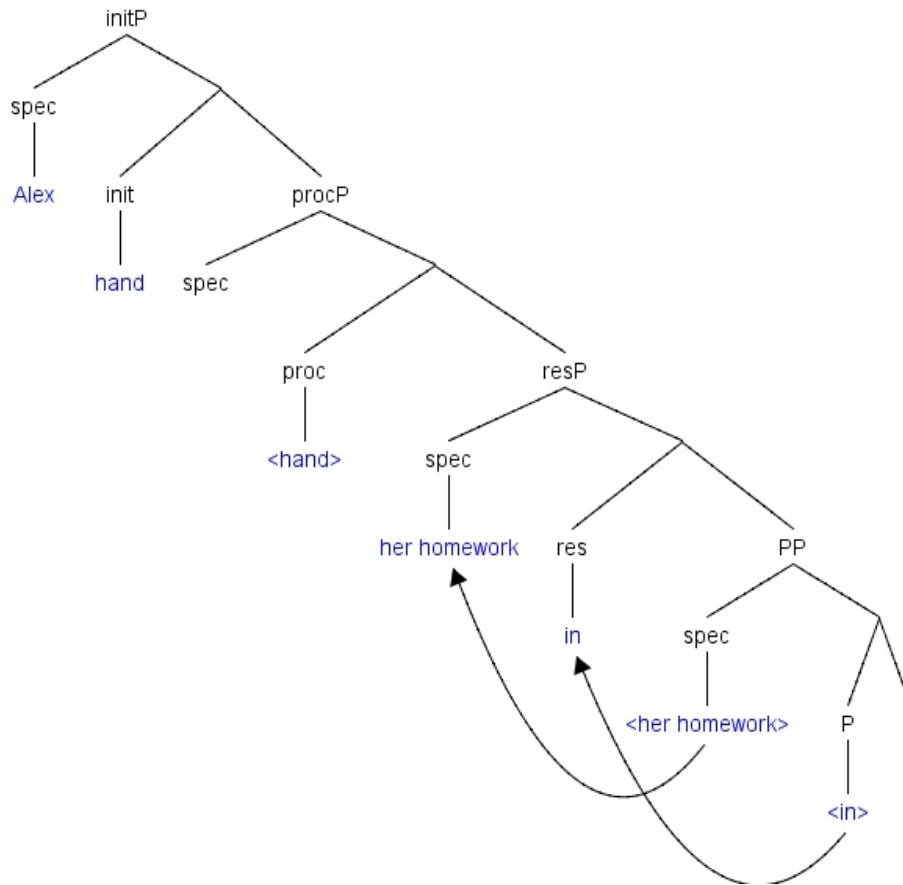


Figure 2. represents the structure of (34) below. Notice that the order DP-particle or particle-DP depends on

“whether the DP object is spelled out in its lowest or its highest predicational position” (Ramchand (2008), p. 132).

- (34) a. Alex handed in her homework  
b. Alex handed her homework in<sup>14</sup>

For the present analysis the relevant aspect of this proposal consists of the fact that SF of a particle seems equally ruled out by the intervention of a filled specifier in a construction like the one in Figure 2. and by the lack of movement of the particle to Res°. On the contrary, if there is no overt DP in the specifier of the PP complement, the Res° does not project a specifier. For the SF probe, Res° (without a spec) and Init° may

<sup>14</sup> Ramchand’s (2008) proposal seems to equally apply to those elements that can intervene between verb and object, such as adjectives and adverbs in resultative constructions as in (32) repeated below for convenience:

(i) The activists set {free} the lab rats {free}.

However, as Ramchand points out, movement to Res° does not apply to other kinds of resultative predicates as illustrated below:

(ii) John painted (\*red) the barn (red).

I do not go into further details here.

be both proper goals as heads of the lower phase, thus either a past participle or a particle moved to Res° can front. The facts that a filled specifier blocks SF of the particle runs against the analysis of SF as simple head movement (for which no minimality effects should be triggered by an intervening XP). This issue will be taken into account in Chapter 3.

### 1.6.3. 3<sup>rd</sup> problem with Maling's hierarchy

According to the hierarchy in (19), predicative adjectives would need to be more local to the SF probe than past participles. However, a predicative adjective is supposedly merged in a more embedded position, say, in the AP complement of the lexical verb that selects it. This puzzle is only apparent and depends on the eligibility of the past participle to SF. Indeed, Maling (1990) bases her hierarchy on the following facts:

- (35) a. þeir voru að tala um hvað **hægt** hefði verið *adj>p.part (að vera)*  
 they were to tell about what possible had been  
 b. \*þeir voru að tala um hvað **verið** hefði *\*p.part (að vera)>adj*  
 they were to tell about what been had possible  
 “They were telling about what had been possible” [Maling 1990, 81, 30]

The facts illustrated by Maling (1990) are in (apparent) contradiction with those presented by Holmberg (1999) in (36) below:

- (36) a. Maðurinn sem **talinn** er *p.part>adj*  
 man.the that considered is rich  
 b. \*maðurinn sem **rikur** er *\*adj>p.part*  
 man.the that rich is considered  
 “The man that is considered rich” [Holmberg 1999, 8, 25]

The explanation is in the fact that past participle of auxiliaries cannot be fronted at all, which is why (36)b. above is ruled out. Holmberg (2000) presents further evidence in support of this claim:

- (37) a. \***Verið** hefur tekin erfið ákvörðun  
 Been has taken difficult decision  
 “A difficult decision has been taken”  
 b. \*þeir sem **hafa** munu skrifað verkefnið á morgun  
 they that have will written assignment.the by tomorrow  
 “They that will have written the assignment by tomorrow”  
 [Holmberg 2000, 27, 54]

According to Holmberg (2000) the only cases where the auxiliary verbs *að vera* (to be) and *að hafa* (to have) can undergo SF, is when they are used as modals, or in certain copula constructions, as in (38) below:

- (38) þeir sem **verið** hafa veikir  
 they that been have ill  
 “They that have been ill”

[Holmberg 2000, 27, fn.28]

Neither Holmberg (1999, 2000), nor Hrafnbjargarson (2003) reformulate the hierarchy explicitly after testing the non-frontability of past participle auxiliaries, however Hrafnbjargarson (2003) assumes the following one (as a free adaption from Maling (1980, 1990)):

- (39) Negation/Phrasal adv > Past Participle/Verb particle > Predicative adjective

If Jónsson’s judgments (cf. (22) above) win over Hrafnbjargarson’s (2003) generalization on negation and adverb ranking, and particle SF depends on particle shift, than the correct accessibility hierarchy will be the following:

- (40)

High phrasal adv	>	Negation/ Low phrasal adv	>	Res- Shifted X°/ Past participle	>	Predicative adjective
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### 1.7. SF of DPs and PPs: Holmberg’s proposal

In addition to the categories that Maling (1990) identifies as undergoing SF, Holmberg (1999, 2000) argues that also DPs and PPs are possible candidates to SF, because they appear in the same contexts allowing for SF of sentential adverbs and items from the verbal complex:

- (41) þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa búið segja að...  
 they who in Oslo have lived say that...  
 “They who have lived in Oslo say that...”

- (42) Hver heldur þú að **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun** hafi að taka?  
 Who think you that this difficult decision has to take  
 “Who do you think has to take this difficult decision?”

[Holmberg 1999, 5: (12); (13)]

Holmberg argues that DPs and PPs can truly undergo SF and not topicalization by showing that they appear in “subjectless” constructions, cf. (43) below. The absence of a “high” subject is the main characteristic for the realization of SF. I explore this topic in the next section.

- (43)a. \*vinnan sem hann í Ósló hefur haft  
work.the that he in Oslo has had  
b. \*vinnan sem í Ósló hann hefur haft  
work.the that in Oslo he has had  
c. \*vinnan sem í Ósló hefur hann haft  
work.the that in Oslo has he had  
“The job that he has had in Oslo”

[Holmberg 1999, 5, 14]

According to Holmberg (1999), verbal heads and DP/PP complements are equally accessible to SF, which entails that they are locally equidistant from the SF probe. However, the same generalization does not hold for adjunct DPs and PPs, which cannot cross a past participle (and an argument) to stylistically front. See the contrast below:

- (44)a. þeir sem **búið** hafa í Ósló *Locative complement*  
they that lived have in Oslo  
b. þeir sem í Ósló hafa **búið**  
they that in Oslo have lived  
“They who have lived in Oslo”  
c. þeir sem **hittað** hafa konuna sína í Ósló *Locative adjunct*  
they that met have wife their in Oslo  
d. \*þeir sem í Ósló hafa hittað konuna sína  
they that in Oslo have met wife their  
“They who have met their wife in Oslo”

[Holmberg 1999, 9: (26)]

There is a contrast between the facts reported by Holmberg (1999) and Delsing’s (2001) observation that “SF with a fronted object is not very good in Modern Icelandic” (p. 149) as shown below<sup>15</sup>:

- (45) ?Sá [sem **bókina** hefur lesið \_\_] veit að hún er góð  
He who book.the has read knows that she is good  
“He who has read the book knows that she is good”

- (46) ??Maðurinn [sem **hana** elskaði \_\_] heitir Pétur  
Man.the that her loved is.named Pétur  
“The man that loved her is named Peter”

[Delsing 2001, 149, 16]

<sup>15</sup>Höskuldur Thráinsson points out that a change in the lexical content of either the subject or the fronted element would change the acceptability of the example. For instance, in the case of (45), changing the definite object *bókina* to *þessa bók* (=this book) would improve the example (Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.). The reasons for such difference in the acceptability of object fronting is not clear, but it seems related to the feature specification of the fronted constituent. The “frontability conditions” seem to be met when the fronted object is specified by a demonstrative. With regard to the interpretation, the presence of a demonstrative would in a sense help to identify the salient context in which the utterance is made. With respect to the syntactic and pragmatic properties distinguishing simple definites (e.g. *bókina*) from specific DPs (e.g. *þessa bók*) further research is needed. One intuition is that the frontability of specific DPs depends on some active feature verified in the DP-left periphery. DP fronting would then be a way to make that feature visible for interpretation at the edge of the main phase (CP). See also Poletto (2005) for a related proposal about Old Italian.

Compare the facts above with the judgments on (5) reported by Thráinsson (2007) and repeated below for convenience:

(47) a. ?þetta er maðurinn sem **allar bækurnar** reyndi [að lesa \_\_\_\_]

this is man.the that all books tried to read

“This is the man that tried to read all the books”

b. ?þetta er maðurinn sem **allar bækurnar** vildi [lesa \_\_\_\_]

this is man.the that all books wanted read

“This is the man that wanted to read all the books” [Thráinsson 2007, 374, 7.80]

According to Delsing’s (2001) analysis, SF of objects in Modern Icelandic improves in cases where “the clause is generic or has a more abstract meaning” (p. 149), as in (49) (compare with (46) above) and (48):

(48) þeir [sem **þessa erfiðu ákvörðun** verða að taka \_\_\_\_]

they who this difficult decision have to take

“Those who have to take this difficult decision”

(49) ?þeir menn [sem **hana** elska \_\_\_\_] eru hamingjusamir

the men who her love are happy

“The men who love her are happy”

[Delsing 2001, 150, 17-18]

From a comparative perspective, object SF is much more common in Old Swedish, which has a much less restrictive type of SF, as for the category types:

(50) the pino som **thic** äru redda \_\_\_\_

(Old Swedish)

the pain that you.DAT are prepared

“The pain that is prepared for you”

(51) Thän som **bokena** vilde köpa \_\_\_\_

he who book.the would buy

“He who would buy the book”

[Delsing 2001, 157, 42]

Old Swedish is an OV language, so the SF word order is in some cases undistinguishable from the basic object-verb one. However, the presence of an auxiliary in (50) and (51) above, makes them unambiguous cases of SF. The hypothesis is that preverbal objects are indeed more likely to be targeted than postverbal ones. This would explain why object SF is much more limited in Modern Icelandic, which is VO. In support of this idea comes the fact that one case of undoubtedly good object SF in Modern Icelandic is when the fronted object is negative:

(52) Sá sem **enga bók** hefur lesið

(Modern Icelandic)

He who no book has read

“He who hasn’t read any book”

[Delsing 2001, 157, 44]

The same possibility is found in Faroese SF:

- (53) Ein nál, ið **onga tøðu** hevur... (Faroese)  
a shoot that no manure has  
“A shoot that hasn’t been manured...” [Thráinsson 2007, 379, fn. 19, Barnes 1987]

Why are (52) and (53) perfectly fine? This can be explained by the fact that in Modern Icelandic Negative Scrambling (NS) is the only case where objects are not subject to Holmberg’s Generalization (HG), which otherwise applies to Object Shift. Example (54) below shows that NS is obligatory: the negative object must move across a non-finite main verb (a violation of HG) and cannot be left in situ:

- (54)a. Ég hef enga bók keypt \_\_\_\_  
I have no book bought  
b. \*Ég hef keypt engu bók  
I have bought no book  
“I haven’t bought any book” [Delsing 2001, 157, 43]

The OV order derived in Modern Icelandic NS has a residual character<sup>16</sup> and makes object SF possible, as the object is more local to the SF probe.

It is worth observing that most of Holmberg’s (1999, 2000) examples allegedly showing that SF can target an argument PP or DP consists of locative complements, with the exception of a couple of cases as the one in (42) above. Nonetheless, DP/PP fronting in Icelandic should not be hastily confused with Locative Inversion (LI) for the following reasons.

a) While a preposed locative PP creates an island to Wh-extraction, Icelandic SF is not only possible but indeed preferred in extraction contexts<sup>17</sup>.

Compare the cases of subject extraction in English (55) to Icelandic (56) and (57)<sup>18</sup>:

- (55) \*What does John say that **near his house** lies? [Stowell 1981, 33a]

<sup>16</sup> Among Old Scandinavian languages, Old Swedish displays a consistent OV order (see Delsing (2001)). Later on I propose that there is a relation between the low and the high periphery because there seems to be a correlation between the number of OV orders of a language and the presence of SF (see Chapter 2. on Old Italian and Chapter 4. on Old Scandinavian).

<sup>17</sup> Extraction contexts are one of the environments that mostly favors SF in Icelandic. As mentioned in Table 1., SF is pretty common in embedded contexts in general, in contrast to topicalization which is not. I do not discuss this characteristic in a separate section, as it is orthogonal to other ones, but I examine the relation between SF and (subject) extraction later on.

<sup>18</sup> On the contrary, topicalization in Icelandic patterns like English LI, and exhibits island effect to wh-extraction. The case below is considered a topicalization because of the V2 structure with a postverbal definite subject (in italics):

(i) \*þeir spurðu [hvern **í bæinn** hefði *rútan* flutt \_\_\_\_ klukkan sjö]  
they asked whom.ACC to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven  
“They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o’clock”

[Thráinsson 2007, 352, 7.27]



(56) Hver heldur þú að **stolið** hafi hjólinu?  
 Who think you that stolen has bike.the  
 “Who do you think has stolen the bike?” [Holmberg 2000, 31, 63]

(57) a. Hvor lengi heldur þú að **búið** hafi verið í Ósló?  
 How long think you that lived has been in Oslo  
 b. Hvor lengi heldur þú að **í Ósló** hafi verið búið?  
 How long think you that in Oslo has been lived  
 “How long do you think that they have been living in Oslo?”  
 [Holmberg 1999, 16, 40]

(57)b. is a case of PP fronting in an embedded declarative, which is a proper context for V2 topicalization. In principle, nothing prevents from assimilating fronting of a locative PP or DP in a root context in Icelandic to the English-type LI. Nonetheless, other differences distinguish SF from LI.

**b)** It is possible to have SF with an overt subject only if the latter is postverbal (as for LI<sup>19</sup>) but not definite (unlike LI, (59)), as shown in (58)a. On the contrary, V2 topicalization, (58)b., does not trigger definiteness effects:

(58) a. **?\*Lesnar** voru bækurnar \_\_\_ upp til agna í fyrra  
 Read were books.the up to pieces last.year  
 b. **Í fyrra** voru bækurnar lesnar upp til agna \_\_\_  
 Last.year were books.the read up to pieces  
 “The books were read in part last year”  
 [Thráinsson, 2007, 370-71, 7.71, 7.72]

(59) **Down the stairs** fell the baby [Stowell, 1981, 31]

The assumption that locative preposing in root contexts may be a case of SF (Holmberg 1999) entails that SF differs from V2 topicalization only because of the absence of the subject. So (58)b. would be interpreted as topicalization, whereas (60) as PP SF:

(60) **Í umræðunum** hafði ekki komið fram \_\_\_ [að...]  
 in discussion.the had not come forth that \_\_\_  
 “It didn’t come up in the discussion that...” [Thráinsson 2007, 373, 7.76]

Later on I provide evidence that this assumption is misleading and that the case in (60) cannot be considered the same phenomenon as SF of a head in a subjectless clause.

**c)** English LI with “light subjects” is limited to unaccusative verbs, but impossible with unergatives due to differences in the respective VP-structures (cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006). With unaccusative verbs both DP subjects and locative PPs are dependent on the same V-head, thus are equidistant for higher probes, whereas the subject of unergative

<sup>19</sup>With LI it is obligatory to have a preverbal subject if the latter is pronominal, in which case the proposed PP is simply topicalized, rather than being a genuine case of LI. See the contrast in (i)

(i) a. Here comes the sun  
 b. Here they come.

and transitive verbs is dependent on a little v-head located higher than the V-head on which the locative depends.

- (61)a. Into the room walked Robin carefully (unaccusative)  
 b. \*Into the room slept Robin fitfully (unergative)

Neither Icelandic SF nor Icelandic topicalization show such an asymmetry. This is explained with the fact that, on the one hand, Icelandic SF requires a subject gap (so the subject does not intervene anyway in unergatives and transitives). On the other hand, topicalization (i.e. the order XP V (Subject)) is either possible because of V2, in root contexts, or impossible, as in indirect question and relative clauses, regardless of the verb type.<sup>20</sup>

Further evidence in support of the idea that argument fronting cannot be understood straightforwardly as the SF identified by Maling (1990) in “subjectless” contexts comes from Faroese. As for Icelandic, Faroese allows null expletives in impersonal passive constructions, where a constituent is stylistically fronted to the first position. In such cases (see (62), (63) and (64) below), subjects (even in the form of a by-phrase) are out:

- (62) **Dansað** varð alla náttina (\*av teimum) (Faroese)  
 Danced was all night.the by them  
 “People danced all night”

- (63) **Lagt** verður at á molanum (\*av skipinum)  
 laid(sup.) is at at pier.the(D) by ship.the  
 “They will land at the pier”

- (64) **Vitjað** varð í hvørjari bygð (\*av fremmandafólkunum)  
 visited(sup.) was in every village by strangers.the(D)  
 “People visited in every village”

[Thráinsson et al. 2004, 274-275, 129c-130b, 133c]

On the other hand, fronting of an XP does not prevent to (optionally<sup>21</sup>) express the expletive subject *tað* in a postverbal position:

- (65) **Alla náttina** varð (*tað*) dansað (Faroese)  
 All night was (there) danced  
 “People danced all night” [Thráinsson et al. 2004, 275, 131]

- (66) a. **Í havanum** varð (*tað*) nógv dansað í gjárkvøldið  
 in garden.the was there much danced in yesterday.evening.the  
 “People danced a lot in the garden last night”

<sup>20</sup> An account of LI is provided by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006): despite all the differences of Icelandic SF of PPs and DPs from English LI, the system that Rizzi and Shlonsky propose could apply with some proper modification. I consider this option in my analysis (cf. Chapter 3).

<sup>21</sup> According to Erikssen (to app. and p.c.) the optionality of *tað*-insertion is actually dependent on its expletive vs. quasi-argumental vs. existential function.

b. **Í Fuglafirði** blivu (*tað*) keypt nógv hús  
 in Fuglafjørður were there bought many houses  
 “Many houses were bought in Fuglafjørður”

c. **Í Havn** regnar (*tað*) ofta  
 in Tórshavn rains it often  
 “It rains often in Tórshavn”

[Thráinsson 2007, 335, 6.61]

The most relevant fact for the present discussion is that the structure of sentences in (65) and (66) seems that of a common V2 clause, rather than that of a clause with SF. This observation is based on the assumption that overt subjects in “high” position are in complementary distribution with SF.<sup>22</sup>

Overt expletives are –of course– impossible in contexts of subject extraction. In those cases, the set of categories which can undergo SF includes also XP arguments, as illustrated in (67) below.

(67) Konan, sum **heim** fór \_\_ , var systir hansara (Faroese)  
 woman, who home went, were sister his  
 “The woman who went home was his sister” [Thráinsson 2004, 299, 200a]

Although the moved elements in Faroese SF are arguably heads, maximal projections are to some extent acceptable:

(68) a. Hjá teimum, sum **hárið** høvdu klipt, flagsaði tað um heysin  
 in those that hair.the had cut flapped it around head.the  
 “On those who had cut their hair short it flapped around their heads”

b. ?Tað var myrkt, tá ið **til Eidi**s var komið  
 it was dark when to Eidi was come  
 “It was dark when they got to Eidi”

[Thráinsson 2007, 378, 7.92 from Barnes 1987]

The sentences in (68) seem to be genuine cases of SF, not a topicalization in a V2 clauses for two reasons:

(i) there is a real subject gap as the subject is extracted (see the conditions for SF in table 1. above)

(ii) subject indirect questions and subject relatives (i.e. subject extraction contexts) are typically not V-to-C contexts crosslinguistically.

Nonetheless, following the observations of Delsing (2001) and Vikner (1995), XP fronting to a preverbal position in relative clauses is not always felicitous in Icelandic. Topicalization is generally not accepted in non-subject relative clauses and in indirect questions, where the subject would follow the verb:

<sup>22</sup> I assume that Faroese *tað* occupies the IP-peripheral subject position, contrary to Icelandic *það*, which can only be merged in CP (cf. Falk 1993, *contra* Sigurðsson 2008, and below).

- (69) a. ??Hann spurði [hvort **þessa bók** hefði Haraldur lesið]  
 He asked whether this book.the had Haraldur read  
 “He asked whether Haraldur had read this book”
- b. \*Þetta er stelpa [sem **bókina** gaf Haraldur ekki]<sup>23</sup>  
 this is girl.the that book.the gave Haraldur not  
 “This is the girl that didn’t give the book to Haraldur”
- c. \*Helgi hefur keypt bók, [sem **trúlega** hefur Jón ekki lesið]  
 Helgi has bought book that probably has Jón not read  
 “Helgi has bought a book that probably John has not read”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 44, 2.50; Vikner 1995, 79, 47]

The possibility to front a constituent in these subordinate contexts seems to depend on the presence of a subject gap, as shown by the contrasting cases below:

- (70) a. \*Þeir sem **í Danmörku** hafði *hann* hitt \_\_\_\_... (Icelandic)  
 those that in Denmark had he met  
 “Those that he had met in Denmark...”
- b. þeir sem **í Danmörku** hafa verið \_\_\_\_ ...  
 those that in Denmark have been  
 “Those who have been in Denmark...”
- c. \*tey sum **í Danmark** hevði *hann* møtt \_\_\_\_... (Faroese)  
 those that in Denmark had he met  
 “Those that he had met in Denmark...”
- d. tey sum **í Danmark** hava verið \_\_\_\_ ...  
 they that in Denmark have been  
 “Those who have been to Denmark...” [Thráinsson 2007, 380-381, 7.95-96]

The sentences in (70)a. and c. are ruled out because of the impossibility to have a topicalization with an overt subject pronoun in postverbal position. In other words, relative clauses cannot have a V2 structure formed by a topicalized XP, a verb and a postverbal subject, which is typical of root clauses.

On the other hand we have seen that XP fronting cannot be straightforwardly assimilated to the SF which involves movement of elements from the verbal complex (see the contrast between cases with optional expletives and XP fronting and cases without such option and X° fronting in Faroese, cf. (62)-(66) above). Thráinsson (2007) provides further evidence in order to mark the distinction between the two types of

<sup>23</sup>In this case, changing the subject from *Haraldur* to *við* would improve the example (Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.). The reason for the different degree of acceptability of the two fronted items is not clear and might be related to the different feature specification of the two constituents. It may plausibly be related to the “given-info” character of the personal subject pronoun, by contrast to the new/bigger amount of information carried by the proper noun *Haraldur*. More research on the status of subjects in Icelandic is needed. See also fn. 15.

fronting. The facts he reports show that, if SF depends on an accessibility hierarchy of frontable categories, all elements undergoing SF should respect the locality constraints, which could be understood in terms of HMC; Minimal Link Condition (MLC) or in terms of Relativized Minimality (RM). Interestingly, such constraints seem to hold for SF of heads, but not of XPs, compare (71)a. to (60), repeated below as (71)b.:

(71)a. ?\***Fram** hafði ekki komið \_\_\_\_ í umræðunum [að...]

Forth had not come in discussion.the that  
 “It didn’t come up in the discussion that...”

b. **Í umræðunum** hafði ekki komið fram \_\_\_\_ [að...]

In discussion.the had not come forth that

“It didn’t come up in the discussion that...”

[Thráinsson 2007, 373, 7.76]

According to the accessibility hierarchy of frontable categories proposed in (40) above, negation is ranked in a higher position, so lower heads cannot cross it and reach a preverbal position by SF. This is shown in (71)a. On the other hand, SF of a PP is not subject to the above-mentioned hierarchical ranking, as it can freely cross a negation in a main clause.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that PP SF in some subordinate clauses, e.g. relative ones, displays a different behavior from PP fronting in root contexts, both in Icelandic and in Faroese (regardless the order between V and Neg):

(72)a. \*þeir sem í **Danmörku** hafa ekki verið

those that in Denmark have not been

b. \*tey sum í **Danmark** hava ikki verið

c. \*tey sum í **Danmark** ikki hava verið

they that in Denmark have not been

“Those who have not been to Denmark” [Thráinsson 2007, 380-381, 7.97-98]

The ungrammaticality in (72) must be related to the presence of the negation *ekki/ikki*, because, if the negation is omitted, the sentences are grammatical, as illustrated by (70)b. and d. above. Therefore it seems that PP/DP fronting in relative clauses behaves much like real SF, and must respect the locality restrictions. On the other hand, the same type of fronting in main clauses is not subject to these restrictions (see (71) above). Moreover, examples (69) and (70) above show that the possibility to front a PP/DP in relative clauses and indirect questions is tightly connected to the presence of a subject gap. From the facts above it clearly emerges that PP/DP fronting is ambiguous between the type of topicalization found in V2 constructions and SF, the latter being possible in contexts where topicalization is not allowed, and subject to locality restrictions. This main/subordinate asymmetry cannot be explained exhaustively by focusing on the nature of the moved constituent ( $X^\circ$  or XP), and rather needs an understanding of what the real trigger of movement is.

Before drawing any conclusion, it is worth mentioning some controversial data reported by Hrafnbjargarson (2003), also discussed by Thráinsson (2007). Hrafnbjargarson (2003) maintains that SF of a verbal head with a reduced weak subject pronoun, in

(73)a., is more acceptable than SF with an unreduced subject pronoun in (73)b., whereas SF of a PP is bad with a subject pronoun regardless of the form of the latter, in (74):

- (73)a. ?Allt sem ‘ann **lesið** hafði \_\_\_\_ í bókinni var rétt  
all that he.weak read had in book.the was correct  
b. \*Allt sem hann **lesið** hafði \_\_\_\_ í bókinni var rétt  
all that he read had in book.the was correct  
“All that he read in the book was correct”

- (74)a. \*Allt sem ‘ann í **bókinni** hafði lesið \_\_\_\_ var rétt  
all that he.weak in book.the had read was correct  
b. \*Allt sem hann í **bokinni** hafði lesið \_\_\_\_ var rétt  
all that he in book.the had read was correct  
“All that he read in the book was correct”

[Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 187-89, 79, 81]

Provided that (73)a. is really better than (73)b. (Thráinsson does not share the judgments and argues that (73)a. is also ungrammatical), the difference between (73) and (74) can be attributed to the status of the fronted element. An XP is always incompatible with any kind of subject, in the given context, whereas head fronting with a weak preverbal subject may be marginally acceptable. This may be an indication of the fact that the subject and the fronted PP target the same position. However, this claim seems too strong as the ungrammaticality of (74) may as well depend on minimality effects, which would entail that the PP is A-moved, not A'-moved. This idea seems also compatible with the generalization that topicalization (hence A'-movement) is highly restricted if not banned in relative clauses, in Icelandic (see (70)a. and c. above). I analyze in more details the relation between Icelandic SF and subjects in the next section and in the remainder of the chapter.

What emerges so far is that PP/DP fronting is an ambiguous phenomenon: on the one hand, it behaves much more like topicalization in main clauses, even in presence of a subject gap, and can be associated to some extent to the phenomenon of Locative Inversion. On the other hand, XP fronting in relative clauses and indirect questions is

- not context-dependent in the sense that sentences must have a generic/abstract interpretation

- subject to the locality restrictions of SF

- possible only with a subject gap

As a consequence, subordinate DP/PP fronting cannot be straightforwardly assimilated to LI. Nonetheless, the characteristics listed above do not automatically allow to include PPs and DPs in the domain of categories undergoing SF (in the sense of head movement). A first, tentative hypothesis is that SF in the broad sense is an intrinsically diverse phenomenon where different categories are moved to different positions. Despite this promiscuity, the trigger of SF seems always connected to the absence of a topical subject.

In the next section I illustrate the so-called “subject gap condition” which is commonly adopted as the most effective criterion to discriminate SF from other constructions.

### 1.8. The subject gap condition

Among the distinctive features of the SF construction, Maling (1990) identifies the requirement that the clause has a “subject gap” (cf. Table 1. above). By “subject gap” she refers to all those constructions that do not present a subject in his high, preverbal position. As anticipated above, SF is incompatible with overt preverbal/high subjects:

- (75)a. Hún sem **fyrst** var \_\_\_ til að lýsa stílfærslu  
She that first was to to investigate Stylistic Fronting  
“She who was the first one to investigate SF”  
b. Afleiðsla sem hún var fyrsta til að lýsa  
Construction.the that she was first to to investigate  
c. \*Afleiðsla sem hún **fyrsta** var til að lýsa  
Construction.the that she first was to to investigate  
d. \*Afleiðsla sem **fyrsta** hún var til að lýsa  
Construction.the that first she was to to investigate  
e. \*Afleiðsla sem **fyrsta** var hún til að lýsa  
Construction.the that first was she to to investigate  
“The constructon that she was the first one to investigate”

[Holmberg 1999, 4, 9]

The general assumption is that SF is licensed in the following contexts:

- (76) a. impersonal constructions of various kind (impersonal predicates; impersonal passives; etc.)  
b. indefinite NP postposing  
c. subject extractions

A useful indication to determine the domain of application of SF comes from the distribution of the overt expletive/quasi argumental *það* in Icelandic, because, according to Rögnvaldsson (1984), SF “can always apply if *það*-insertion can apply, but not viceversa (cf. Maling 1980:189); [...]but it needs an independently created subject gap” (p. 14).

Before exploring the contexts where *það*-insertion, and, consequently, SF, are licensed, let’s see where *það* is ruled out but SF is grammatical.

#### Subject extractions

SF is possible (and often preferred to a subject gap) in extraction contexts:

- (77)a. Þetta er maðurinn sem \_\_\_ vildi lesa allar bækurnar (Icelandic)  
this is man.the that wanted read all books.the  
b. þetta er maðurinn sem **lesa** vildi allar bækurnar  
this is man.the that read wanted all books.the  
c. \*Þetta er maðurinn sem **það** vildi lesa allar bækurnar  
this is man.the that there wanted read all books.the  
“This is the man that wanted to read all the books”

[Thránisson 2007, 374, 7.79, 7.81]

- (78)a. Hann sá, [hvør \_\_ kom inn] (Faroese)  
 he saw who there came in  
 b. Hann sá [hvør **inn** kom \_\_ ]  
 he saw who in came  
 c. \*Hann sá [hvør **tað** kom inn]  
 he saw who there came in  
 “He saw who came in” [Thráinsson 2007, 378, 7.90]

Although there is no clear-cut evidence, and the judgments vary, SF seems preferred to *það*-insertion also with some non-subject extractions (see chapter 4. below):

- (79) a. Hann spurði hvar \_\_ væri ennþá ekið vinstra megin  
 He asked where was still driven left side  
 b. Hann spurði hvar **ekið** væri ennþá vinstra megin  
 He asked where driven was still left side  
 c. \*Hann spurði hvar **það** væri ennþá ekið vinstra megin  
 He asked where it was still driven left side  
 “He asked where people still drove on the left side of the road”  
 [Maling 1990, 84; 85, 41, 46]

Consider, on the one hand, the contrast between (79)a. and c. above: it seems that Wh-movement, regardless the status of the moved constituent (which in the present case is an adjunct), licenses the presence of a subject gap, and creates some sort of intervention effect if an overt expletive is merged. On the other hand, SF does not create any problem with extraction and is indeed preferred. In fact, SF is a common option in embedded contexts in general, contrary to topicalization (cf. table 1. above):

- (80) a. ?Ég flyt ekki burt [nema **þessar kýr** geti ég selt \_\_ ] Topicalization  
 I move not away unless these cows can I sell  
 “I don’t move away unless I can sell these cows”  
 b. Ég flyt ekki burt [nema **seldar** verði \_\_ einhverjar kýr] SF  
 I move not away unless sold will.be some cows  
 “I don’t move away unless some cows are sold”  
 c. \*Hann var með bíl [sem **um morguninn** hafði hann keypt] Topicalization  
 He was with car that in morning.the had he bought  
 “He was with a car that he had bought in the morning”  
 d. Hann var með bíl [sem **keypt** hafði einhver útlendigur] SF  
 He was with car that bought had some foreigner  
 “He was with a car that some foreigner had bought”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 357, 7.39]

Let us now see when SF alternates with overt expletives.



### Impersonal constructions

The absence of a subject is not only represented by a trace, as in extraction contexts, but also by impersonal constructions, which take an expletive subject<sup>24</sup>. Null expletive or null quasi-argumental subject pronouns are available in the Icelandic lexicon, and the overt pronoun *það* (translating both English *it* and *there*) is possible only clause-initially.

- (81)a. *það* höfðu einhverjir stúdentar stolið smjörinu  
there had some students stolen butter.the  
b. Smjörinu höfðu (\**það*) einhverjir stúdentar stolið  
butter.the had there some students stolen  
“Some students has stolen the butter”  
c. Höfðu (\**það*) einhverjir stúdentar stolið smjörinu?  
Had there some students stolen butter.the  
“Did some students steal the butter?”  
d. Af hverju höfðu (\**það*) einhverjir stúdentar stolið smjörinu?  
For what had there some students stolen butter.the  
“Why did some students steal the butter?” [Thránsson 2007, 327, 6.40]

This restriction does not hold in Faroese, where the overt expletive is possible also in postverbal position, as shown in (66) above, repeated below as (82), and by (83):

- (82)a. *Í havanum varð (tað) nógv dansað í gjárkvøldið* (Faroese)  
in garden.the was there much danced in yesterday.evening.the  
“People danced a lot in the garden last night”  
b. *Í Fuglafirði blivu (tað) keypt nógv hús*  
in Fuglafjörður were there bought many houses  
“Many houses were bought in Fuglafjörður”  
c. *Í Havn regnar (tað) ofta*  
in Tórshavn rains it often  
“It rains often in Tórshavn”

- (83) *Eru (tað) ongantið mýs í baðikarinum?*  
Are there never mice in bathtub.the  
“Are there ever mice in the bathtub?” [Thránsson 2007, 335, 6.61]

Recall that the overt expletive (or subject) is never present when an item is stylistically fronted, neither in Icelandic, as (84) shows, nor in Faroese, as in (65) above, repeated below as (85).

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<sup>24</sup> For a detailed overview of the expletive constructions in Icelandic and Faroese, see Thránsson 2007, chapter 6.

- (84) a. \***það** hefur *fram* komið \_\_\_\_ að... (Icelandic)  
           it has forth come that  
       b. \***Fram** hefur *það* komið \_\_\_\_ að...  
           forth has it come that  
           “It came up that...” [Delsing 2001, 151, 26]
- (85) **Dansað** varð (*\*tað*) alla náttina (\*av teimum) (Faroese)  
       Danced was all night.the by them  
       “People danced all night”

### Postponed subjects

- (86)a. *það* hefur verið mús í baðkerinu *það* - indefinite NP  
there has been mouse in bathtub.the  
“There has been a mouse in the bathtub”
- b. \**það* hefur verið flugan í súpunni *\*það* - definite NP  
there has been fly.the in soup.the
- c. \**það* hefur flugan verið í súpunni  
there has fly.the been in soup.the  
“There has been the fly in the soup”
- d. \***Upp** hava strákarnir tekið \_\_\_ þessa kartöflur *\*SF* - definite NP  
up have boys.the taken these potatoes  
“The boys have taken up these potatoes”
- [Thráinsson 2007, 323, 6.28-29, 370, 7.71]

Under the assumption that SF is licit *at least* when *paδ*-insertion is (Rögnvaldsson (1984)), we can consider all the following examples as favorable environments for SF, i.e. the following sentences are grammatical if SF is substituted to *paδ/taδ*.<sup>25</sup>

#### Declarative complements

- (87) a. Eg haldi, [at **\*(tað)** hava ikki verið mýs í baðikarinum] (Faroese)  
 I think that there have not been mice in bathtub.the  
 b. Ég held, [að **(það)** hafi ekki verið mýs í baðkerinu] (Icelandic)  
 I think that there have not been mice in bathtub.the  
 “I think that there haven’t been mice in the bathtub”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 382, 7.99]

#### Some adverbial clauses

- (88) a. Ég spurði [hvort **það** hefðu margir komið í veisluna] (Icelandic)  
 I asked whether there had many come to party.the  
 “I asked whether many had come to the party”  
 b. Veistu [hvenær **það** fer að skyggja]?  
 Know-you when it begins to darken  
 “Do you know when it begins to darken?”  
 c. Vit spæla ikki fótbólt, [tá ið **tað** regnar illa] (Faroese)  
 We play not football when it rains badly  
 “We don’t play football when it pours”  
 d. Eg fari ikki í baðikarið, [um **tað** hava verið mýs har]  
 I go not in bathtub.the if there have been mice there  
 “I don’t go in the bathtub if there have been mice there”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 354, 7.34; 377, 7.87-88]

#### Pseudo-passive relative clauses

- (89) Þetta er maðurinn [sem **það** var talað við \_\_\_ í sjónvarpinu í gær]  
 this is man.the that there was talked to on TV.the yesterday  
 “This is the man that it was talked to on the TV yesterday”  
 [Rögnvaldsson 1984, 8, 19]

The overt expletive is usually ungrammatical in extraction contexts, but SF is not (cf. (77)-(78) above). However, it is possible, to some extent, to extract out of a *það*-initial clause: (90) below shows extraction out of a declarative complement introduced by *það*.

- (90) a. Hvenær heldur þú [að **það** geti allir keypt sér íbúð \_\_\_]? (Icelandic)  
 When think you that there can everyone buy by himself a flat  
 “When do you think that everyone can buy a flat by himself?”  
 b. Hvaða vintegund heldur þú [að **það** sé drukkið mest af \_\_\_ á Íslandi]?  
 Which type of wine think you that there is drunk most of in Iceland  
 “Which type of wine do you think that is mostly drunk in Iceland?”  
 [Rögnvaldsson 1984, 8, 16, 17]

In order to summarize what the data presented above illustrate with regard to the contexts in which SF is possible, a generalization of the subordinate structures in Icelandic is given in (91):

- (91) a. [decl]: [Matrix [ X/ *það* /(\*? \_\_) V (t<sub>x</sub>)]]  
 b. [rel/Wh-/compar/etc.]: [Matrix [ X/ \_\_ /(\**það*) V (t<sub>x</sub>)]]

The structure in (91)a. is that of declarative complements, whereas the one in (91)b. is that of subordinate clauses with a subject gap created by extraction. In both cases “\_\_” is used to represent an unfilled subject gap, whereas “X...t<sub>x</sub>” represents the landing site and the starting position of the stylistically fronted element. Sigurðsson (1990) and Maling (1990) have different opinions on the possibility to have an unfilled subject gap in declarative complement (which is why the subject gap is judged “ok/?” in (91)a.). Such possibility seems to depend on the informational background or on some other contextual variable, but I leave this issue aside for the moment.

What is relevant for the present discussion is the optional nature of SF, which complicates all the attempts to identify its specific syntactic function, if any. In order to understand exactly which are the syntactic conditions licensing SF, I reflect for a moment on the notion of subject gap mentioned by Maling (1990). Beside those gaps created by extraction and consisting of the trace/non-spelled out copy of the moved element, there is another type of subject gap, which can be basically interpreted in two ways.

1. The first option is that a null expletive is actually merged and compatible with SF, whereas the overt expletive pronoun *það* clearly is not (cf. (84) above). According to this perspective, the complementary distribution of *það* and the stylistically fronted item would probably depend on some sort of interface requirement calling for the phonological realization of only one item (similarly to what Holmberg (2000) proposes), rather than on syntactic properties. From a purely syntactic standpoint, if SF were compatible with a null expletive, why not with an overt one? The answer to this question may as well be related to a different feature specification on the overt expletive *það* in contrast to its null version (cf. Falk 1993).

2. An alternative consists of the assumption that there is a real gap (also in clauses with a postponed subject), which is either filled by a silent *pro* or by a stylistically fronted item. This hypothesis does not necessarily entail that *pro* and SF target the same position.

The difficulty of determining whether 1. or 2. is the correct explanation resides in the fact that there are silent elements, thus it is difficult to decide whether SF requires a real gap or can coexist with a null pronoun. I summarize what has been discussed so far by showing which constructions license SF in the scheme below, with option 1. and 2. represented in (92)b. and c. respectively:

- (92) a. Extracted Subj....[ SF V t<sub>subj</sub> ...]  
 b. SF V *pro*<sub>subj</sub> ... (indefinite NP<sub>subj</sub>)  
 c. SF V \_\_ ... (indefinite NP<sub>subj</sub>)

The major consequence of the adoption of the explanation proposed in 1., illustrated by (92)b., is that SF would in principle be possible any time a pro-subject is merged, in a (full or partial) pro drop language, provided that the language in question has productive SF. In order to adopt the SGC as one of the most important criterion to identify SF both in Icelandic and, for comparative purposes, in Old Italian, I propose the following generalization:

**(93) Subject Gap Condition in SF (SGC)**

The SGC is satisfied whenever there is no overt subject in the higher inflectional field (Spec, AgrSP and Spec, SubjP<sup>26</sup>).

The subject position is occupied by a trace, in subject extractions. In other contexts (as impersonal constructions), the subject position may be filled with a pro, which can only be expletive or quasi- argumental in Modern Icelandic, but also argumental in Old Italian (this is option 1., shown in (92)b.). As an alternative, the subject position may be a real gap and the subject requirement, generally understood as EPP, and more recently reformulated as Subject Criterion Rizzi's (2003), be satisfied by an alternative mechanism.

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<sup>26</sup> Following Cardinaletti (2004).

## Chapter 2

### A comparative analysis: Old Italian SF

#### 2.1. Introduction

Following the intuition that SF exhibits a correlation with the more or less limited presence of null subjects and the positive setting of the V2 parameter<sup>27</sup> in a language, I propose a comparison with some facts from Old Italian.

Old Italian is an Old Romance language, and, as such has V-to-C in specific contexts<sup>28</sup>, although the Romance-type of V2 differs from the Germanic one for some relevant respects. First of all, the word order of Old Romance languages is less strict than that of Germanic ones, thus V3, V4 ... V<sup>n</sup> orders are equally common. This difference is less marked if we consider the two just mentioned language families at the same diachronic stage. With respect to the character of V2, some Old Germanic languages resemble more Old Romance than their own modern varieties do. For instance, Fuss (2008) observes that early Old High German exhibits

“cases of V3 orders that are no longer available in Modern Standard German and thus can be taken to represent clear deviations from a generalized V2 constraint” (Fuss, 2008, 242).<sup>29</sup>

Example (94) below shows a XP-XP-XP-V order in a sentence from the Old High German version of *Isidor*:

(94) [Dhea uuehh un] [auur] [in heilegim quhidim] **arfullant** sibun iaar.

the weeks however in sacred language fulfil seven years

“The weeks, however, take seven years in sacred language.”

[*Isidor*, 457; Robinson 1997: 26]

On a parallel, Old Norse apparently displays a much less strict V2 word order. For instance, declarative V1 is very frequent, whereas in Early Runic V3 is also attested:

(95) a. **fluttu** þeir lík Ásbjarnar norðr á Þrándarnes (Old Norse)

carried.3p they body Asbjorn north on Thrandarnes

“They conveyed Asbjorn’s body north to Thrandarnes”

[Faarlund, 2008, Hkr II.270.9]

<sup>27</sup>Whether V2 is the result of the positive setting of one or more parameters is still an open issue which I do not deal with here.

<sup>28</sup> See Benincà, Renzi and Vanelli (1985), the first account showing that the Old French and the Medieval Northern Italian dialects have a V2 system with non-clitic subject pronouns and null subjects, which later developed into a non-V2 system with clitic subject pronouns and no null subjects. For an analysis of V2 in Old Spanish, see Fontana (1993).

<sup>29</sup> According to Axel (2007) the possibility that further material intervenes between the fronted XP and the finite verb, giving rise to V3 orders is related to the fact that verb and fronted XP do not enter a spec-head relation in Old High German, which can be accounted by assuming a split CP structure à la Rizzi (1997). A similar idea is independently proposed by Eythórsson (1996).

- b. [niu hA-borumz niu ha-gestumz EN] [hAþuwolAfz] **gAf j** (Early Runic)  
 nine high-sons.dat (?) nine high-guests.dat (?) HApuwolAfz gave year  
 “To nine high-sons, to nine high-guests, HApuwolAfz gave a good harvest”.  
 [Eythórsson 2006; Stentoft stone (I) Marstrander 1953, cf. K96, A119]

Doing away with cases of V1 as (95)a. which may as well be considered as some sort of topic-drop, Eythórsson (1996) observes that sentences where the verb has not reached the C-domain in Early Runic are very rare, and this is due to the fact that:

“in the language of the Runic inscriptions the topic was an operator-like constituent [...and] topicalized complements triggered movement of the verb to C already at the earliest stage in the northern part of the Germanic linguistic area. [...] Runic patterns with the later North Germanic and Continental West Germanic rather than with Gothic and Old English” (p. 132).

By contrast, cases of V<sup>n</sup> as those reported by Fuss (2008) (cf. (94) above) are analyzed as instances of a slightly different system, i.e. that of Old Gothic. Eythórsson (1996) observes that:

“in some of the earliest documents of Old High German, such as the *Isidor*, topicalized complements do not always seem to trigger verb movement of the verb. Presumably this reflects a more archaic stage of Germanic at which topics did not behave like operator-elements”(p. 132).

It is true that Runic, being the ancestor of North Germanic varieties, does not seem to have such a stage (where topics were not operators), according to Eythórsson’s evidence. Nonetheless, it is also a fact that the documentation at the early stage of Runic (c.a. 150-550 A.D.) is very sparse and consists only of main clauses. Moreover, the trigger of V-to-C is not *per se* sufficient to rule out a V<sup>n</sup> order as long as the other preverbal material is also dislocated in the CP (and, obviously that doesn’t give rise to minimality effects). Thus, in principle, Eythórsson’s (1996) analysis of Early Northwest Germanic is fully compatible with the comparative approach hereby proposed.<sup>30</sup>

Regardless of the reason that led to the diachronic loss of rigid V2 in Romance, vs. the setting of a rigid V2 word order in Germanic, I distinguish Old Romance V2 from modern Germanic V2 by calling the first “relaxed V2”. Following the studies of Benincà (1984; 2006) and Poletto (2005), I first illustrate the syntactic properties regarding the high left periphery of Old Italian. Specifically, SF is productive in Old Italian and shows some interesting similarities, but also some differences, with Icelandic (and Faroese) SF. Interestingly, Old Italian SF resembles even more the SF found in the older Scandinavian languages, therefore a diachronic approach will further explain the real properties of the phenomenon by shedding light on its relation with language change.

<sup>30</sup> Actually, cases like (95)b. could alternatively be analyzed as sentences where there is V-to-C associated to multiple preverbal frontings. This issue is discussed in Chapter 4.

## **2.2. Old Italian characteristics**

### **2.2.1. Old Italian relaxed V2 and main/embedded asymmetries**

The Old Italian texts under examination are all from the second half of thirteen century. During this period Old Italian had a relaxed V2 order<sup>31</sup>, with V3..V<sup>n</sup> orders equally possible. The analysis of Old Italian as a relaxed V2 languages depends on the fact that despite admitting more than one preverbal element, it displays subject-verb inversion which is no longer possible in Italian, as clearly illustrated by the contrast in (96) below. Crucially (96)b. is ungrammatical in present-day Italian, differently from analogous cases with free inversion, which improves the sentence, where the subject would follow the past participle.

- (96) a. Più atteso si può *colui che favella* rendere l'uditore... (Old Italian)  
More expected REFL can who that talks make the listener  
“The one who talks can make the audience more interested...” [FR, 55, 1]

- b. Più interessato può (\*il parlante) rendere (\*il parlante) (Modern Italian)  
More interested can (the speaker) make (the speaker)  
il pubblico ?(il parlante)...  
the audience (the speaker)  
“The speaker can make the audience more interested...”

In Old Italian, the verb is assumed to move to the complementizer system at least in root clauses, whereas it remains in the inflectional field in indirect questions, where subjects are always overt.

Compare the main clauses (97)a. with (97)b., where the subjects are in italics and the preverbal phrases in square brackets: (97)a. illustrated the typical V2 subject-verb inversion with a preverbal XP; whereas (97)b. is a case of V4. Under the assumption that main clauses display V-to-C even though the verb is not in second position, all the preverbal elements must be in CP. Accordingly, we must assume that the subject in (97)b. is dislocated<sup>32</sup> to a topic position. In fact other types of subjects can be dislocated in CP in Old Italian, as shown in (97)c. (see pp. 69-70 for the position of expletive *sì*):

- (97)a. [Anche] diceva *Iscipio* che... (Old Italian)  
Also said Iscipro that...  
“Scipio also said that...”
- b. [*elli medesimo*] [molti e acconci luoghi] [da ssé] truovi  
he same many and proper places by self find.3s(subj)  
“may he himself find many and proper places on his own”

<sup>31</sup> The relaxed character of Old Romance and Rhaeto-romance dialects may depend on the fact that constituents that are dislocated, but not moved with OP-A' movement, to a preverbal position do not count for V2, so V-to-C is compatible with more than one preverbal element. For this proposal see Poletto (2002) and Benincà (2004).

<sup>32</sup> See pp. 64 and ff. for an overview on the weak/strong status of personal pronouns in Old Italian.



- c. [*Carlo*] [nobile re di Sicilia e di Gerusalem] [quando era conte d'Angiò] [sì]  
 Carlo noble king of Sicily and of Gerusalem when was earl of Angiò SI  
 amò per amore..  
 loved.3s for love  
 “Carlo, noble king of Sicily and Gerusalem, when he was earl of Angiò, he truly  
 loved...” [FF, 141.10; FR, ch. 82, 103.11; N, LX, 1, 2]

On the other hand, the overt realization of pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses, e.g. in indirect questions as illustrated in (98) below, has been related to lack of V-to-C, licensing pro-drop in Old Italian (Benincà 1986).

- (98)a. Il marito l'adomandava sovente [perch'*ella* stava crucciata]  
 The husband 3s.ACC.cl asked often why she was upset  
 “The husband asked her frequently why she was upset”

- b. ... e domandolla [dove *quelli* stava]  
 E asked.3s.ACC.cl where that.one. was  
 “(he) asked her where that one was” [N, 25, 188.8; 6, 343.4]

Old Italian has partial pro-drop, with both argumental and expletive null subjects available in root contexts, and overt subjects (either pronominal or lexical) in subordinate contexts, although null pros are sometimes also attested in the latter case. According to the standard analyses (see Benincà (1986) for Old Italian and Roberts (1993) for French), pro-drop in Old Romance languages is licensed by the movement of the verb to the CP, differently from Modern Italian, where the pro-drop parameter is independent from V-to-C and doesn't show any root/embedded asymmetry. Below, (99)a. clearly shows the root-embedded asymmetry of pro-drop, whereas the contrast between (99)b. and the equivalent Modern Italian translation in (100) is evidence for the diachronic change in the pro-drop parameter setting:

- (99)a. cui *elli* trovava, sì *pro* dava di petto (Old Italian)  
 who he found, SI gave.3s of chest  
 “He bet whoever he met” [FF, 176.2]
- b. Lo figliuolo l'il domandò tanto ch'*elli* l'ebbe  
 The son 3sDAT+ACC.cl asked much that he 3s.ACC.cl had  
 “The son asked it to him so that he got it” [N, 18, 166.8]
- (100)a. Il figlio<sub>i</sub> glielo chiese tanto che egli<sub>\*i/j</sub> l'ebbe (Modern Italian)  
 The son 3sDAT+ACC.cl asked much that he 3s.ACC.cl had
- b. Il figlio<sub>i</sub> glielo chiese tanto che *pro*<sub>i</sub> l'ebbe  
 The son 3sDAT+ACC.cl asked much that pro 3s.ACC.cl had  
 “The son asked it to him so that he got it”

In Modern Italian, the overt pronoun *egli* (*elli* in (99)b.) is possible provided that it is not coreferential with the previous subject (i.e. *il figlio* in (100)), contrary to what

happens in (99)b., Old Italian doesn't exhibit disjoint reference effects. Another example below shows that Modern Italian has full pro-drop:

- (101) *Pro* mi chiedo cosa *pro* stiano facendo (Modern Italian)  
 1s.DAT.cl ask.1s what are.3p(Subj) doing  
 "I wonder what they are doing"

Under the assumption that most types of Old Italian embedded clauses don't have V-to-C, a first expectation is that no subject-verb inversion of the kind shown in (96)a. and (97)a. above can take place in subordinate contexts, and only free inversion can. This is borne out by facts: consider the object relative clause in (102) below, where a potential inversion could take place, but the verb linearly follows the overt subject in italics:

- (102) ...a colui a cui *tu* vuoi dire che tolga moglie... (Old Italian)  
 to whom to REL you want.2s say that take.subj wife  
 "To whom you want to tell to get married" [FR, 49, 12-15]

Cases of subject-verb inversion for certain types of embedded clauses, e.g. relatives and indirect Wh-questions, are not attested. However, postverbal subjects, as well as instances of free inversion, can be found. Therefore, it is impossible to distinguish whether a V S order is derived from V-to-C or free inversion, unless the verbal form is periphrastic (inflected verb/modal+past participle/infinitive). In fact no instances of V2 V-S inversion of the type "a cui vuoi tu dire ..." (to REL want.2s you say...) are found, whereas cases of subject free inversion of the type "a cui vuoi dire tu..." (to REL want.2s say you...) are in principle possible and indeed attested, as shown by (103) below:

- (103) La seconda cosa che deve avere in sé *la favella perfetta*...  
 The second thing that must.3s have.INF in self the word perfect  
 "The second thing that the perfect word must have in itself..." [FR, 6, 1]

Notice that in (103) not only does the subject "la favella perfetta" follow the infinitival verb, but it is postponed to the entire VP (i.e. "avere in sé").

A second expectation following from the lack of V-to-C is the absence of enclisis to the verb in subordinate contexts. As I discuss in more detail below, Benincà (1993) describes enclisis as the result of verb movement to a quite high position in the complementizer field<sup>33</sup>, which is thus banned in contexts where there is no V-to-C. Consider (104)a. below, where there is proclisis in the if-clause and enclisis in the main clause, which is a direct question (enclisis is frequent also in main declarative clauses). The same rule applies to the relative clause in (104)b. where there is proclisis rather than enclisis. A case where the clitic followed the verb in the if-clause (i.e. "s'io cheggiolile"); in the relative clause (i.e. "che non darebbelile") as well as in any other subordinate context would not be possible (it is not attested).

<sup>33</sup> Her proposal satisfies the "clitic-second requirement" doing away with the Tobler-Mussafia law.

- (104) a. S'io **lile** cheggio, darebbel·**m**'egli?  
 If I ACC+DAT.3s.cl ask.1s would.give.3s.ACC.3s+DAT.1s.cl he?  
 "If I asked him, would he give it to me?"
- b. Vinse il partito che non **lile** darebbe  
 won.3s the part that not ACC+DAT.3s.cl would.give  
 "the idea that he wouldn't give it to him won" [N, 34, 8]

### 2.2.2. Weak/strong personal pronouns

A useful preliminary remark is that standard Modern Italian has only few instances of weak subject pronouns, represented by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular *egli/ella/esso/essa* and by the weak 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular *tu* of subjunctive clauses. Modern Italian does neither have overt quasi-argumental and expletive<sup>34</sup> pronouns, nor subject clitics (which are instead available in non-standard varieties). The examples below illustrate the situation of Modern Italian: (105) shows that overt semi-argumental pronouns are ruled out; (106) that *egli/ella/esso/essa* is weak, as it cannot have a "free" use: (106)a. is a free inversion; (106)b. shows that the above-mentioned pronouns are not strong as they cannot be object of a preposition; (107) is a focalization; (108) shows that weak *tu* is necessary in a subjunctive clause and (109) shows that subject clitics are available in non-standard Italian:

- (105)a. (\*Esso) piove (Modern Italian)  
 it rains  
 "It rains"
- b. (\*Esso) è divertente uscire con gli amici  
 it is fun go(inf.) with the friends  
 "It is fun to go out with friends"
- (106)a. L'ha detto \*egli/lui  
 3s.ACC.cl has said he(weak)/he(strong)  
 "He said that"
- b. Gianni vuole uscire con \*ella/lei  
 Gianni wants go.out(inf.) with her(weak)/her(strong)  
 "Gianni wants to go out with her"
- (107) \*ESSO/QUEL CANE abbaia sempre (non il mio cane)  
 it/that dog barks always (not the my dog)  
 "It/that dog always barks (not my dog)"
- (108) Penso che \*(tu) possa andarci  
 Think.1s that you can(subj.) go.there  
 "I think that you can go there"

<sup>34</sup> I ignore the expletive use of the locative clitic "ci" as in "c'erano molte persone/there were many people" as not relevant to the present discussion.

(109)a. *Ea se g'ha fato veder do minuti e ea xe scampada via* (Venetian)  
 3s.NOM.cl self GHE has made see(inf) two minutes and 3s.NOM.cl is run away  
 “She showed up for two minutes and she rushed away”

b. *Ti g'ha capio?*<sup>35</sup>  
 2s.NOM.cl GHE have understood  
 “Did you understand?”

The syntactic properties of Old Italian subject pronouns are to some extent different from Modern Italian. According to the Grammar of Old Italian, by Renzi and Salvi (ch. 11; to app.) strong pronominal subjects are identified by their “free” use:

“they can precede but also follow the verb [ as in (110)a. ], be modified by an adjective or another modifier [as in (110)b., [...]] conjoined to other pronouns [...], appear in elliptical contexts [as in (110)c.]”<sup>36</sup> (ibid.).

These properties also apply to third person singular pronouns, as illustrated below:

(110) a. *Se alcuno vedesse l'altro fallare,* (Old Italian)  
 If anyone would.see the other make.mistakes,  
*debbialo egli stesso amorevolmente correggere*  
 must.-3s.ACC.cl he self lovely correct  
 “If anyone saw the other one make mistakes, he himself should thoughtfully correct him”  
 [Compagnia di San Gilio, 47, 4-6]

b. *..ed egli due chiusero le porte del tempio*<sup>37</sup>  
 and they two closed the doors of.the temple  
 “And they closed the doors of the temple”  
 [Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, 7,7, p. 449, 22]

c. *..ed elli a me come persona accorta: “Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto..”*  
 and he to me as person careful: “HereIMP is.convenient leave(inf.) any suspicion  
 “and he (said) to me as a careful person: “any suspicion would be better left here”  
 [Dante, *Inferno*, 3, vv. 13-14 (1321)]

3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns may be both used as strong or weak pronouns in Old Italian, contrary to Modern Italian, where the strong pronoun for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular is *lui/lei*, whereas *egli/ella* is only weak (and less productive). The same ambiguity concerns 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns in Old Italian and seems related to a different setting of the pro-drop parameter in comparison to Modern Italian. On the one hand, all subject pronouns but the weak 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form are strong, in Modern Italian. In fact overt subject pronouns identify a marked context, whereas in unmarked contexts the

<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, Venetian is losing subject-verb inversion in questions with second person singular clitics, but not with other persons. Inversion is instead found in the variety spoken in Padua, (i):

(i) *Gh'he-to capio?* (Paduan)  
 GHE have-2s.NOM.cl understood  
 “Did you understand?”

<sup>36</sup> Translation from Italian mine, as well as references between brackets.

<sup>37</sup> The form *egli* is used both for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural (the latter with the variant *eglino*).

subject is a null *pro*. On the other hand, *pro*-drop is partial and overt pronominal subjects are quite common, in Old Italian. As a consequence, the use of subject pronouns is not necessarily marked and the same forms can either be strong or weak.

This ambiguity of course poses some problem for the exact location of weak pronouns in the syntactic structure. The problem becomes concrete if one wants to adopt Cardinaletti's (2004) cartography as description of Old Italian facts for the subject positions. Although such proposal strives to a crosslinguistic generalization, it is shaped on Modern Italian, where personal pronouns are no longer ambiguous: all the forms but 3<sup>rd</sup> person *egli/ella/esso/essa* and subjunctive *tu* are strong, therefore assigned to a specific position.

According to Cardinaletti (2004), the highest preverbal subject positions are located in the inflectional field and can be distinguished by looking at the linear order of subjects and parentheticals. Cardinaletti proposes the following cartography:

(111) [**SubjP** (Gianni/lui/egli) [**XP** parentet. [**AgrSP** (pro/*tu*<sub>weak</sub>) V<sub>fin</sub>...]]]

As visible from (111), 3<sup>rd</sup> person weak pronouns pattern like strong subjects in Modern Italian: Cardinaletti (2004) locates them in the highest projection of IP, SubjectP. Instead, null *pro*, weak *tu* and clitic pronouns are located in AgrSP<sup>38</sup>, below the adjunction site of parentheticals. There are more than just two subject positions in the inflectional field, thus it turns out that the subjects which can occupy SubjP, the “strong subject” position, (i.e. subject DPs, strong pronouns and *egli*) can also appear in a position lower than AgrSP, cf. Cardinaletti (2004) for a complete description. Furthermore, Italian subjects may as well be dislocated to the complementizer field, as in (112)a. below, where the subject precedes a fronted indirect object and an inflected modal verb, or as in (112)b. where the subject precedes a fronted indirect object and a high phrasal adverb (cf. Cinque 1999; Rizzi 1997 for the structure of the left periphery of Modern Italian):

(112) a. *Maria* a Gianni potrebbe aver già detto tutto (Modern Italian)

Mary to John could have already said all  
“Mary could have already told everything to John”

b. *Maria* a Gianni fortunatamente non dovrebbe aver detto nulla

Mary to John fortunately not might have said nothing  
“Fortunately Mary shouldn't have told anything to John”

From facts similar to those just presented comes the hypothesis that Italian subjects can be easily left dislocated to the CP. Furthermore, evidence from Northern Italian Dialect (NID) subject clitics (cf. Poletto 2000) and from Scandinavian languages as well (cf. Chapter 4. and Platzack, to app.) speaks in favor of a subject position in the CP. For the present purposes, it is sufficient to remark that the ambiguous status of Old Italian personal pronouns does not allow to place pronominal subjects exclusively in any of the positions discussed above: neither in AgrSP, nor in SubjP, nor in a subject position in

<sup>38</sup> Cardinaletti is also aware that subject clitics in non-standard varieties of Italian seem to occupy a higher position, located in CP. See Poletto (2000) for evidence from Northern Italian Dialects.

CP, as for NIDs clitics and some Scandinavian subjects. This is due to the fact that the same lexical entry may have weak or strong use: such property seems to depend on the specific setting of the pro-drop parameter in Old Italian. Indeed, once the pro-drop becomes positively set (as in Modern Italian), such ambiguity and related problems disappear.

The ambiguity of subject placement and the possibility to have CP-dislocated subjects also plays a role in the analysis of the target position of Old Italian SF. Overt preverbal subjects can occur with SF in Old Italian (as in other Old Romance varieties, see Fischer and Alexiadou, 2001), however, the proposed analysis account for their presence in term of dislocated subjects followed by SF. The data presented in section 3.3. show that the reverse order SF- subject –V is virtually absent with any kind of subject, providing support to the analysis of SF as movement to a position in the low CP area, which, according to a typological distinction of fronted elements and contexts, can either be identified with the specifier of FinP or of ModP (the latter identified by Rizzi 2001; see section 3.3. for data and discussion).

### 2.2.3. Expletives

In the excerpted Old Italian texts, there are some instances of overt quasi/non-argumental subject pronouns similar to the expletive *það* of Modern Icelandic, although overt expletives and quasi-argumental subject pronouns are not really productive and their distribution is very limited in Old Italian. When present, they are typically in the third person masculine form *elli* or in the reduced form *e'*. *Elli/e'* is the default entry (Italian doesn't have a productive neuter form).

(113) a. E· ridere è da riprendere s'*elli* è isconvenevole

E laugh(inf) is to blame if it is inconvenient

“Laughing is to blame if it is inconvenient”

b. *E'* non crescerà tanto la niquità

It not raise(fut) much the iniquity

“Iniquity will not raise much”

c. *e'* nonn è degno e non si conviene

it not is noble and not IMP be.convenient

che io sozzi il vasello ond'io uscìo

that I make.filthy the vase whereby I came.out

“It is a low and inconvenient thing to filthen the vase where I came out of”

d. Pensa, guiglielmo, che per la tua follia *e'* ti conviene morire

Think Guiglielmo that for the your folly it 2s.DAT.cl be.convenient die(inf)

“May you realize, Guiglielmo, that because of your folly it is more convenient for you to die”

[FF, 181.11, 191.6, 211.4, N, 42, 224.16]

On the contrary, Old Italian displays a massive presence of other types of overt expletives, which Poletto (2005) identifies as being located in the CP. These elements are *sì* and *e*, respectively identifying a Focus and a Topic position, and distinguishing

themselves from the homophonous Italian reflexive/impersonal pronoun (*si*) and conjunction (*e*) for their use and distribution.

- (114) a. *E quella ripensa e riguardollo e rafigurollo*  
 E that.one re-thinks E re-looked.at.3s.ACC.cl E figure.out.3s.ACC.cl  
*e venelene sì gran vergogna*  
 E came.3s.DAT.cl+of.it such big shame  
 “She thought over, looked at him again and figure out (who he was) and was so ashamed...”
- b. *Di cu' ella à ddunque paura, sì l'avelena se puote*  
 Of whom she has thus fear, SI 3s.ACC.cl poisons if can.3s  
 “She poisons, if she can, the one she fears”
- c. *tolse il signor molti danari d'oro, e feceli mettere in una torta;*  
 took the lord many coins of gold, E made.3p.ACC.cl put in a cake  
*e, quand'ella li venne dinanzi, sì lla presentò a questo suo giullare*  
 E when it 3s.DAT.cl came before, SI 3s.ACC.cl presented to this jester  
 “The lord took many golden coins and had them put in a cake; when it (the cake) came before him, he presented it to this jester”

[FF, 211.8; FR, ch.12, 14.17; N, 79, 309.4]

Poletto (2005) distinguishes the respective positions of the two types of CP-expletives on the basis of Benincà (1993) analysis of the differences between enclisis and proclisis. Benincà argues that enclisis may be triggered only if the Focus field is empty: other preverbal elements must be located in Topic or at a higher level in the left periphery. On the contrary, an overt focalized constituent obligatorily requires proclisis. Because the expletive *si* is never followed by enclisis (see (114)b. and c. above), whereas, the expletive *e* is (as in (114)a.; unless some other focalized constituent intervenes between it and the verb, as in (114)c.), Poletto (2005) concludes that *si* is merged in Spec,FocusP and *e* marks the head of a higher, Topic position. These facts and observations are relevant for the analysis presented here because the presence of CP expletives clearly interacts with SF in different manners, according to the expletive type, as it is shown later.

#### 2.2.4. OV order

Another characteristic feature of Old Italian is the presence of a marked OV order, obtained by moving a constituent (or subextracting from it) to a Topic or Focus position located in the vP-left periphery of the clause (see Poletto 2006<sup>39</sup>). OV order is also found in Old Scandinavian, but, according to Delsing (2001) and Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) this is to be interpreted either as a base-generated or at least as an unmarked order. Instead, Old Italian OV is assumed to derive from movement to a functional projection in the low left periphery, perhaps a Focus or a Topic position. The OV order

<sup>39</sup> Actually, Egerland (1996) analyzes Italian OV orders with selected objects preceding (agreeing) past participles as movement to Spec,AgrOP. However, what is generically referred to by “OV” here also includes indirect objects, adjuncts and adverbials which are not possible goals for Spec,AgrOP.

involving objects is potentially due to object-movement to an AgrOP projection (see Egerland 1996). Nevertheless, OV orderings don't exclusively regard objects, but also other items like any internal arguments, adverbials or verbal modifiers. The idea, then, is that Old Italian allows Focus/Topic fronting to the vP periphery.

(115) a. *possano i Romani [contro Anibale] andare*  
 may the Romans against Hannibal go(inf)  
 "May the Romans go against Hannibal"

b. *non potrebbe ella [in questo modo] parlare*  
 not could she in this way talk(inf)  
 "She couldn't talk this way"

c. *Già era il malificio [contra lui] [legittimamente] provato*  
 Already was the misdeed against him lawfully  
 "The misdeed was already lawfully against him"

[FR, 48, 4; 68, 8; 31,10]

Poletto (2006) talks about a low Focus position in the vP periphery as follows:

"This is clearly a position dedicated to XPs (no clitic or weak elements can occur there as they cannot be focalized), and it hosts virtually any type of constituent, all types of arguments as well as adverbials and verbal modifiers. This lack of "specialization" in the element that they can host is a feature typical of left peripheral positions, where any type of XP can be moved." (pp. 6-7).

This "lack of specialization" of the low Focus position reminds of the unspecific character of SF, which is present in Old Italian, as well as in Old Scandinavian and Modern Icelandic and Faroese. The idea of a synergy between low and high periphery, namely that items targeting a position in the CP field take an intermediate step in the vP periphery, is not new (see Poletto (2006)<sup>40</sup>; Cognola (2007) for Mocheno). Under this assumption, the ranking of a category in the accessibility hierarchy may depend on the possibility that the item undergoing SF is first fronted to the vP periphery. In this perspective the locality between the probe and the goal of SF would not regard the base-generated position of the stylistically fronted item, but its derived position in the low periphery. The trigger of movement to the left vP periphery may be a Topic or a Focus feature of some kind (cf. Belletti (2004), who claims that the low Focus of Modern Italian bears new information features) or the formal counterpart of a criterial feature located in a position in the CP. Following the intuition that there is a connection between

<sup>40</sup> Poletto distinguishes Old from Modern Italian as follows: "The distinction between OI and MI does not concern the specifier position, which can clearly be filled in both languages, but the head of the Focus (and Topic) projections involved. Following Benincà (2005), I assume that in OI the head of these projections (both in the high and the low phases, and, as we have seen also in the DP phase) is filled by the lexical head (V or N), when an element is realized in its specifier, while this is not the case in MI, where no element is required in Focus° or Topic° and only the specifier of these projections is realized (apart from wh-main contexts, where, following Rizzi (1991) I assume that there is indeed verb movement). The difference between the two languages is precisely a difference in the classical terms of V2, namely whether the head contains strong features or not." (p. 23)



the activation of some functional projections across phases (namely in CP, vP and DP, cf. Poletto 2005), it would be anti-economic and redundant to assume that the very same feature is checked twice, on two different structural positions, e.g. in CP and vP (Ur Shlonsky, p.c.). We should then be able to account for what looks like a “parallel phase” parameter setting in slightly different terms. Ur Shlonsky (p.c.) suggests that one possible explanation for the connection between two specific functional projections at the vP and the CP phases may consist of a two-step feature-checking mechanism. Namely, a feature is verified on the vP, but further movement of the probed phrase to the CP is then needed in order to make that very same feature interpretable at the interface (and check it). According to this hypothesis, SF might as well be a somehow pragmatically marked construction, as suggested also by Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) and Fischer (to app.)a. Before considering whether this is the case or Old Italian SF is instead an unmarked phenomenon, it is worth repeating that the vP periphery position targeted in OV orders does not allow clitics or weak elements as they cannot be focalized, but basically all the categories which can undergo SF can move there. If the accessibility hierarchy of stylistically frontable elements is influenced by feature-checking mechanisms triggered by a functional projection in the low vP periphery, we would expect that what moves to the latter low-peripheral position can potentially front to the SF position, provided that no higher adverbs or negation intervene. However, this does not entail that, viceversa, whatever is found in SF must have been first fronted to the vP-periphery position, as, for instance, phrasal adverbs can be local enough to the SF probe being merged to a higher node. If we assume, with Egerland (1996), that the OV order in Direct Object-Past Participle constructions is primarily obtained by object movement to Spec,AgrOP, we see that fronting to a low Topic/Focus position is just *one* available option that, say, facilitates SF of “elements from the verbal complex” (Maling 1990)<sup>41</sup>. In any case, we never find weak elements nor clitics in the SF position<sup>42</sup>. Further support to the fact that stylistically fronted elements (may) take an intermediate step in the vP periphery come from the analysis of Old Italian SF.

### 2.2.5. SF in Old Italian: issues and methods of analysis

In order to understand Old Italian SF and compare it to the Icelandic counterpart, the analysis starts from the observation that the most common criterion adopted to distinguish SF from V2 topicalization is the requirement that the subject be absent (SGC). As shown above, this condition is respected if there is a subject trace in extraction contexts or a pro/gap in expletive/quasi argumental subject constructions in Icelandic. I considered whether the SGC extends to Old Italian by including also argumental pro into the class of “missing subjects”, given the different setting of the pro-drop parameter in this language.

Nonetheless, including argumental pro into the set of null elements satisfying the SGC creates a potential ambiguity between V2 topicalization and SF, because argumental pro is virtually possible in any V2 structure of the type XP – V – Subj(pro). In this case, there is no specific characteristic that can be used to discriminate a context licensing SF

<sup>41</sup>One general condition for an item to be a proper goal for SF could be formulated as “make yourself visible to the higher phase”: a condition that is allegedly satisfied by vP-peripheral elements and not by more deeply embedded ones.

<sup>42</sup> The impossibility of clitics in first position is confirmed by the Tobler-Mussafia law.

rather than topicalization. By contrast, expletive or quasi-argumental *pro* has a defined domain of occurrence, being found in specific constructions (e.g. impersonal ones) which can be taken as licensing contexts for SF.

In order to avoid the ambiguity between topicalization and SF derived from the presence of argumental *pro* in Old Italian, I considered exclusively the lexical categories which can be fronted by SF in Icelandic, but typically do not undergo topicalization, namely:

(116)

a. Items from the verbal complex: Infinitives and Past Participles

b. Predicative Adjectives and Nominal Predicates

I excluded cases of adverb fronting, negation, as well as DP and PP fronting, which can all occur also in V2 constructions with postverbal subjects, and, as such, are potentially ambiguous indicators.

Furthermore, particle fronting turned out to be very rare in Old Italian, perhaps due to the fact that phrasal verbs are not common<sup>43</sup>.

For the analysis of Old Italian SF, I considered three texts:

- Anonymous (1271-1275), *Fiori e vite di Filosofi e d'altri savi e d'imperadori* (labeled as FF);

- Bono Giamboni (1292 (1260?)) *Fiore di Rettorica* (β corpus), (labeled as FR)

- Anonymous, *Il Novellino*, XIII century, (labeled as N).

Below some sentences from the excerpted texts show what Old Italian SF consists of.

(117) almeno quello che **detto** è \_\_ non è inutile a sapere Past participle SF  
 at.least which that said is not is useless to know.INF  
 “At least what is said isn’t useless to know” [FR, 72, 25]

(118) Col guadagno che **far** se ne dovea \_\_ Infinitive SF  
 with.the gain that do.INF IMP of.it must.3sPAST  
 “With the gain that one should make of it” [N, XCVII, 16-17]

<sup>43</sup> In Modern Italian, SF is a phenomenon restricted to the literary language, where the high register prefers full verbal forms to the few available phrasal verbs, which are more colloquial. I do not share Cardinaletti’s (2003) judgment on (i) which is unacceptable, according to me:

(i) \*Il ragazzo che **via** andò  
 the boy that away went  
 “The boy that went away” [Cardinaletti (2003)]

I also consider (ii) ungrammatical, and would rather prefer the full verbal form in (iii):

(ii) \*La stesura del manoscritto che **avanti** andò senza interruzioni..

The editing of.the manuscript that on went.3s without interruptions

(iii) La stesura del manoscritto che procedette senza interruzioni...

The editing of.the manuscript that continued.3s without interruptions

“The editing of the manuscript which continued without interruptions”

Notice that Italian does not have many phrasal verbs, contrary to sub-standard varieties, where particle fronting is equally ruled out:

(iv) a. Suo marito, che ha preso su e se n’è andato, è un bastardo (Sub-standard Italian, Venice)  
 her husband that has taken up and self of.it is gone is a bastard

b. \*Suo marito, che **su** ha preso e se n’è andato, è un bastardo  
 her husband that up has taken and self of.it is gone is a bastard  
 “Her husband, that suddenly went away, is a bastard”.

- (119) **Più legier** è al pover fugire le schernie... *Nominal predicate SF*  
 More light is to.the poor escape.INF the mockeries  
 “To avoid mockeries is easier for the poor...” [FF, XXIV, 44]
- (120) **signore** *pro* t’ho fatto \_\_\_ di molte dilizie *Predicative adjective SF*  
 lord *pro* 2s.CL.ACC have.1s made of many delicacies  
 “I have made you lord of many delicacies” [N, LXXII, 10]
- (121) e niuno era ardito che **su** vi sedesse *Particle SF*  
 and no-one was brave who on LOC would.sit  
 “and there was no one who dared to sit on it” [N, XLI, 8-9]

The analysis is divided into five parts:

1. Occurrences of stylistically fronted items
2. Location of subject pronouns and position of clitics. The assumptions are that Old Italian 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns may be weak but also strong, contrary to the same pronouns in Modern Italian, (cf. Cardinaletti to app., ch.11) and occupy the highest specifier position in the IP (cf. Cardinaletti 2004). I explored whether subject pronouns can occur with stylistically fronted items and what the linear order would be. This analysis is motivated by using the weak pronouns as signposts to determine the target position of SF.
3. Position of clitics and presence of CP expletives: I consider as signpost the relative order between verb and clitic and the presence of CP expletives, following the analyses of Benincà (2004) and Poletto (2005).
4. Data comparison: facts on the distribution of SF with regard to pronominal subjects, clitics, and CP expletives are compared.
5. Typologies of SF: in order to understand whether SF is truly dependent on the SGC and is not triggered to satisfy V2 on a par with topicalization, I have distinguished SF in root contexts from SF in (what are usually assumed to be) non-V2 contexts, such as indirect questions and relative clauses. A different distribution of the type of fronted elements emerged.

A further section is then devoted to a thorough differentiation and description of the types of non-V2 clauses where SF is attested.

## 2.3. Old Italian facts<sup>44</sup>

### 2.3.1. Occurrences of stylistically fronted items

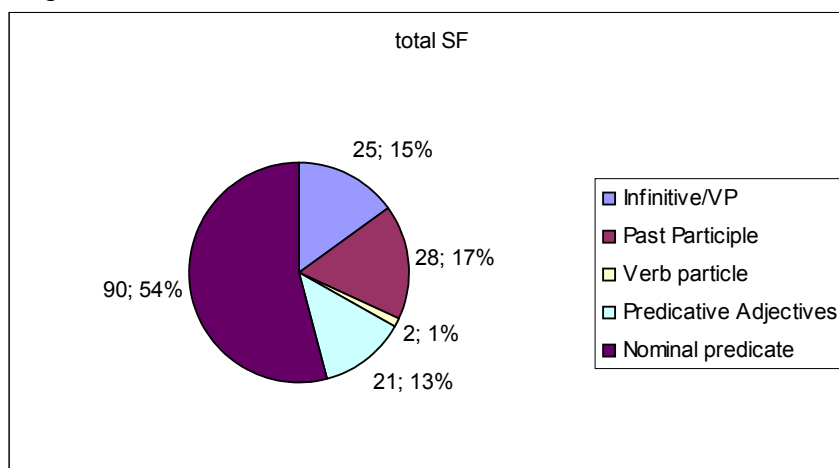
I counted the occurrences of SF for each one of the categories mentioned in (101) in the three corpora under examination. Table 2. below shows the number of occurrences of fronted items for each category.

Table 2.

	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
FF	1	4	0	3	45	53
FR	19	12	1	15	30	77
N	5	12	1	3	15	36
total	25	28	2	21	90	166

The total number of occurrences of the three corpora is 166: most of them (54%) are fronting of nominal predicates in copular constructions, as indicated by the total of the second to last column (90). Beside the extremely scarce presence of verb-particle fronting, due to the reasons illustrated above, there is a more or less equal distribution of fronting among the other categories: infinitive-fronting is the 15% of the total number of frontings (25 occurrences); past participle fronting is the 17% (28 occurrences) and predicative adjectives represent the 13% (21 occurrences). Graph 1. below shows the number and percentage of each fronted category over the total occurrences of SF:

Graph 1.



It is worth mentioning that cases of VP fronting were included under the label “infinitive/VP”, since VP fronting is possible in Old Italian, contrary to Icelandic. In the next chapter, I give some examples of VP fronting, show the differences from Icelandic and sketch the possibilities for a derivation.

It was also observed how SF distributes in different clause types/syntactic constructions, with special attention to the subject position. Tables 3, 4 and 5 refer respectively to the

<sup>44</sup> The entire corpora of the data analyzed are available together with glosses and translations in the final Appendix.

FF; the FR and the N corpora. The three tables show the number of SF occurrences in impersonal constructions; clauses with a CP subject; passive constructions; comparative constructions; sentences with a heavy subject<sup>45</sup>; clauses with a pro subject; clauses with an overt preverbal subject; subject relatives/indirect subject questions; clauses with a postverbal subject; and existential constructions (in the FR and N corpora only).

Table 3. SF distribution in FF

FF	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
IMP	0	0	0	0	5	5
CP-subj	0	0	0	2	24	26
PASS	0	1	0	0	0	1
comparative	0	0	0	1	2	3
Heavy Subj	0	0	0	0	12	12
pro	1	3	0	0	2	6
overt preV subjects	0	0	0	0	0	0
extracted subj	0	0	0	0	0	0
post V subj	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4. SF distribution in FR

FR	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
IMP	6	0	0	4	5	15
CP-subj	0	0	0	0	5	5
PASS	1	6	0	1	0	8
comparative	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heavy Subj	0	0	0	4	11	15
pro	7	4	0	2	3	16
overt preV subjects	2	0	0	0	4	6
extracted subj	2	3	1	2	1	9
post V subj	1	0	0	1	0	2
existential	0	0	0	0	1	1

<sup>45</sup> By “heavy subjects” I mainly refer to constructions where the subject is a DP or an NP modified by a relative clause and appears in a low sentential position or is right dislocated.

Table 5. SF distribution in N

N	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
IMP	4	1	0	0	4	9
CP-subj	0	0	0	0	2	2
PASS	0	1	0	0	0	1
comparative	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heavy Subj	0	0	0	0	1	1
pro	1	3	0	3	2	9
overt preV subjects	0	2	0	0	0	2
extracted subj	0	4	1	0	4	9
post V subj	0	1	0	0	2	3
existential	0	0	0	0	0	0

Tables 3, 4, 5 above show that the distribution of Old Italian SF is very similar to that of Icelandic SF. Specifically, SF is very common in impersonal constructions (29 total occurrences over the total occurrences (166) of SF); and in sentences with heavy or clausal subjects (respectively 28 and 33 occurrences). SF is also found in constructions with extracted subjects (e.g. subject relative clauses) for a total of 18 occurrences; and in passives (10 occurrences). Differently from Icelandic, Old Italian exhibits SF both with referential and expletive *pro* subjects (31 occurrences) and with overt preverbal subjects (8 occurrences): respective facts in the three corpora are highlighted in the graphs above. In some cases, overt preverbal subjects are separated from the stylistically fronted item by other elements, which can be identified as topics, as in (122) below. Specifically, cases of subjects preceding the stylistically fronted item are found in passive constructions. Some instances of preverbal subjects with SF are given in (122)-(125). SF is in bold; other preverbal XPs are in italics and subjects are in underlined italics.

- (122) *Il saver dell'arme color di Cartagine* **difender** non potè  
 The know.INF of.the weapon those of Carthage defend.INF not could.3s  
 “The knowledge of warcraft could not defend the people of Carthage” [FR, 23, 5]

- (123) *In questo modo tutte le parole dette* saranno  
 In this way all the words said will.be.3p  
 “All the words will be said in this way” [FR,82,77]

- (124) noi medesimi diciamo che noi possiamo dire, o che *l'altra parte* **dire** non puote  
 we same say1p that we can1p say.INF, or that the other part say.INF not can.3s  
 “We ourselves say what we can tell, or what the other part cannot” [FR,17,6]

- (125) *Corniglio* **uomo nuovo** era, **ingegnoso** era,  
 C. man new was, ingenious was,  
*degl'ingegnosi e buoni uomini* **amico** era, però *nella città nostra* **il maggiore** era  
 of.the ingenious and good men friend was but in.the city our the greater was  
 “Corniglio was a new man<sup>46</sup>, was ingenious, was friend of ingenious, good men,  
 and was the greater in our city” [FR, 8, 21]

In other cases, the preverbal subjects are pronominal forms. In examples (126) and (127), they still precede the stylistically fronted element, which is a past participle, in these cases.

- (126) io obbligo l'anima mia a perpetua prigione [infino a tanto che *voi pagati* siate]  
 I force the soul my to everlasting prison until to much that you.s paid are.2p.SUBJ  
 “I force my soul to everlasting imprisonment until you get paid” [N, 19, 98-100]

- (127) Messere, *io lavato* l'ho  
 Sir, I washed 3s.CL.ACC have  
 “Sir, I did wash it” [N, XLIII, 10]

One possible analysis is that the subjects in (126), (127) are in SubjP and SF targets a lower position in the Inflectional domain, as proposed by Cardinaletti (2003) for Modern Italian SF.

A more plausible alternative is that the subject pronoun is dislocated in a topic position in the CP, and the past participle is fronted to some position in the lower CP field. Let us assume that null pro subjects are not automatically merged in one of the highest subject positions (Spec, AgrSP, following Cardinaletti 2004) due to the partial character of Old Italian pro-drop. The hypothesis that the subjects in (126) and (127) are dislocated in the CP is possible provided that (126) and (127) are analyzed as cases of subject extractions to a criterial position in the CP field. This poses two problems, which I deal with in section 2.3.2. and 2.3.3. respectively:

1. If the subject pronouns are dislocated to the CP, then they must be strong forms
2. When dislocated, subject DPs and subject pronouns must be able to avoid the freezing effects in the subject criterial position, i.e. SubjP, identified by Rizzi (2003)<sup>47</sup>. Therefore a strategy for subject extraction is required.

<sup>46</sup> Most probably “new man” stands for “never elected before” and “without inheriting political power from the family”, from the latin expression “homo novus”.

<sup>47</sup> Such effects motivate the formulation of a Subject Criterion, by analogy with the Wh-criterion (cf. Rizzi 1991). However, the considerable amount of subject dislocations to the CP in non(-full) pro-drop languages poses a problem for the strength of the criterion, especially with regard to the apparent absence of freezing effects in some contexts (eg. when a preverbal subject is focalized and allegedly string-vacuously moves to Spec,FocP, unless we assume that [focus] can be checked in situ by means of stress). Rizzi's Subject Criterion predicts that any dislocation be enabled by the activation of a subject-extraction strategy. On a par with other criteria, the Subject Criterion applies to a single position where specific properties are encoded. If this is true, only some kind of subjects –say those bearing the “subject-of-predication” feature, encoded in SubjP, will move to a criterial position (SubjP) and undergo freezing effects. If a subject doesn't bear that feature, it can, in principle, be extracted. However weak pronouns are subject to further restrictions with respect to, say, dislocation possibilities, due to their lack of proper featural endowment. Contrary to other criteria (Focus-, Topic-, Wh-...) met in the CP, according to Rizzi

### 2.3.2. Location of subject pronouns and position of clitics

In order to solve the first issue, I refer to the facts presented in the introduction to Old Italian, in the section on weak/strong pronouns (p. 48). Recall that the status of personal pronouns is ambiguous in Old Italian: it is often difficult to tell whether a pronoun is used as weak rather than strong. Such ambiguity applies not only to 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, but also to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns. Specifically, in Renzi and Salvi (to app.), ch. 11, it is reported:

“In direct speech, there can be an extended use of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns. It can be a case of weak pronouns”<sup>48</sup>

The quotation above refers to the following examples:

- (128) a. *acciò ch’io sono signore [...] Dite s’io lo posso fare, poi che mi piace.*  
Since that I am lord Say.2p if I 3s.ACC.cl can do since that 1s.DAT.cl pleases  
“Since I am lord [...] Say if I can do it, since I like it” [N, 22, 8-12]
- b. *Adriano, io non ti temo neente, perché tu paie che tu sie segnore d’esto*  
Adrian, I not 2s.ACC.cl fear at.all although you seem that you be lord of this  
tempo. *Tu mi puoi uccidere, ma tu non hai podestà*  
time. You 1s.ACC.cl can kill but you not have power  
*di farmi parlare una boce*  
of make(inf).1s.ACC.cl talk one sound  
“Adrian, I don’t fear you at all, although you seem to be lord of this time. You  
can kill me but you will not be able to make me utter a sound”  
[FF, cap. 28, rr. 54-56]
- c. *Pensate che allora m’avidi cui figliuolo voi foste: ché se voi*  
Think.2p that then self realized.1s of whom son you.p were: since if you.p  
*foste suto figliuolo di re, vi sarebbe paruto poco di donarmi una nobile città...*  
were been son of king, 2s.DAT.cl would.be seemed little to give(inf.)-1s.DAT.cl  
a noble city  
“Think that I then realized who you were son of: since, if you had been son of a  
king, you would have considered unsufficient to donate me a noble city”  
[N, 2, 73-78]

In order to face the problems posed by the ambiguous status of personal pronouns for the investigation of SF, I proceed by hypothesis. Although we cannot be sure that the pronouns in (128) above (in italics) are weak forms, let us assume they are. Then, the

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(2003) and ff., the Subject Criterion canonically met by a subject is confined to the IP field. Nonetheless, there is vast literature on the presence of a subject position in the low CP area (cf. Poletto 2000; Platzack to app.). Accordingly, the Subject Criterion model needs an integration with a proper account of the mechanisms licensing CP subjects without triggering freezing effects. Furthermore, the subject criterion is the only one, to my knowledge, that can be met by alternative strategies, highly dependent on the morphosyntactic and formal properties of the lower C-head, Fin. Perhaps a useful indication to face these issues comes from Sigurðsson’s (to app.) ideas on EPP as “filled left edge condition”, proposed in order to account for Icelandic and, generally, Scandinavian facts. Certainly, this topic requires a close and more accurate investigation of the issues that I have just sketched here.

<sup>48</sup> Translation from Italian mine.



facts illustrated in (128)c. above are in clear contrast to those presented in (126) and (127) above, repeated below for convenience:

- (129) *io* obbligo l'anima mia a perpetua prigionie  
 I force the soul my to everlasting prison  
 [infino a tanto che *voi* **pagati** siate]  
 until to much that you.s paid are.2p.SUBJ  
 "I force my soul to everlasting imprisonment until you get paid" [N, 19, 98-100]

- (130) Messere, *io* **lavato** l'ho  
 Sir, I washed 3s.CL.ACC have  
 "Sir, I did wash it" [N, XLIII, 10]

The problem is how to explain the different word order between (129)-(130), namely Subj pro – SF - V, and (128)c, namely SF - Subj pro - V, where the adjacency between the stylistically fronted item and the verb is broken. In order to shed light on this issue, I counted all the occurrences of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> subject pronouns in their full forms, namely *io/tu/noi/voi* (= I/you/we/you.p) in the excerpted corpora. Then I counted all the cases where these pronouns appear together with SF with the linear order "SF-Subj pro-V", in order to see how common is to break the adjacency between SF and V. The results are given in Table 6. below:

Table 6.

	1st-2nd pro	SF+ 1st-2nd pro	total
<b>FF</b>	52	0	52
<b>FR</b>	109	0	109
<b>N</b>	406	2	408
<b>total</b>	567	2	569

The first column refers to the occurrences of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns without SF (in the three corpora and in total): they can be pre- or postverbal, without distinction of use (weak or strong). The first column results also include cases of subject pronouns together with topicalizations, as illustrated in the following example (topicalization is underlined; subject pronoun in italics):

- (131) a. La vostra figliuola *io* terrò a grande onore  
 The your daughter I keep(fut.) to big honour  
 "I will treat your daughter with great respect"
- b. Salamone, per la tua colpa *tu* se' degno di perdere lo reame  
 Salomon, for you fault you are worth to lose your kingdom  
 "Salomon, because of your fault you deserve to lose your kingdom"  
 [N, 49, 234.11; 6, 138.4]

The second column of Table 6. indicates the number of occurrences of 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject pronouns together with SF. It turned out that, in addition to the case illustrated in (128)c. and repeated below as (132), there is only one more case, in (133), also found in the *Novellino* corpus:

(132) allora m'avidi cui **figliuolo** voi foste  
 then self realized.1s of whom son you.p were  
 "I then realized who you were son of"

(133) Io voglio che tu mi dichi cui **figliuolo** io fui  
 I want that you 1s.DAT.cl say of.whom son I was  
 "I want you to tell me who I was son of"

[N, 2,127.20-21]

Table 6. shows that of 569 total occurrences of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns in the three examined corpora, there are only two cases in which such pronouns follows an item that has allegedly undergone SF. Moreover, these two cases exhibit fronting of the same item, *figliuolo*, which is a nominal predicate of a copular construction (see the discussion on the typology of SF, p. 98 and ff.)

Given their adjacency to the verb, it is not necessary to assume that the subject pronouns in (132) and (133) are dislocated, as it has been proposed for the preverbal pronouns of (129) and (130) above. Notice that the latter indeed precede (what is assumed to be) the stylistically fronted element, which, in this case, is not a nominal predicate, but a past participle instead (*pagati* in (129); *lavato* in (130)). I return to the different distribution of different fronted categories later.

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> subject pronouns linearly following the stylistically fronted (or any topicalized) element and immediately preceding the verb can indeed be weak pronominal forms, which occupy a unique position in the sentence ("they are either adjacent or not far from the verb", cf. Cardinaletti 2004 and to app.). According to Cardinaletti (2003), SF targets a position endowed with a P-feature, as proposed by Holmberg (2000). Such P-feature is

"located lower than the Subject-of-predication feature checked by overt subjects and the  $\phi$ -features checked by *pro* and weak *tu*"(Cardinaletti (2003), p. 7).

According to this proposal, and following Cardinaletti's (2004) cartography of subject positions, the target position of SF would be in IP, lower than SubjP (hosting strong subjects and some weak subject forms, like *egli/esso*, in Modern Italian); and lower also than AgrSP, where *pro* subjects (and clitics) check their phi-features. Cardinaletti (2003) provides the following evidence from Modern Italian in support of her claim:

"Weak subject pronouns, which cannot be left dislocated, are compatible with SF. See *esso* (it), *essi* (they) and *egli* (he) in (134) and *tu* (you) in (135), obligatorily found with subjunctive verbs:

(134) a. ?La ragione per la quale si può dire che esso **risolto** non è \_\_, ...  
 the reason for the which SI can say that it solved not is...  
 "The reason why one could say that it is not solved..."

- b. La ragione per la quale essi **più vicini** possono considerarsi \_\_ alla disciplina  
 the reason for the which they more close can consider-SI to the discipline  
 da lui frequentata ...  
 by him attended...  
 “The reason why they can consider themselves closer to the discipline attended by him”
- c. Il giorno in cui egli **via** andò \_\_ senza ...  
 the day in which he away went without...  
 “The day when he went away without...”
- d. La ragione per la quale egli **questa esposizione** ha voluto e curato \_\_  
 the reason for the which he this exhibition has wanted and edited...  
 “The reason why he wanted and organized this exhibition...”

(135) L'affermazione che tu **via** possa andare \_\_ senza ...  
 the claim that you away canSUBJ go without ...  
 ‘The claim that you can go away without...’ (p.5)

With regard to Cardinaletti’s proposal and facts four remarks are in order. First, the facts above concern Modern Italian, which is no longer a V2 language and where SF is not really productive (provided that (134) and (135) do illustrate instances of SF and not some other pragmatically marked phenomenon). I personally do not share Cardinaletti’s judgments and many of the examples she proposes sounds to my ear ungrammatical (as (134)c. and (135)) or at least very degraded, as (134)a. I accept only some cases as instances of (old) literary style. Second, despite what Cardinaletti (2004) argues, Poletto (2000) observes that Turin’s dialect (a North Italian Dialect (NID)) realizes the subject in a CP position, as shown in (136) where a QP (which cannot be dislocated as such) follows a higher complementizer but precedes the lower one:

(136) A venta che <i>gnun</i> ch’a fasa bordel	(Piedmontese, Turin)
It needs that nobody that Scl do.3s.subj noise	
“It is necessary that nobody makes noise”	[Poletto 2000, 148, 14]

Under this assumption, then, it is possible that subjects are found not only in the inflectional, but also in the complementizer phrase.

Third, we can even assume that the subject pronouns in (132); (133) do not pattern like the NID subject *gnun* in (136) and are indeed located in SubjP (as Cardinaletti (2004) proposes for *egli* in Modern Italian). The opposite word order of subject and SF between (132), (133) and (134), (135) rules out the possibility that the SF position is below SubjP in Old Italian. Fourth, as mentioned above, personal pronouns of Modern Italian have different properties from the analogous Old Italian ones. Indeed, Cardinaletti herself (to app.), with regard to Old Italian, points out that

“since free pronouns and weak pronouns often have the same form, it isn’t always easy to determine what type of pronoun it is, in absence of univocal syntactic or semantic properties”<sup>49</sup> (ch. 11, section 2).

This basic ambiguity makes it difficult to identify the exact position of the pronominal subjects: regardless the perspective adopted (i.e. Cardinaletti’s 2004 vs. the idea that subjects can be found in CP as well, as in Poletto 2000). As a consequence, Old Italian lacks unambiguous signposts to determine where the SF position is.

In line with her facts and proposal for Modern Italian, Cardinaletti (p.c.) suggests that the presence of a weak pronominal subject *followed* by SF (and verb) would clearly indicate that the stylistically fronted element targets a position in the IP, lower than SubjP, under the assumption that this is where certain weak pronouns (like *egli*) move.<sup>50</sup> Because Old Italian lacks unambiguously weak forms, and also *egli/ella/esso/essa* may be strong pronouns, this hypothesis cannot be tested with certainty. Nonetheless, *at least some* occurrences of third person singular pronouns must be weak forms, since they diachronically lose their strong property and only weak forms are available in Modern Italian. Following this intuition, I counted all instances of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns<sup>51</sup> in the three excerpted corpora and distinguished the cases where they appeared together with topicalization, and with SF. Table 7. below shows these facts:

Table 7.

	<i>elli-ella-egli-e' only</i>	<i>elli-ella-egli-e' +fronting</i>		total
		topicalizations	SF	
FF	68	1	0	69
FR	31	1	0	32
N	127	1	0	128
total	226	3	0	229

The second column of data in Table 7. shows the number of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns (*elli-ella-egli* and of the reduced form *e'*) occurring together with a topicalized element or with SF: the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns + fronting data refer to cases where both subject pronouns and fronting are expected to precede the verb. Among 229 total occurrences of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns, only 3 cooccur with topicalizations, and they are reported below (topicalization is in bold; pronouns in italics):

- (137) nell'animo suo, el quale egli abbia tuttavia inanzi li occhi e  
in.the soul his, the which he has.SUBJ continuously before the eyes and  
viva sì com'*egli* **tuttavia** lo riguardasse  
lives.SUBJ so as he continuously 3s.cl.ACC looked.at.SUBJ  
“In his soul, that he had continuously before his eyes and lived as if he looked at it  
continuously” [FF, 132.6]

<sup>49</sup> Translation from Italian mine.

<sup>50</sup> Strong subjects, on the contrary, cannot be used as signposts as they can occur in different positions, with a free use. For instance, preverbal strong subjects may be dislocated in CP in Old and Modern Italian.

<sup>51</sup> I did not include the forms *esso/essa* as, in the three corpora, all their occurrences but one are cases of objects of prepositions, therefore useless to the present purposes.

- (138) *Egli, in questo mezo, pieno d'inganni e di sozi pensieri*, uscì della chiesa  
 He in this mean full.of deceits and of filthy thoughts went.out of.the church  
 “He came out of the church in that moment, full of perfidy and bad thoughts”  
 [FR, cap. 51, 55.14]
- (139) «Pensa, guiglielmo, che **per la tua follia** e’ ti conviene morire».  
 think guiglielmo, that for the your folly it 2s.cl.DAT is.convenient die.INF  
 “May you realize, Guiglielmo, that because of your folly it is more convenient  
 for you to die” [N, 42, 224.16]

Topicalization may either precede (as in (139)) or follow (as in (137) and (138)) the pronoun, in accordance with its weak or strong status.

The first column of data in Table 7. reports the number of occurrences of the forms in isolation, namely all the other contexts where 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns appear without either topicalizations or SF.

Crucially there are no cases of preverbal pronominal 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects cooccurring with SF, in contrast with what Cardinaletti (2003) argues for Modern Italian SF. Even assuming that only a subset of the 229 occurrences of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns reported above are weak subjects (thus with a fixed position in the clause) the complementary distribution of overt subject pronoun and SF is evident. It is worth pointing out that even the 3<sup>rd</sup> person reduced form *e’*, patterns like other 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and never cooccurs with SF. The reduced form is not clitic on the verb, and it can be separated from it by other syntactic material as in (140)<sup>52</sup>:

- (140) *ed e’ cortesemente* / mi disse immantenente  
 and he kindly 1s.DAT.cl told immediately  
 “And he kindly told me immediately” [Brunetto Latini, Tesoretto, vv. 155-160]

The facts and data presented above show an absolute complementary distribution of SF and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronominal subjects, which means that neither weak nor strong form of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns can cooccur with SF. In other words, not only is Cardinaletti’s expectation (based on facts from Modern Italian, cf. (134) above) that SF linearly followed a (weak) 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun not met, but dislocated 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns (hence strong forms) linearly preceding SF are neither attested. A plausible interpretation of these facts is that SF functions like a subject to some respect, as I propose below. This idea can also account for the general scarcity of contexts where an overt pronominal subject (any person) cooccurs with SF. Syntactically speaking, the results presented indicate that there is no evidence that SF targets a position in the inflectional field, because there are no cases where the stylistically fronted item linearly follows a subject that is unambiguously and necessarily in SubjP (at the highest). An alternative, then, is that SF targets a higher position, in CP: this hypothesis needs support of further data, which I present in the next subsection.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Renzi and Salvi (to app.; ch. 11), where they also observe that reduced forms could be analyzed sometimes as enclitic on the subordinator, although without sufficient evidence. This analysis would represent an interesting analogy for a proposal concerning the status of reduced weak forms in Icelandic (such as *‘ann*), which are marginally possible with SF of adverbs, according to Hrafnbjargarson (2003). However, Hrafnbjargarson excludes the analysis that reduced weak pronouns are clitics on C in light of his movement-to-FocP proposal. Cf. chapter 1. for data.

So far I have illustrated some facts concerning the distribution of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, because they represent potential examples of weak pronominal forms which can function as signposts and indicate the position of stylistically fronted material (although they may as well have strong properties, without a fixed position). Another case of weak pronominal form would be *pro*, which targets Spec,AgrSP (Cardinaletti (2004)) and is attested also in Old Italian, although with a more restricted distribution. However, being non-overt, *pro* cannot function as a signpost.

### 2.3.3. Position of clitics and presence of CP expletives

Other pronominal forms with a fixed position in the clause are clitic pronouns. Old Italian, as well as Modern Italian, doesn't have subject clitics, but only object and locative clitics. In Old Italian, enclisis on the verb is very productive and triggered in specific contexts, differently from Modern Italian. Benincà (2004) provides evidence that enclisis is triggered only when the Focus field is empty, whereas higher projections (like Topic) may be filled. On the contrary, if some material is merged or moved to the Focus field, the only possible order is Clitic – V (proclisis). Following Benincà's proposal, Poletto (2005) shows that Old Italian has some expletive forms used as CP-fillers, located in different positions in the CP, and with different effects on the order between clitics and verbs. The expletives *e* and *ma* trigger enclisis when they immediately precede the verb. This means that these expletives must be located higher than FocP, which is necessarily empty. Instead, the expletive *sì* is never followed by enclisis and is compatible only with proclitic forms. The difference between the two types of expletives is shown in (114) above, repeated below for convenience:

- (141) a. **E** quella ripensa **e** riguardollo **e** rafigurollo  
 E that.one re-thinks E re-looked.at.3s.ACC.cl E figure.out.3s.ACC.cl  
**e** venelene **sì** gran vergogna  
 E came.3s.DAT.cl+of.it such big shame  
 "She thought over, looked at him again and figure out (who he was) and was so ashamed..."
- b. Di cu' ella à ddunque paura, **sì** l'avelena se puote  
 Of whom she has thus fear, SI 3s.ACC.cl poisons if can.3s  
 "She poisons, if she can, the one she fears"
- c. tolse il signor molti danari d'oro, **e** feceli mettere in una torta;  
 took the lord many coins of gold, E made.3p.ACC.cl put in a cake  
**e**, quand'ella li venne dinanzi, **sì** lla presentò a questo suo giullare  
 E when it 3s.DAT.cl came before, SI 3s.ACC.cl presented to this jester  
 "The lord took many golden coins and had them put in a cake; when it (the cake) came before him, he presented it to this jester"  
 [FF, 211.8; FR, ch.12, 14.17; N, 79, 309.4]

Under Benincà's (2004) analysis, the presence of enclisis rather than proclisis may be used as a good indicator of the position of the preverbal material. Moreover, nothing so far runs against an analysis of SF as movement to the a position in the CP, since

virtually no cases of SF following (potentially) weak subject pronouns were found (cf. Tables 6. and 7. above). In order to determine whether this is a plausible option and where the SF target position would be, the distribution of clitic pronouns in SF constructions were observed. As independently observed by Cardinaletti (to app.)

“the fronting of the past participle to a position preceding the inflected auxiliary does not change the position of the clitic pronoun, which is proclitic to the auxiliary”<sup>53</sup> (ch. 11, section 2.; translation mine).

Some instances of SF and proclisis are given below:

- (142) a. **Nunziata** *m'hai* cosa ch'io l'aspettava  
Announced 1s.DAT.cl have.2s thing that I 3s.ACC.cl was.waiting  
“You have announced me (some)thing that I was waiting for” [FF, II, 18]
- b. **ammonir** *ti* voglio  
blame.INF 2s.ACC.cl want.1s  
“I want to blame you” [FR,82, 33]
- c. **Cara** *la* comperai!  
Expensive 3s.ACC.cl will.buy.2s  
“You will pay (the earth) for it!” [N, XLII, 21]

Among all occurrences of SF with clitic pronouns, no cases of enclisis were found. Moreover, of all the cases of SF with proclisis on the verb, none was preceded by the expletive *sì*. The results are given in Table 8. below:

Table 8.

	proclisis		enclisis
	Sì+SF+cl+V	SF+cl+V	
<b>FF</b>	0	4	0
<b>FR</b>	0	24	0
<b>N</b>	0	11	0
<b>total</b>	0	39	0

The results regarding the distribution of SF with respect to the position of clitics and the presence of CP expletives can be thus generalized as follows:

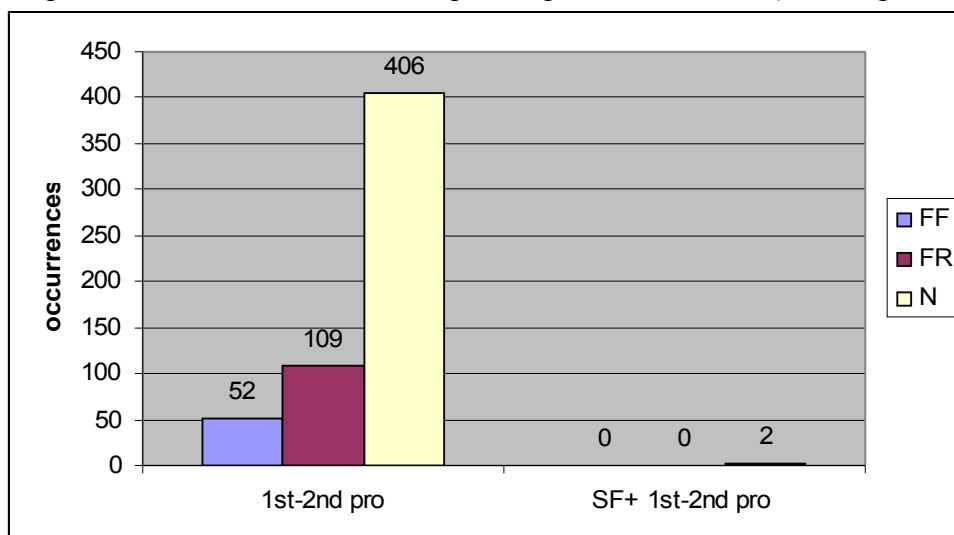
- (143) a. **SF does not allow enclisis** → the verb cannot reach a position higher than FocusP. By analogy with cases in which enclisis is prohibited, we can assume that in SF the Focus field is not empty.
- b. **SF is in complementary distribution with expletive “sì”** → under the assumption that “sì” occupies a position in the Focus field, SF may also target a Focus position or at least interact with it, which would be unmotivated if SF were an IP internal mechanism (see discussion below).

<sup>53</sup> This observation contradicts part of the claim of Cardinaletti (2003) that Modern Italian SF targets a position lower than AgrSP. If clitics are in Spec,AgrSP, the expected order would be Cl-SF-V, contrary to facts.

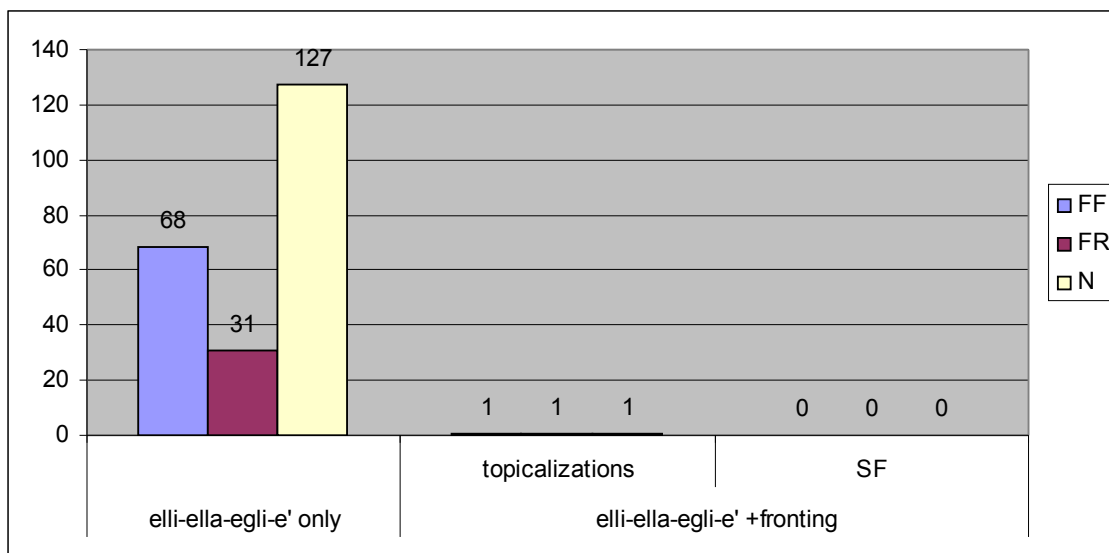
### 2.3.4. Data comparison

The distribution of SF with respect to 1<sup>st</sup>; 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person weak(/strong) pronouns and to clitics, is given by the comparison of Graphs 2; 3. and 4 below, summarizing the results presented so far:

Graph 2. Distribution of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns and SF (referring to Table 6.)

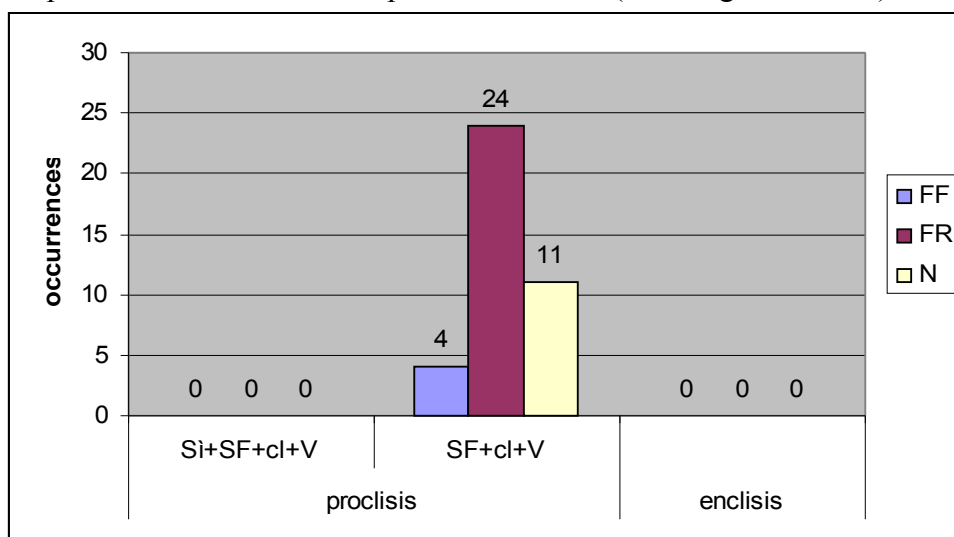


Graph. 3. Distribution of 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular pronouns with respect to topicalization and SF (referring to Table 7.)





Graph 4. Distribution of clitic pronouns and SF (referring to Table 8.)



What emerges from the comparison of Graphs 2.; 3. and 4. above is that:

- Assuming that at least part of the personal pronouns in Graphs 2. and 3. are weak forms, SF is in complementary distribution with overt pronominal subjects. Following Cardinaletti (2004), weak pronominal forms like *tu* in subjunctive clauses and *egli* in Modern Italian would occupy the Spec,SubjP position. By analogy, we can assume that the weak subject pronouns of Old Italian occupy the same position. As a consequence, there is no evidence that SF targets a position below SubjP. Nonetheless, the complementary distribution with (weak) subject pronouns does not automatically entail that SF targets SubjP.

- Following Benincà (2004), the total lack of enclisis in SF contexts indicates that the stylistically fronted item does not target a very high position in the CP. On the one hand, the impossibility to have enclisis on the verb entails that the preverbal material is not in a position higher than Focus, but can be either in Focus or lower<sup>54</sup>. The possibility that the stylistically fronted item targets FocP is problematic if such position is identified as uncontroversially quantificational (see Rizzi (1997)). In Old Italian, as in Icelandic, SF is very common in extraction contexts, among other constructions: if SF were movement of a quantificational operator, it would in principle trigger minimality effects with the Wh- movement of the extracted element in these constructions. Nonetheless, in Modern (and supposedly also Old) Italian, focalization is compatible with some types of extractions, perhaps due to the different features specified on the extracted element (i.e. relativization is compatible with focalization as movement of minimally different elements):

(144) Maria ha letto il libro che A GIANNI aveva prestato  
 Mary has read the book that to John had.3s lent  
 “Mary has read the book that she had lent TO JOHN”

<sup>54</sup> Specifically because enclisis obtains when the verb itself can move to a higher position in the CP field. The presence of a filled FocP would then block such movement (see Benincà (2004) and (2006) for further details).

The sentence in (144), a focalization in a relative clause, is quite acceptable to my ear, despite the pragmatic difficulty of finding a proper context where a contrastive focalization is allowed inside a relative (the sentence improves with a focalized adverbial). These facts seem to open the possibility that SF targets a position in the Focus field. Nonetheless embedded Focus would trigger minimality effects with indirect Wh- questions (cf. Rizzi 1997), which are another context typically allowing SF.

On the other hand, the attested order is rigidly SF-clitic-V, in presence of clitics. Assuming with that clitic pronouns are located in AgrSP, SF should target the AgrSP position (if analysed as movement of a head adjoining to the verb) or a higher one, in Cardinaletti's (2004) view. Nonetheless, the only attested order is SF-Neg-clitic-V as shown in (145) below, when a sentence is negated. It follows that stylistically fronted elements target a higher position, even when the verb does not move to a higher position, in Old Italian.

(145) *Per più parole ammonire non ti voglio*

for more words blame.INF not 2s.CL.ACC want.1s

"I don't want to blame you with more words"

[FR, 82, 145]

- The absence of the CP-expletive *sì* in SF contexts cannot be explained if we assumed that SF targeted a position in the IP. It is worth observing that *sì* may occupy different positions in the clause. *Sì* may either precede a verb, in main clauses, or a complementizer that introduces a subordinate clause (e.g. *come* = as; *che* = that) whereby it can move to an OP position in the matrix clause (cf. Poletto 2005 for details). Poletto (2005) analyzes *sì* as an expletive only when it is sentence-initial, so to speak, occupying Spec,FocusP. The data above (Graph 4.) show the complementary distribution of SF with *sì* in Spec,FocusP. Since SF is also sentence initial and followed by a verb (but not by a complementizer, as is instead possible for *sì*), the correlation we are interested in concerns *sì* in main clauses (followed by a verb), on the one hand, and SF+V, which is possible both in main and embedded contexts, on the other.

Because Old Italian main clauses are V2, and *sì* fills in the first position, the expectation is that the verb moves to the CP, resulting in second position and linearly adjacent to *sì*. Furthermore, the presence of subjects does not in principle interact negatively with the appearance of expletive *sì* in FocP, thus overt subjects are expected to appear in postverbal position, as in a non-subject initial V2 constructions. These expectations are borne out by facts: (146) below is one instance of the common order "*sì* – V2 – Subject":

(146) *E se la parola sarà in lamentare, sì farà il dicitore uno lamentare*

E if the word will.be.3s in weep(inf), SI will.make.3s the speaker one lament

come femina, e percoterassi il capo

like female, E will.beat.3s+REFL.cl the head

"If the speech will be a lament, the speaker will weep like a woman, and will beat his head"

[FR 72, 82.26]

If SF targeted the higher subject position (SubjP), which in (146) is occupied by the NP "il dicitore", we would not expect it to be in complementary distribution with "*sì*", as in

fact is, and it would be possible to have the order V – SF as well, on a par with the order V – Subject of (146). These expectations are disconfirmed by the fact that postverbal SF, as well as cooccurrence of *sì* and SF, is unattested (cf. Graph 4.). This is clearly shown by the pair in (147), where the SF candidate “bisogno” does not front when *sì* is merged, but otherwise it does (in fact the SF construction *bisogno fa* is quite common):

- (147) a. **sì** gli fa **bisogno** di sapere favellare  
 SI 3s.DAT.cl makes.3s need of know(inf) speak(inf)  
 “He needs to know how to speak”
- b. Perché la femina che corrompe il corpo suo di lussuria, **bisogno** fa \_\_ che  
 Because the female that corrupt the body her of lust, need makes.3s that  
 tema molte persone  
 fear.3s.SUBJ many people  
 “Since it is necessary that the woman who corrupts her own body with lust fears  
 many people” [FR, 1, 4.6, 12, 14.11]

This difference in the distribution (subordinate SF but not subordinate *sì*- V) indicates that the function of SF and expletive *sì* is not identical, although it partially overlaps. Specifically, SF is very frequent also in extraction contexts (e.g. in relative clauses), whereas *sì* is never found in Spec,FocusP below a (relative) complementizer in the three examined corpora. A clarification about this puzzle may come from an investigation on the respective functions: the similarity, whence the complementary distribution, of SF and *sì* may reside in their functioning like CP expletives. Their difference instead may be related to their feature specification: *sì* behaves like a modal operator (cf. Poletto 2005), whereas this is not necessarily so for SF (cf. the section on the typology of SF). I discuss in more detail the functions of SF below, but let me anticipate the proposal with a relevant remark. Subject extractions from subordinate clauses in Modern Italian are generally possible without triggering the so-called “that-trace” effect, because Italian has null pro as an available merger to fill in the problematic gap (cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007). By contrast, Old Italian has only partial pro-drop and, specifically, null pro is not available in subordinate clauses. The natural expectation is that “that-trace” effects may be triggered in subordinate contexts, which indeed are mostly likely to host SF. According to the proposal presented in the next chapter, one of the functions of SF is to “fill in the subject gap”. Following Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), SF is analyzed as a strategy of subject extraction, by valuing and checking the formal features on FinP. This is exactly what the presence of SF vs. the absence of *sì* in subordinate contexts tells: in main clauses both *sì* and SF are equivalent ways to solve a function with a pragmatic import; (see Chapter 3.); in subordinate clauses the function to be solved is different, if what is required is to make extraction possible. The alternation, then, is not between SF and *sì* (which cannot cover that function), but between SF and, say, null pro. Since null pro is not available in subordinate contexts (even though the pro-drop parameter is undergoing a change in Old Italian), SF is adopted as a winning strategy. Accordingly, the possible target positions of SF have SubjP as lower, not included bound and FocP as upperbound. A tentative set of possible target positions for SF is given in (148):

(148)  $\text{FocP} \geq \text{SF} > \text{SubjP}$

The data so far presented do not allow for a more precise definition of the target of SF. However, further speculations can be made upon the interpretation of the facts. This is the topic of next section.

### 2.3.5. Typologies of SF

One of the most striking aspects is the complementary distribution of SF with pronominal subjects in SubjP, which can be interpreted in two ways:

1. SF indeed targets Spec,SubjP. This hypothesis is *per se* very controversial, given the specific feature checking requirement of SubjP vs. the unspecific character of stylistically fronted material. The only way in which this hypothesis could be formulated is by assuming that SF moves only the phonological matrix of a feature to Spec,SubjP, similarly to what Holmberg (2000) proposes. According to Holmberg, the phonological features moved by SF are visible only at the PF interface, but SF is not a purely phonological phenomenon:

“In some sense SF, and more generally the EPP as construed in this paper, is a “phonological phenomenon”: there is a feature [P] in I which requires Move or Merge of a phonological feature matrix to Spec, IP, either SF or Merge of a pure expletive [...] Although the p-feature matrix moved by SF is not itself visible at LF, the spec-position created by SF is visible at LF” (Holmberg, 2000, p. 40).

2. SF can function as a strategy to satisfy the Subject Criterion, thus permitting the postposition or extraction of the subject.

Against hypothesis 1., the possibility for a past participle to front to Spec,SubjP is ruled out by the following facts:

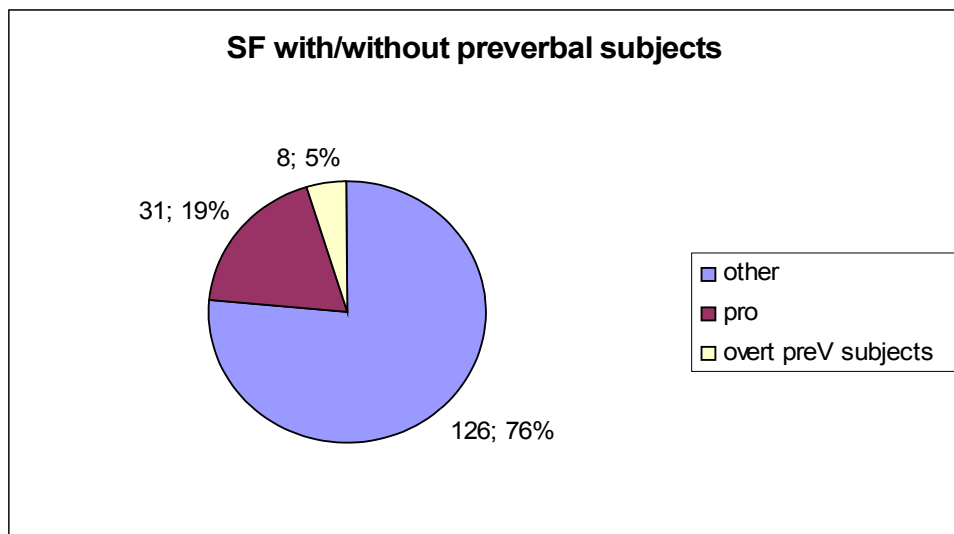
- a past participle, *qua* head, cannot target the specifier of SubjP, without incorporating into the head Subj. This type of head movement causes many problems, most importantly the crossing of the inflected verbal head, unless the equally problematic alternative of long head movement is adopted. Furthermore, movement to Spec,SubjP is not possible for the following reason.

- a past participle is not properly specified for valuing and checking specific “subject-of-predication” features on SubjP. The alternative possibility proposed by Holmberg (2000) is not very appealing as for explanatory adequacy.

I reject hypothesis 1. for the reasons provided above and in the previous section, and adopt hypothesis 2. for two further, very basic reasons that differentiate it from hypothesis 1. First, the complementary distribution of subjects in SubjP and SF does not entail that SF occupies that position. Secondly, I avoid postulation of a generic, phonologic feature and refuse to associate it with SubjP which is commonly understood as a criterial position where the specific subject-of-predication feature is checked.

The complementary distribution of SF and overt subjects in general is confirmed by further data. In addition to the cooccurrence of SF with subject pronouns and clitics, the presence of *any* overt preverbal subject in clauses with SF was considered. For comparison, occurrences of SF with pro subjects or with other preverbal material (e.g. non-subject topics; adverbs and adverbial clauses) were counted. The results are given in Graph 5. below:

Graph 5.



The label “other” includes the non-subject preverbal material preceding stylistically fronted items which are always left-adjacent to the verb (or to the cl-V complex). Notice that SF with null *pro* subjects covers the 19% of total occurrences, whereas SF with preverbal subjects is only the 5%, with 8 occurrences, which are likely to be analysed as dislocated topics in CP (as proposed for (122)-(127) above, cf. pp. 79 and ff.).

In order to understand and characterize the function of SF, the contexts where SF is licensed were considered. Specifically, a root/embedded distinction was operated, on the basis of which clauses typically allow V2 vs. which ones do not. SF is possible both in V2 (cf. (149)) and in non-V2<sup>55</sup> (cf. (150)) contexts:

- (149) a. **Mistieri** fa d’amare li amici provati e li no amati provare  
 Need does to love(inf) the friends and the not loved prove(inf)  
 “To love friends and to prove the non-loved ones is necessary” [FF, XII, 10]
- b. **Mangiar** conviene all’uomo acciò che viva  
 Eat(inf) is.convenient.3s to.the man in.order.to that live3s(subj)  
 “It is men’s convenience to eat in order for them to live” [FR, 26, 3]
- c. Messere, io sono d’Italia, e **mercantante** *pro* sono molto ricco  
 Sir I am of Italy and merchant *pro* am very rich  
 “Sir, I am from Italy, and I am a very rich merchant” [N, 8, 26-7]
- (150) a. e quisto volendo provare quello che **odito** *pro* avia legere  
 and this willing try.INF what that heard *pro* had3s read.INF  
 “and this one being willing to try what he had heard reading” [FF, XXVIII-Rg, 9]

<sup>55</sup> V2 and non-V2 are terms used to refer to contexts where the verb is expected to front/not to front to the CP; e.g. in main vs. embedded clauses. Some embedded clauses turn out to be proper root (V2) contexts as well. This topic is discussed later in the section.

- b. almen coloro che **così buona** non l'anno  
 at least who that so good not 3s.ACC.cl have.3p  
 "At least those who don't have it so good"

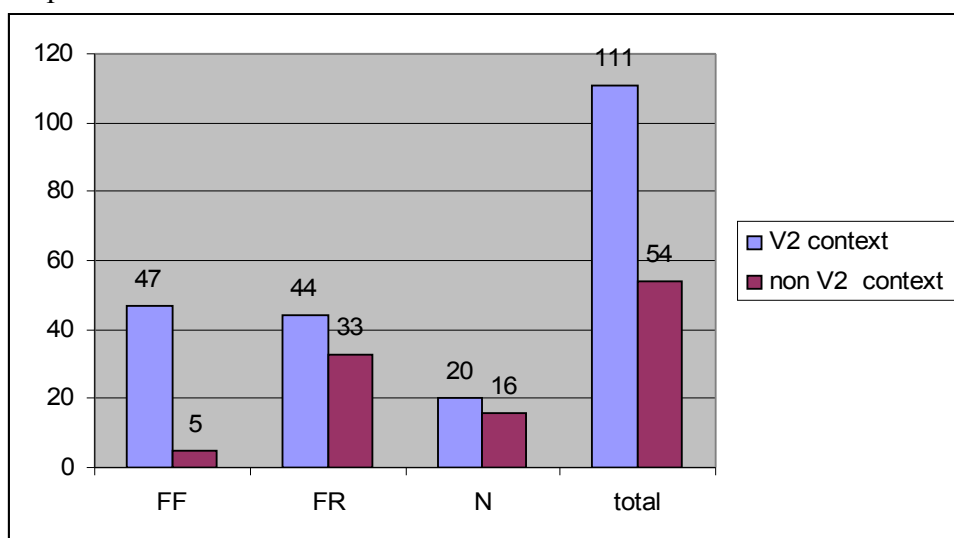
[FR, 82, 14]

- c. Que' domandò chi **lle femine** fossero  
 That asked who the female were  
 "That one asked who were the women"

[N, 14, P, S, 14]

The presence of SF in V2 vs. non-V2 contexts is shown below in Graph 6.:

Graph 6. Occurrences of SF in V2/non-V2 contexts



Graph 6. shows the distribution of SF in V2 and non-V2 contexts in the three corpora and altogether. It seems that SF is much more frequent in contexts normally allowing V2 (111 occurrences), rather than in non-V2 contexts (54)<sup>56</sup>. However, this general result needs further refinements by looking at the type of fronted material in the two contexts. The specific results of this further analysis for each corpus are shown in Tables 9.1. and 9.2 and the overall results are summed up in Graph 7.

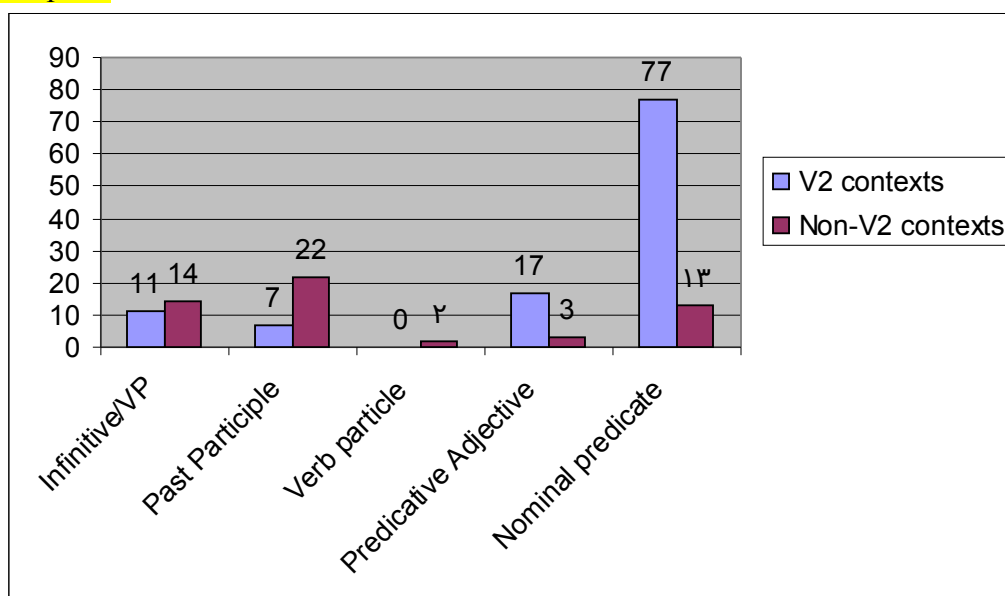
<sup>56</sup> The FF results pattern in a strikingly different way in comparison to the FR and N data. It seems that the FF corpus adopts another system, and indeed I have found many other syntactic differences from the FR and N corpora. To mention one, the high presence of extraposed relatives in the FF corpus. Perhaps the difference is related to the style, enriched with many latinisms not only in the lexicon, but perhaps also in the prose itself. Most cases of SF in the FF corpus concern copular constructions (a kind of SF which is still possible in Modern Italian formal/written speech, albeit limited to certain predicates).

Table 9.1.

	V2 contexts					
	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
FF	1	1	0	2	44	47
FR	8	2	0	12	22	44
N	2	4	0	3	11	20
total	11	7	0	17	77	111

Table 9.2.

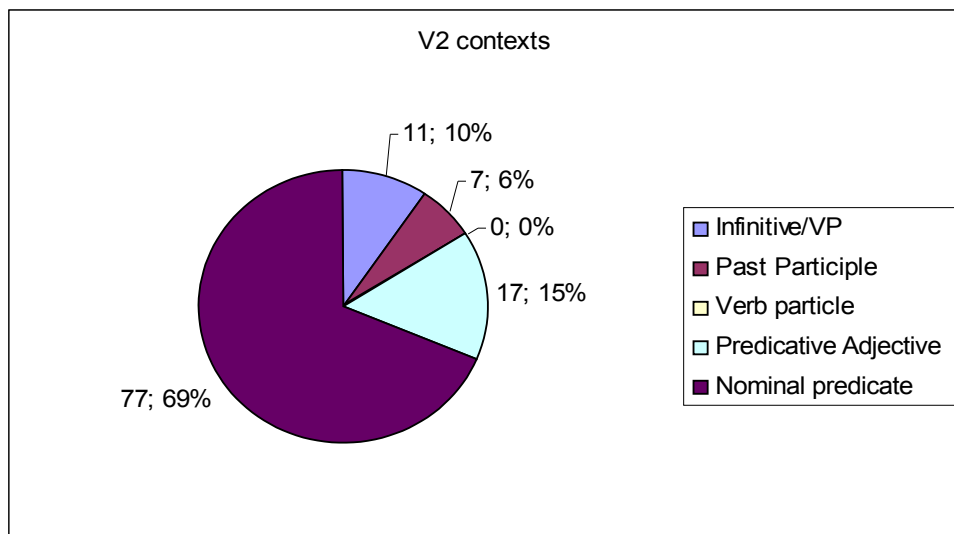
	Non-V2 contexts					
	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate	total
FF	0	3	0	1	1	5
FR	11	11	1	2	8	33
N	3	8	1	0	4	16
total	14	22	2	3	13	54

Graph 7.<sup>57</sup>

As Graph 7. indicates, the type of SF most commonly found in V2 contexts is fronting of nominal predicates, whereas fronting of other categories is less common. The percentage of fronted categories in V2 contexts is given in Graph 8. below:

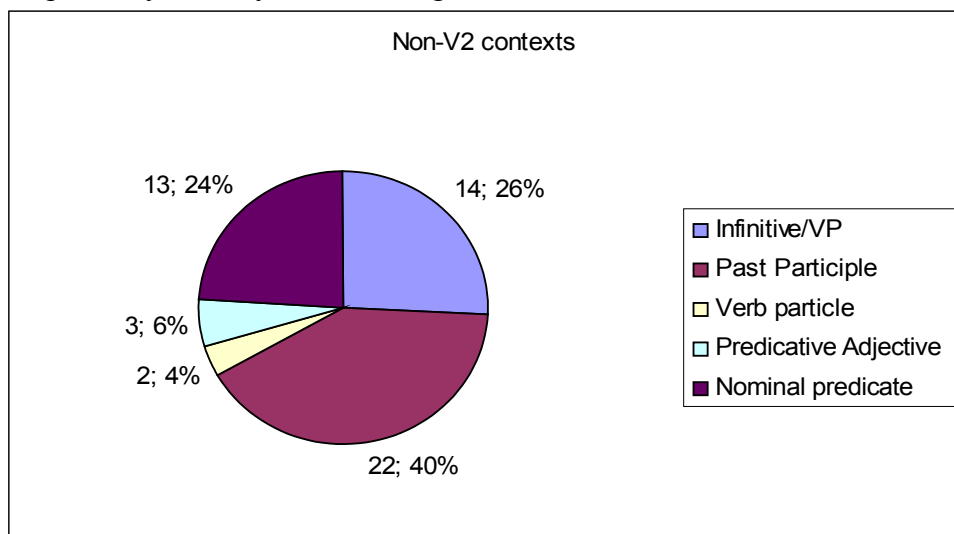
<sup>57</sup> As mentioned above, (cf. also fn. 37), phrasal verbs are virtually absent from Standard Italian, which explains the extremely low number of fronted verbal particles. Facts regarding particle fronting in Old Italian are then irrelevant.

Graph 8. Stylistically fronted categories in V2 contexts



Among all the categories considered in the analysis of SF, nominal predicates constitute the 69% of frontings in V2 contexts. By contrast, the choice of frontable items in non-V2 contexts is more heterogeneous among the candidate categories, as shown in Graph 9. below:

Graph 9. Stylistically fronted categories in non-V2 contexts



There is a good amount of nominal predicate SF also in non-V2 contexts (24%) indicating that this type of fronting is a common option for Old Italian copular constructions. Nonetheless, the highest percentage of SF in non-V2 contexts is that of participle fronting (40%), followed by infinitive or VP fronting (26%). If we add up the values of these two categories we will obtain a 66% of the total, which is fairly close to the 69% of nominal predicate fronting found in V2 contexts.



Since nominal predicate SF is found in non-V2 contexts as well, part of the nominal predicate SF may depend on the V2 requirement itself in V2 contexts, alternatively satisfied by a preverbal topic or focus (e.g. in XP – V – Subject (main) clauses). Therefore, we may conclude that the amount of nominal predicate SF independent of the V2 requirement in main clauses is more or less the same as for embedded clauses. In other terms, more or less half of the 77 occurrences (69%) of nominal predicate SF of the V2 contexts (Graph 8.) would be due to the V2 requirement, whereas half of them would be independent of the latter and be triggered also in non-V2 contexts, not distancing much the 24% of nominal predicate fronting in non-V2 contexts of Graph 9.

## 2.4. SF in non-V2 contexts: different clause-types

The data reported in Graph 9. were further refined by distinguishing the embedded clause-type of non-V2 contexts in which SF occurs. The overall results for the three analyzed corpora are reported in Table 10. below.

Table 10.

FF/FR/N	Infinitive/VP	Past Participle	Verb particle	Predicative Adjective	Nominal predicate
<b>non-bridge complement</b>	2	5	0	0	1
<b>relative clause</b>	5	12	2	2	5
<b>wh- clause</b>	1	0	0	0	1
<b>if-clause</b>	3	1	0	0	1
<b>adverbial clause</b>	1	3	0	1	3
<b><i>ché/perché</i> clause</b>	1	1	0	0	2

With regard to the way in which clause-types have been distinguished, some remarks are in order.

### 2.4.1. Non-bridge complements

The category “non-bridge complement” is an approximate expression to indicate the complements of predicates that usually do not permit embedded V2 in Germanic languages (cf. Vikner 1995). By analogy, this class includes all the complement clauses where V2 is not expected and usually not attested. As well as other declarative, these clauses are generally introduced by the complementizer *che* in Old Italian, see for instance (151) below, where the complement clause is embedded under the imperative form of “to write”:

- (151) “Iscrivete” disse il maestro “che **provato** è...”  
 write.2p.Imper. said the teacher that is  
 “Write down” said the teacher “that it is ...” [N, XXXV, 11]

### 2.4.2. Relative clauses

In Old Italian as well as in Old Scandinavian and Modern Icelandic, relative clauses constitute the most favorable environment for SF. This is also evident from the data

presented in Table 10. above, reporting that the total occurrences of SF in relative clauses are 26, of which 17 are frontings of either an infinitive or a VP, or, more frequently, a past participle. Notice that the only two cases of verb particle SF found in the three corpora occur in relative clauses. Typically, relative clauses are considered non-V2 contexts, on a par with other extraction contexts. What makes them an ideal environment for SF is

- (i) the fact that subjects may be extracted by relativization,
- (ii) their frequency, in comparison to other less frequent instances of subject extractions in written corpora (e.g. subject focalization or indirect questions on the subject).

In (152) and (153) below some cases of SF in relative clauses are shown. Notice that SF typically occurs in subject relatives, where the subject gap consists of the trace of the relativized subject, cf. (152), or in a non-subject relative with a null *pro* subject, as in (153). Given the main-embedded asymmetry regarding the distribution of *pro*-drop in Old Italian, null *pro* subjects are not expected in a subordinate clause where V-to-C does not take place, i.e. in relative clauses. However, when SF occurs in a non-subject relative, the subject is dropped, as the contrast between (153) and (154) shows:

(152)a. ne per cosa [che **fatta** li fosse]  
 not for thing that made 3sCL.DAT were  
 “For anything that was made to him” [FF, XXVIII-Ri, 44]

b. acciò che coloro [che **apparare** le volessono]  
 so that that those that learn.INF 3pCL.ACC want.3p.Subj  
 “So that those who wanted to learn them” [FR, 82, 116]

c. Per una grande pioggia che **venuta** era  
 For a big rain that come was  
 “Because of a lot of rain that had come” [N, 31, 11]

(153) a. e quisto volendo provare quello che **odito** *pro* avia legere  
 and this willing try.INF what that heard *pro* had3s read.INF  
 “and this one being willing to try what he had heard reading” [FF, XXVIII-Rg, 9]

b. quello che **scritto** *pro* ànno [...] quello che **udito** *pro* ànno  
 which that written *pro* have3p which that heard *pro* have3p  
 what they have written [...] what they have heard [FR, 82, 22-23]

c....e *pro* mostrò loro l’asempro che **detto** *pro* avea  
 and *pro* showed them the example that told *pro* had  
 “and showed them the example that he had talked about” [N, LXXXIII, 33]

- (154) a. L'avarizia del vecchio quello ch'*ella* voglia  
 The strictness(f.) of the elder what that she wants(subj)  
 io non l'entendo  
 I noy 3s.ACC.cl understand  
 "I don't understand the desire behind elderly people's strictness" [FF, 163, 3]
- b. Di cu' *ella* à ddunque paura, sì l'avelena se puote  
 of whom she has hence fear, SI 3s.ACC.cl poisons if can.3s  
 "She poisons, if she can, those she fears" [FR, 12, 14-17]
- c. fu fatto ciò ch'*ella* avea detto della navicella  
 was done what that she had said of.the little.ship  
 "Of the little ship it was done what she had ordered" [N, 82, 318, 2]

As the contrast between the sentences in (152) and (153) shows, SF is possible also in non-subject relative clauses, provided that the subject is dropped. On the contrary, if the non-subject relative has a preverbal overt subject, no SF occurs, even though a potential candidate to SF is present, as the underlined past participle in (154)c. A first hypothesis describing the alternation between (153)c. and (154)c. is that SF is a kind of last resort strategy, similar to English DO-support (cf. also Holmberg 2000). An alternative hypothesis is that the choice for SF, rather than for merger of an overt subject pronoun, is pragmatically driven. Namely, SF has some discourse-related properties which non-stressed subject pronouns don't have. This second alternative is similar to what has been proposed for Old Romance SF by Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) and Fischer (to app. a; b.). Following this proposal, a viable option seems that SF originated as a pragmatically driven phenomenon *and* as a strategy to enable subject extraction, but in its diachronic evolution it maintained only the latter syntactic property, whereas it lost the capacity to contribute to the information structure in many cases. Of course, this idea is a mere speculation as long as the discussion concerns the diachrony of SF in Italian, and more generally in Romance, because these languages have lost productive SF of the kind attested in Modern Icelandic. By contrast, the hypothesis on the evolution of SF can be tested in Scandinavian. In Icelandic, SF is still productive, and is attested in the older varieties of Scandinavian as well. Such a comparison is proposed in Chapter 3. and 4.

### 2.4.3. Embedded Wh-clauses

SF is found in indirect yes/no questions as well as in indirect Wh- questions, the latter being uncontroversially and crosslinguistically (both in Germanic<sup>58</sup>, and in Romance) a non-V-to-C context. The example below gives an instance of SF of a nominal predicate of a copular construction in an indirect subject Wh- question.

- (155) Que' domandò chi **lle femine** fossero  
 That asked who the female were  
 "That one asked who were the women" [N, 14, P, S, 14]

<sup>58</sup> An exception to this generalization is found in Modern Spoken Afrikaans, where V2 is indeed possible in indirect Wh-questions; see Biberauer (2003) for an account of the facts.

The other instance of embedded Wh- clause reported in Table 11., where SF takes place, consists of a Wh- complement where an infinitive verb has undergone SF, and is illustrated in (156) below.

- (156) ...e in che modo **trovare** si debbiano  
 and in what way find.INF IMP must3p  
 “and in which way one must find them” [FR, 82, 21]

Similarly, Icelandic allows for SF in Wh- indirect clauses with a subject gap, whereas topicalization is typically ruled out in the same context. Compare (157)b. and (158) below, given that (157)a. is the “default” choice where nothing is fronted.

- (157)a. Ég spurði [hvað \_\_ var sagt um hann] (Icelandic)  
 I asked what was said about him  
 b. Ég spurði [hvað **sagt** var \_\_ um hann]  
 I asked what said was about him  
 “I asked what was said about him”

- (158) \*Þeir spurðu [hvern **í bæinn** hefði rútan flutt \_\_ klukkan sjö]  
 They asked who.ACC to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven  
 “They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o’clock”  
 [Thránsson 2007, 7.27]

Expletive/quasi-argumental *það* insertion is not licensed whenever SF is, although it is true viceversa, i.e. SF can take place whenever *það* insertion is an option (see Rögnvaldsson 1984, and Chapter 4. of the present work). With regard to subordinate Wh- clauses, *það* has a distribution more similar to that of topics than to SF. On the one hand, *það*-insertion cannot apply in Wh- extractions of the subject, as shown in (159) below, whereas the same sentences would allow SF, as shown in (160).

- (159)a. \*Hann spurði [hver *það* hefði verið í eldhúsinu]  
 He asked who there had been in kitchen.the  
 “He asked who had been in the kitchen”  
 b. \*Hver heldur þú [*að* *það* hafi verið í eldhúsinu?]  
 Who think you that there has been in kitchen.the  
 “Who do you think has been in the kitchen?”  
 (160)a. Hann spurði [hver **verið** hefði \_\_ í eldhúsinu]  
 He asked who been had in kitchen.the  
 “He asked who had been in the kitchen”  
 b. Hver heldur þú [*að* **verið** hafi \_\_ í eldhúsinu?]  
 Who think you that been has in kitchen.the  
 “Who do you think has been in the kitchen?” [Thránsson 2007, 354, 7.32-33]

On the other hand, there seems to be an asymmetry with respect to the possibility of *það*-insertion, regarding non-subject indirect Wh- questions as well as yes/no questions, which license either SF or *það* insertion, as shown in (161).

- (161)a. Veistu [hvenær *það* fer að skyggja]?  
 Know.you when it begins to darken  
 “Do you know when it begins to darken?”
- b. Ég spurði [hvort *það* hefðu margir komið í veisluna]  
 I asked whether there had many come to party.the  
 “I asked whether many people had come to the party”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 354, 7.34]

Actually, the cases in (161) above cannot be explained with the generalization that “overt expletive is fine in wh- questions with a wh- complementizer, that is, when no NP has been extracted” (Thráinsson 2007, p. 354). In fact, cases of *það* insertion seem possible even in Wh-extraction contexts, as reported by Rögnvaldsson (1984), as long as the extracted element is not the subject:

- (162)a. Hvenær heldur þú [að *það* geti allir keypt sér íbúð \_\_\_\_]?  
 When think you that there can everyone uy himself flat  
 “When do you think that everyone can buy himself a flat?”
- b. Hvaða vintegund heldur þú [að *það* sé drikkið mest af \_\_\_\_ á Íslandi]?  
 Which wine.sort think you that there is drunk most of in Iceland  
 “Which sort of wine do you think is most drunk in Iceland?”  
 [Rögnvaldsson 1984, 16, 17]

The grammaticality of (162)a. as well as of (162)b. tells that the explanation for this extraction possibilities does not necessarily rely on a more complex feature specification of the extracted Wh- item (e.g. *hvaða vintegund* vs *hvenær*) in line with Starke’s (2001) proposal, but rather on a subject/non-subject asymmetry. Furthermore, notice that topicalization in yes/no questions is also marginally possible, according to Thráinsson (2007)<sup>59</sup>:

- (163) ?þeir spurðu [hvort í bæinn hefði rútan komið \_\_\_\_ klukkan sjö]  
 they asked whether to town.the had bus.the come clock seven  
 “They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o’clock”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 352, 7.27]

The facts in (163) may indicate that yes/no questions have a different structure from Wh- questions. The Icelandic facts presented in this section are limited to comparative purposes: these issues will be further addressed in chapter 4.

<sup>59</sup>Thráinsson (p.c.) remarks that topicalization is marginally accepted in indirect questions introduced only by a Wh- complementizer like *hvort* (=whether, namely polar questions), but not with Wh- pronouns.

#### 2.4.4. If-clauses

If-clauses are introduced by *se* in Italian, and are generally the antecedent of a hypothetical. On the basis of an analogy with Germanic V2 languages, if-clauses have been classified as “non-V2 contexts”, supposing that the syntactic derivation of the antecedent would ban topicalizations. This is clearly visible in Icelandic, where an if-clause cannot host a preverbal topic, as in (164)a. but only a subject, as in (164)b.

- (164)a. ?\*Fílar verða hræddir [ef **mýsnar** setur einhver í vatnsdallin] (Icelandic)  
Elephants become scared if mice.the puts someone in water-bowl.the  
b. Fílar verða hræddir [ef *það* setur einhver mýs í vatnsdallin]  
Elephants become scared if you put mice in water-bowl.the  
“Elephants are scared if someone puts the mice in the water bowl”  
[Thráinsson 2007, 328, 6.41]

Given that SF is licensed at least in all those contexts allowing for expletive/quasi-argumental *það*-insertion (see Rögnvaldsson 1984 and previous section), conditional clauses, as the one illustrated in (164)b. above, would allow for SF although not for topicalization.

Under the assumption that Old Italian and Icelandic SF are basically the same phenomenon, the expectation is that SF obtains in Old Italian if-clauses, which is borne out by facts, as illustrated in Table 11. above and in the following examples:

- (165) a. Se **fare** si puote (Old Italian)  
If do.INF IMP can3s.  
“If one can do it” [FR, 61, 11]  
b. E se **fare proemio** non vuole  
and if do.INF preamble not wants  
“And if he doesn’t want to make a preamble” [FR, 54, 3]

Interestingly, (165)b. shows that in Old Italian if-clauses it is possible to front a full VP without need to evacuate it first in order to obtain a remnant, as is the case for Icelandic according to the analysis proposed in the next chapter. These facts raise the question of how to account for the possibility of VP-fronting in Old Italian vs. its impossibility in Icelandic in what is considered a non-V2 context, i.e. if-clauses. Assuming that Italian if-clauses are subject to the same restrictions on topicalization that apply to Icelandic (cf. (164)a.), Anna Cardinaletti suggests (p.c.) that a sentence like (165)b. indicates that the VP *fare proemio*, must target a lower position than that of topics, thus it would not be possible to consider VP frontings as, say, cases of topicalization rather than SF, at least in contexts like that of (165)b.

As is known from Haegeman’s (to app.) account of root phenomena in adverbial clauses, if-clauses are of different types. Haegeman’s analysis concerns English, and can be easily extended to Scandinavian languages under the condition that topicalizations appear in a V2 configuration. Among the conditional clauses, only the so-called “central conditionals” do not permit V2 topicalizations, because they are derived by movement of a subordinating operator which would trigger minimality effects with a preverbal

topic. The intervention effects between topics and (conditional) operators reveal that topicalization involves operator movement in Germanic languages, as proposed also by Eythórsson (1996). A second type of if-clauses are the so-called “peripheral conditionals” which are interpreted as “echoic”, in the sense that they can “echo Q-propositions about a nonfactual world..” (Declerck and Reed 2001:83). The latter type of if-clauses receives a root interpretation, which means that they are not derived by operator movement and not syntactically subordinate to the matrix. Topicalization is possible, in this type of if-clauses, as is shown in the English examples reported below:

- (166) a. \*If water you heat up to 100° C, it will boil.  
 b. If some precautions they have indeed taken, many other possible measures they have continued to neglect [Ex. b. is from Haegeman (to app.), 22: (44)]

With regard to the example in (165)b. above, Haegeman (p.c.) suggests that it could as well be interpreted as a case of topicalization, provided that its context of utterance receives an echoic interpretation. Of course such a possibility is ruled out in case (165)b. is an instance of “central conditional”.

Indeed, the context of (165)b. indicates that this if-clause is to be interpreted as peripheral: what looks like a consequent is instead an exhortation, thus it does not logically follow from any premise stated in the antecedent. Example (167) below shows the full sentence, which is clearly not a real conditional in the sense that the antecedent is not causally subordinate to the consequent, but rather interpreted as a conjoined:

- (167) E se **fare proemio** non vuole, sì cominci il detto suo  
 E if make preamble not want.3s SI begin.SUBJ the said his  
 da alcuno bello essempla  
 from any nice example  
 “If he doesn’t want to make a preamble, he should start his speech from some good example”

Nonetheless, the syntactic distinction between central and peripheral if-clauses doesn’t seem so sharp in Romance. Perhaps such difficulty is related to the different nature of topicalizations in Romance. Haegeman (2004) has already pointed out the differences between English topicalizations and Romance clitic left dislocations (CLLD), the latter being possible in a wider range of syntactic contexts. It seems plausible that Romance topicalizations in general cannot be used to detect with certainty whether a structure is derived via operator movement, because minimality effects between topics and operators are not necessarily triggered.

Such difference from the Germanic system may also depend on the complementation structure of (Old) Italian if-clauses. First of all, it is worth observing that the lexical items introducing if-clauses in the two language groups may have different properties. Specifically, Old and Modern Italian if-clauses are introduced by the complementizer *se*, which is also used for indirect yes/no questions (Italian lacks a Wh- word for introducing yes/no questions, like *whether*). Recall that Icelandic yes/no questions marginally allow topicalization (see (163) above): if *se* is the only form introducing indirect yes/no questions and topicalization is possible in these clauses as it is in

Icelandic *hvort*-clauses, then we may expect that *se* allows topicalization regardless of the clause- type it introduces. This expectation is indeed borne out by facts. Compare first the Icelandic indirect yes/no question with a preverbal topic given in (163) above (and repeated as (168)a.), with an Italian equivalent clause in (168)b., and with (168)c., where more phrases are fronted:

- (168) a. ?þeir spurðu [*hvort í bæinn* hefði rútan komið \_\_\_\_ klukkan sjö] (Icelandic)  
 they asked whether to town.the had bus.the come clock seven  
 “They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o’clock”
- b. chiesero se **in città** fosse arrivato l’autobus (Italian)  
 asked.3p if in town were(subj) arrived the bus at.the seven  
 “They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o’clock”
- c. chiesero se **in città, alle sette**, fosse arrivato l’autobus  
 asked.3p if in town at.the seven were(subj) arrived the bus  
 “They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o’clock”

Doing away with the differences related to the Italian free inversion of the subject as well as to the exact interpretation of fronted constituent, the relevant facts in (168) concern the possibility to have not only SF but also topicalization in indirect yes/no questions in Italian. If-clauses of various types introduced by *se* are also found in Old Italian, as shown in (169) below, where topicalization of more items obtains. The fact that the subject (in italics) precedes the past participle indicates that no free inversion takes place and the if-clause has a V2 structure:

- (169) Veggiamo [*se per povertade overo avarizia* (Old Italian)  
 See.1p if for poverty or greed  
**questo maleficio** avesse *questi* commesso].  
 this misdeed had.3s(subj) this.one committed  
 “Let us see whether he committed this misdeed because of poverty or greed”  
 [FR, 35, 33, 15]

One viable hypothesis is that fronting of a full VP, consisting of more lexical items, is made possible by different structural properties of the Old Italian left periphery. Specifically, the possibility of VP fronting follows from a “relaxed V2”, in contrast to the stricter character of Scandinavian V2. How can we reconcile this hypothesis with the assumption that conditional if-clauses are non-V2 contexts?

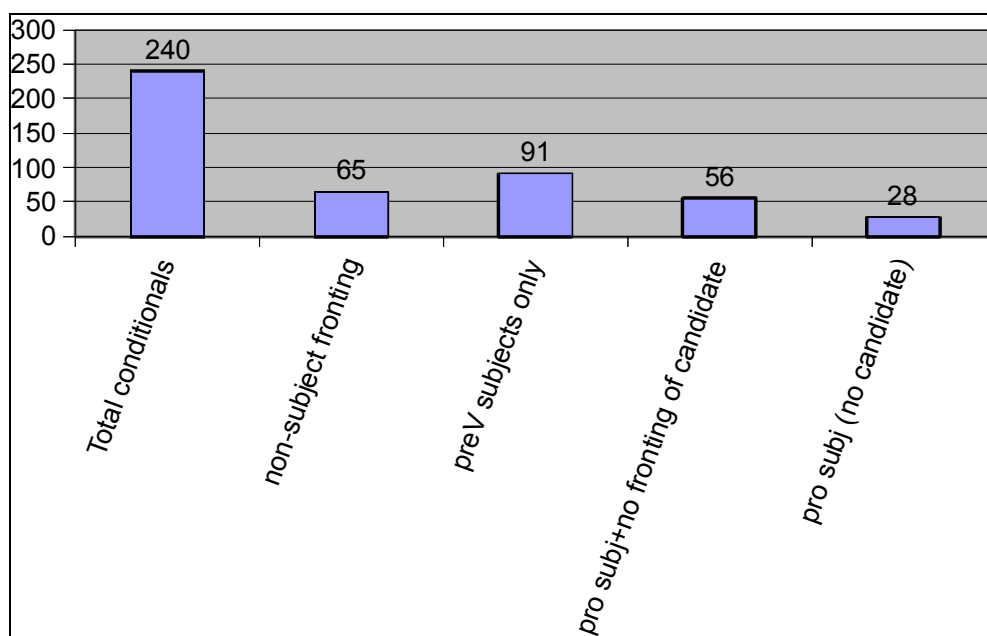
A closer look to this clause type reveals that not only SF but also topicalization is possible in (Old) Italian if-clauses, hence we must drop the assumption that Old Italian conditional if-clauses are non-V2 contexts. Evidence in support of this view comes from the fact that topicalizations of the type illustrated in (169) above are attested in the contexts that Haegeman would identify as peripheral conditionals, as well as in the central type of conditionals, as illustrated below.



(170) [Se **di costui, messer la podestà**, piglierete troppo aspra vendetta,]  
 If of this.one sir the lord will.take.2p too harsh revenge  
 non solamente costui ma molti altri per la vostra sentenzaia saranno puniti  
 not only this.one but many others for the your verdict will.be.3p punished  
 “If you take a too harsh revenge on him, my lord, not only him but many others  
 will be punished” [FR, 36, 8-9]

All cases of conditionals were considered in the three corpora as typical instances of if-clauses (or rather *se*-clauses)<sup>60</sup>. Each conditional was classified either as central or as peripheral, according to its sentential form and interpretation. Then presence or absence of non-subject fronting was observed with respect to the availability of potential frontable candidates. The overall results are shown in Graph 10. below:

Graph 10. Conditional clauses in FF; FR and N corpora



The first column of Graph 10. indicates the total number of counted conditional clauses. The second column indicates the number of conditionals where a non-subject has been fronted to the first position, including also V2 topicalizations, whereas the third column refers to conditionals where the only preverbal element in the if-clause is the subject. It is worth observing that very often if-clauses where some non-subject constituent has fronted have a null subject, as is also expected in cases where V-to-C licenses null *pro*. As a consequence, it is not easy to tell whether such instances are cases of V2 topicalization with a postverbal *pro* or can be considered cases of SF. This ambiguity problem does not have a real solution. Either a postulation restricting SF to specific syntactic items (cf. the categories discussed in chapter 1.) is made, or the definitions of SF and V2 topicalization do, to some extent, overlap. Finally the fourth and the last columns indicate the number of conditionals where the subject is a null *pro* but no

<sup>60</sup>All the facts are available in the Appendix.

fronting takes place respectively in presence or absence of a potential candidate. Some instances of each of the four types whose results are listed in column 2-5 in Graph 10. are given below:

Non-subject fronting

- (171) niuno la direbbe bene [se, **quando la dice, bene a memoria**  
 noone 3sACC.cl say.COND well if when 3sACC.cl says well to memory  
 non l'avesse]  
 not 3sACC.cl had. COND  
 "Nobody would say it properly if he didn't have it well in mind when he tells it"  
 [FR, 82, 6]

Preverbal subject only

- (172)a. udio leggere che neuna femina era casta, [s' *ella* era richiesta  
 heard read.INF that no female was chaste if she was requested  
 e tutte erano senza vergona]  
 and all were without shame  
 "He heard that no woman was chaste if she were desired and (that) all women  
 were shameless" [FF, XXVIII, 4-5]
- b. [se *la vecchiezza* n'ha colpa], io m'accordo di voler morire giovane  
 if old age PART.cl has guilt I 1s.REFL.cl agree of want.INF die.INF young  
 "If it is due to old age, I agree to be willing of dieing young" [N, LXVIII, 7-8]

Null pro subjects without fronting of potential candidate (underlined)

- (173) [se l'usa a certe stagioni e adattalo bene al fatto che dice],  
 if 3sACC.cl to some seasons and adapt+3sACC.cl well to.the fact that say3s  
 rende il detto suo molto piacente  
 makes the said his very pleasant  
 "If he uses it in specific occasions and well adapt to fact that he discusses, he will  
 make his speech very pleasant" [FR, 13, 24]

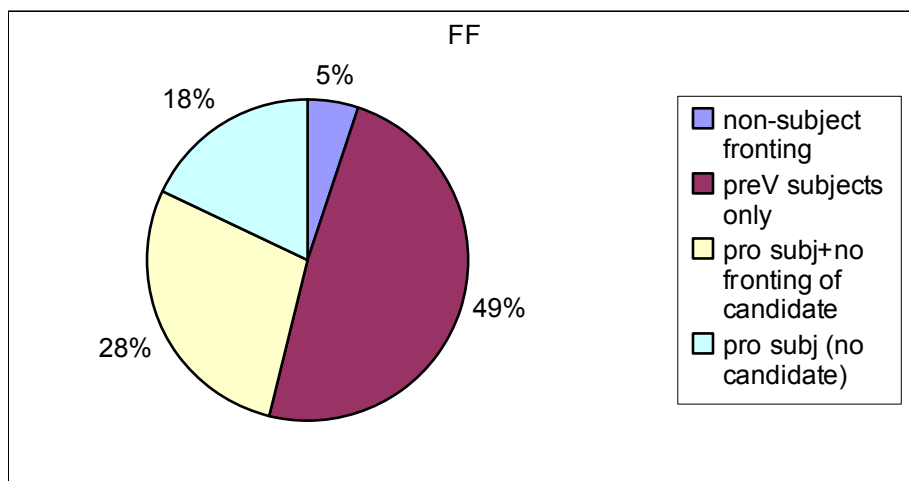
Null pro subjects without fronting (and no candidate)

- (174) [se si vendesse], non si troverebbe il comperatore  
 if IMP sold.SUBJ, not IMP find.COND the buyer  
 "If it were on sale, no buyer would be found" [FF, XXIV, 214]

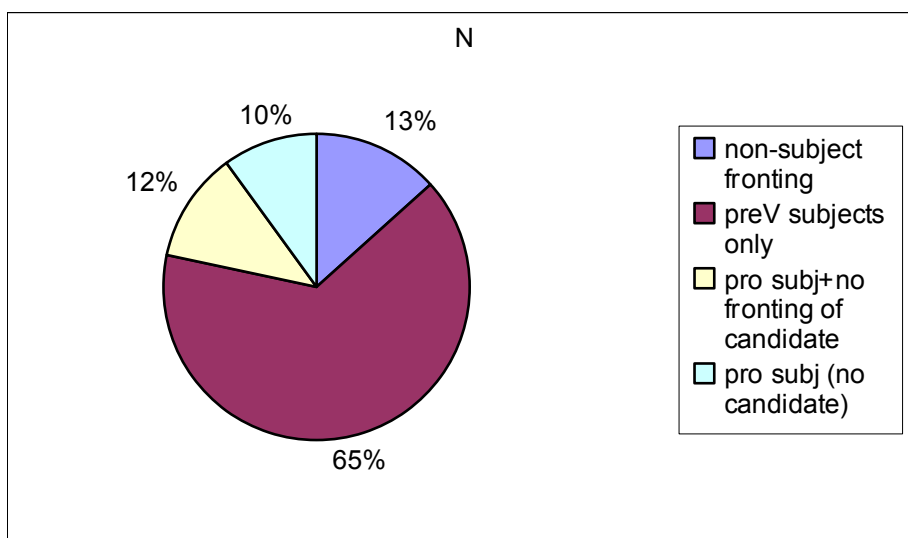
The facts illustrated in Graph 10. result from an uneven distribution of the parameters considered among the three corpora. From previous analyses regarding the characteristics of SF, it has emerged that the FF corpus has a rather different system in comparison to FR and N, and this divergence has been related to stylistic factors (such as Latinisms). With respect to the characteristics of conditionals, the number of non-subject frontings seems to depend again on stylistic and pragmatic factors, which is compatible with the proposal that Italian if-clauses do license V2-like topicalizations. Indeed the corpus where the higher number of frontings is found in conditional if-clauses is FR: a treatise of rhetorics which is very likely to instantiate the prescriptions it illustrates by means of its own stylistically elevated register. Compare the results of the

three corpora in Graphs 12., 13 and 14 below: there is a sharp distinction between FR and the other two corpora as for the number of non-subject frontings.

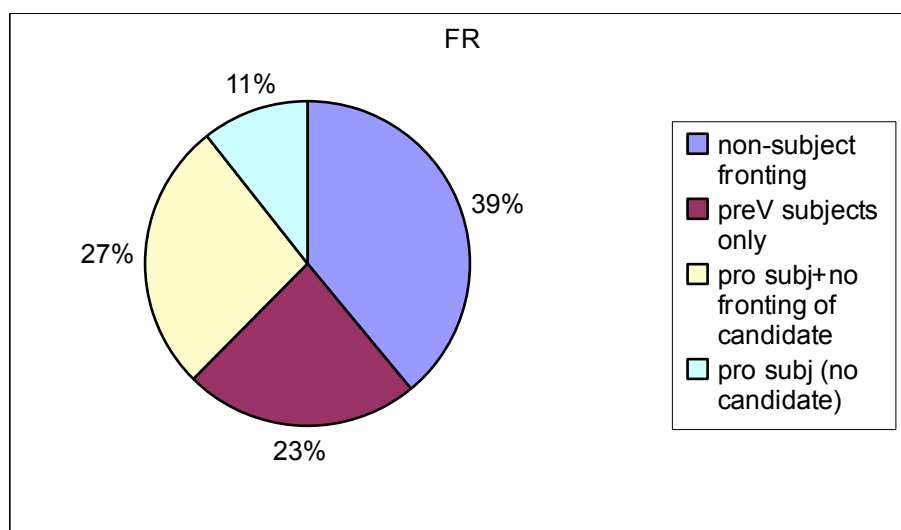
Graph 12. If-clauses in FF



Graph 13. If-clauses in N



Graph 14. If-clauses in FR



The main variation among the three corpora regards the percentage of non-subject frontings: 39% in FR, vs. 13% and 5% in N and FF respectively. As for overt preverbal subjects, we find a very low percentage in FR, 23%, if compared to that of FF, basically half of its total number of conditionals (49%). An even sharper contrast emerges if we compare FR to N, where preverbal overt subjects are the 65% of all conditionals. If we sum up the cases where no-fronting occurs and the subject is a null pro, we can see that non-subject frontings in FF and N are the less favored option, in contrast to the FR corpus, where the less favored environment is the one with overt preverbal subjects but no non-subject fronting.

In order to understand if such an uneven distribution of fronting in if-clauses depends on some specific syntactic restriction, the analysis was further refined on the basis of Haegeman's (to app.) distinction between central and peripheral conditionals. First, notice the different status of if-clauses in central and peripheral conditionals, whose examples are given in (175)a. and b. respectively:

- (175)a. si percuote l'organo e guastasi la voce [se, **anzi che s'ausi** *Central*  
 IMP smites the organ and damages.IMPcl the voice if instead that IMP uses  
**con voce consolata e piana**, *colui che favella* comincia di forza a favellare o a  
 gridare]  
 with voice comforting and flat who that speaks begins of strength to speak or to  
 shout  
 "The organ is smitten and the voice is damaged if the speaker starts talking  
 loudly or shouting instead of keeping a low and comforting voice [tone]"  
 [FR, 70, 3-4]

- b. onde perdonatemi [se **con voi** non posso ora più dimorare] *Peripheral*  
 whereby forgive.2p+1s.ACC.cl if with you not can1s now more dwell  
 "hence forgive me if I cannot dwell with you any longer now" [FR, 46, 37]

As shown in (175)a., a central conditional, where the if-clause expresses the conditions for the realization of the content conveyed in the matrix, allows for fronting of one or more constituents in Old Italian (*anzi che s'ausi con boce consolata e piana* is a quite heavy parenthetical). As mentioned above, the licensing of null *pro* in if-clauses where a constituent has fronted does not permit to determine whether the clause has a V2 structure of the type XP-V-S or is rather a case of SF. The crucial difference between these two possibilities concerns the target position of the fronted element. According to the present proposal, SF targets a lower position than that of V2-topics. The relaxed character of V2 in Old Italian is most probably related to the fact that not all topicalizations involve OP-movement. Thus the underdeterminacy due to the presence of null *pro* subjects can be solved with the assumption that frontings obtain in three basic, different forms in Old Italian:

- (176)1. SF: the fronted item moves through FinP. It may stop there or reach a higher position (i.e. ModP) provided that no-minimality effects with other fronted elements are triggered.
2. OP-topicalization: the fronted constituent moves by A'-movement and contains an OP connected to V-to-C (see Eythórsson (1996) for a diachronic account of V2 as V-to-C resulting from the movement of a topic with operator status in Germanic).
3. Dislocation: the fronted constituent is A'-moved to a high position in the CP field whereby it becomes discourse prominent. Crucially, this item does not contain an OP, thus no minimality effects with other fronted OP-like elements arise.

The type of fronting illustrated in (176)3. explains why dislocations in Old Italian are possible also in central conditionals, which, following Haegeman (to app.), are derived by OP movement and interpreted as factives (in a possible world). This possibility is not given in Icelandic, where topicalization is banned in factive contexts. The contrast is clearly visible in (177) below ((177)b. repeats (164)a. above):

(Old Italian)

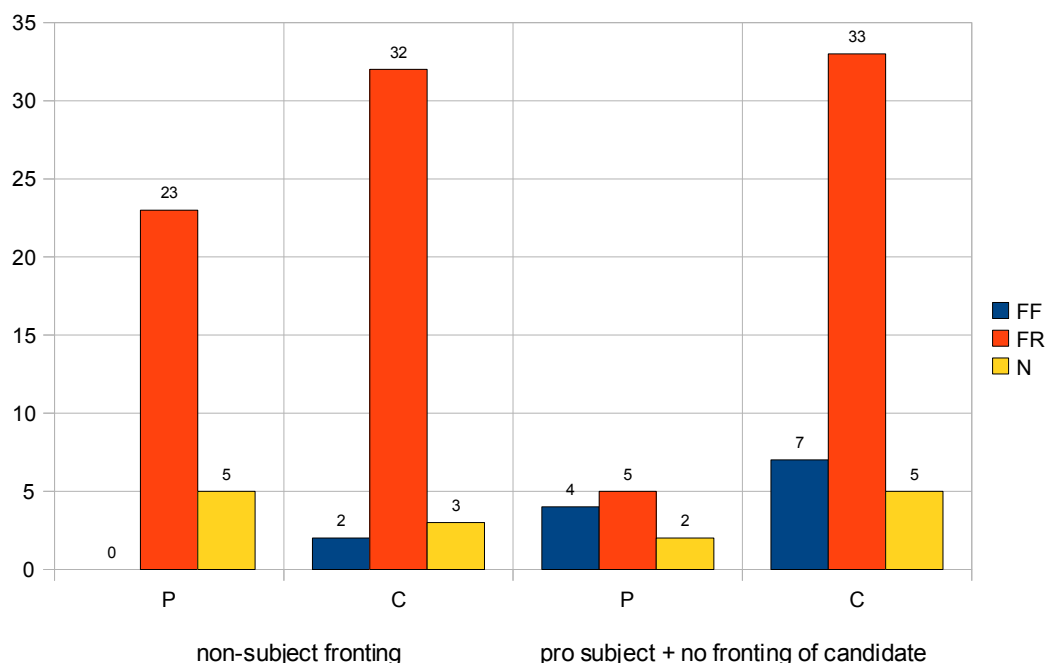
- (177)a. *la femina non vale neente, [se **di lei** non viene come di luccio passato]*  
 the female not be.worth.3s nothing, if from her not comes as of pike tainted  
 “Women are not valuable if they don’t smell like tainted pike”  
 [N, LXXX, 26-27]

- b. *?\*Fílar verða hræddir [ef **mýsnar** setur einhver í vatnsdallin]* (Icelandic)  
 Elephants become scared if mice.the puts someone in water-bowl.the  
 “Elephants are scared if someone puts the mice in the water bowl”

Given the interpretive differences between central and peripheral conditionals, the presence vs. absence of non-subject fronting was calculated in central (C) and peripheral (P) conditionals. Specifically, the number of peripheral and central if-clauses with non-subject frontings was counted and contrasted with the number of peripheral and central

if-clauses with a null subject where no fronting occurs, despite the presence of a potential candidate. The results are shown in Graph 15. below:

Graph 15. If-clause structures in Peripheral and Central conditionals



Graph 15. confirms that the presence of fronting in the FR corpus is considerably higher than that of the other two corpora. Nonetheless, the first two columns (labeled as clauses with non-subject fronting) tell that there isn't a preference for fronting non-subjects in peripheral (P) over central (C) conditionals, as one would expect in Germanic. Rather, non-subject frontings in the FR corpus are more frequent in central (32 occurrences) than in peripheral conditionals (23 occurrences). However, there seems to be a preference for avoiding fronting in clauses with a null pro-subject in central conditionals (altogether 45 clauses of this type, see the last column to the right in Graph 15) over peripheral conditionals (altogether 11 P-clauses where fronting does not take place, see the third column). The picture becomes clearer if we contrast the results of the N and FF corpora, leaving the FR corpus aside for the moment. The small numbers in Graph 15. do not allow to make any generalization on fronting in P-conditionals (5 cases in N but no occurrences in FF) rather than in C-conditionals (2 cases in FF; 3 cases in N). A slight difference concerns the clauses where no-fronting takes place despite all favorable conditions (null subjects, frontable candidates). C-conditional clauses with null subjects and no fronting are 7 in the FF corpus and 5 in N, whereas P-conditional clauses of this type are 4 in FF and 2 in N. This asymmetry between P- and C-conditional in non-fronting contexts is way more marked for the FR corpus, with 33 C-conditionals against 5 P-conditionals. In order to clear up what this lack of fronting consists of, some examples of the two conditional types are given in (178)-(179) below. The candidates to fronting in their base position are underlined.

#### Central conditionals with null subjects and no fronting

- (178)a. [Se farai bene], tu a te darai autorità di persona  
If make2s.FUT well you to you give2s.FUT authority of person  
“If you behave properly, you will give yourself dignity” [FF, VII, 42]
- b. Dilettevole cosa sarebbe amare, [se non avesse in sé cose amare]  
Pleasant thing would.be love.INF if not had.SUBJ in self things bitter  
“To love would be pleasant, if it didn’t have bitter things in itself” [FR, 8, 47]

#### Peripheral conditionals with null subjects and no fronting

- (179)a. Arrenditi, bacalare, se non se’ morto  
Surrender.IMP smart.ass if not are.2s dead  
“Surrender, smart ass, if you aren’t dead!” [FR, 47, 19]
- b. Dimmi, [se t’intendi della virtù delle pietre]:  
Tell.me if 2s.REFL.cl know of.the virtue of.the stones  
qual ti sembra di più ricca valuta?  
which 2s.DAT.cl seems of more rich value  
“Tell me, if you know about the properties of stones, which one do you think is more valuable?” [N, 3, 29-30]

The facts discussed above seem to confirm the hypothesis that a different type of fronting is available in Old Italian, specifically of the type described in (176).3. The latter is not available in Icelandic, and more generally, in Germanic, where topicalizations involve OP-movement and are thus impossible in sentences derived in this way, e.g. in C-conditionals (cf. Haegeman, to app.). Instead, Old Italian conditional clauses allow for non-subject fronting even if they are of the central type (cf. Graph 15). The limited number of peripheral clauses with a null *pro* subject where no fronting takes place can be explained with the fact that peripheral clauses may require some syntactic device marking their discourse-prominence. In other words, fronting is related to the scope-discourse properties of peripheral clauses, whose pragmatics require a certain discourse salience. As a consequence, the lack of fronting of potential candidates is unusual for interpretive reasons, in P-conditionals, but not in C-conditionals, as shown by the last column in Graph 15. C-conditionals have a different interpretation with respect to P-conditionals: C-conditional if-clauses are subordinate to the matrix, they cannot have a root interpretation.

#### **2.4.5. Adverbial clauses**

The class of adverbial clauses indicated in Table 10. refers to the remaining adverbials. This clause-type is not further differentiated, although adverbial clauses may exhibit an ambiguous behavior as either V2 or non-V2 complements, depending on their type and interpretation. An instance of SF in an adverbial clause is given in (180) below.

- (180) E acciò che *nel novero de’ luoghi* **ingannati** non siamo  
E so that in.the count of places deceived not are.1p  
“So that we are not misled in counting the places” [FR, 82, 33]

#### 2.4.6. Because-clauses

As is visible from Table 10., *ché/perché* clauses, equivalent to because-clauses, were distinguished from other adverbial clauses. The reason for the separate treatment of these clauses is motivated by their special behavior. Specifically, *ché* and *perché* introduce a clause where subject-verb inversion, typical of V2 clauses, is often attested. This characteristic is also shared by the same clause type in many V2 Germanic languages, e.g. by German *denn*-clauses in contrast to non-V2 *weil*-clauses. Example (181)a. below illustrates a case of nominal predicate SF in a *perché*-clause, whereas (181)b. shows that the same type of clause licenses a typical V2 structure with a postverbal subject and a preverbal topic (*rade volte*).

- (181)a. *perchè poco tempo è che l'avesti*  
because little time is that 3sCL.ACC had.2s  
“Because you have had it for a short time” [FR, 28, 7]
- b. *perché rade volte si muove il dicitore a dir parole*  
because rare times REFL moves the speaker to say(inf) words  
solo per lodare...  
only for praise(inf)  
“because the speaker rarely speaks only in order to praise...” [FR, 81, 4]

The peculiar behavior of *perché* (and *ché*) as well as that of other complementizers introducing causal/rationale clauses, may be explained along the lines of Haegeman's (to app.) account of main root phenomena in embedded clauses. As has been observed for Old Italian if-clauses, *ché* and *perché*-clauses seem to admit topicalization, thus they can be classified as embedded root clauses in the majority of cases. This means that *ché* and *perché*-clauses are not derived by OP-movement to the left periphery, but by simple merge of *ché/perché*. These forms are also present in Modern Italian and show no restriction on the fronting possibilities.

By contrast, Germanic V2 languages dispose of different lexical entries for root and non-root causal clauses. As Heycock (1996) and Thráinsson et al. (2004) observe, there are usually two different lexical entries for the complementizer introducing the causal clause. These two forms have different properties: Heycock argues that one of them is a subordinator, whereas the other one introduces an embedded root clause. She takes as an instance the German *weil* and *denn* pair. *Weil*-clauses are subordinators: they can be freely displaced and do not allow V2, whereas *denn*-clauses display embedded root properties: they are V2 but cannot be freely displaced, as illustrated in (182)-(183) below:

- (182)a. *Julia war glücklich, [denn alles war gut gegangen.]* (German)  
Julia was happy for everything was well gone.  
“Julia was happy, for everything had gone well.”
- b. *Julia war glücklich, [weil alles gut gegangen war.]*  
Julia was happy because everything well gone was.  
“Julia was happy because everything had gone well.”



- (183)a. [*Weil* alles gut gegangen **war**], war Julia glücklich.  
 Because everything well gone was was Julia happy  
 “Because everything had gone well, Julia was happy.”
- b. \* [*Denn* alles **war** gut gegangen], war Julia glücklich.  
 For everything was well gone was Julia happy  
 “For everything had gone well, Julia was happy.” [Heycock, 2006, 6, 8-9]

The same syntactic difference is found in other languages for the pairs reported in Table 11. below:

Table 11.

Language	ROOT /V2	subordinate/non-V2
German	<i>denn</i>	<i>weil</i>
Danish	<i>fordi</i>	<i>ty</i>
Swedish	<i>därför att</i>	<i>ty</i>
Faroese	<i>tví at</i>	<i>av tví at (V2 dispreferred)</i>

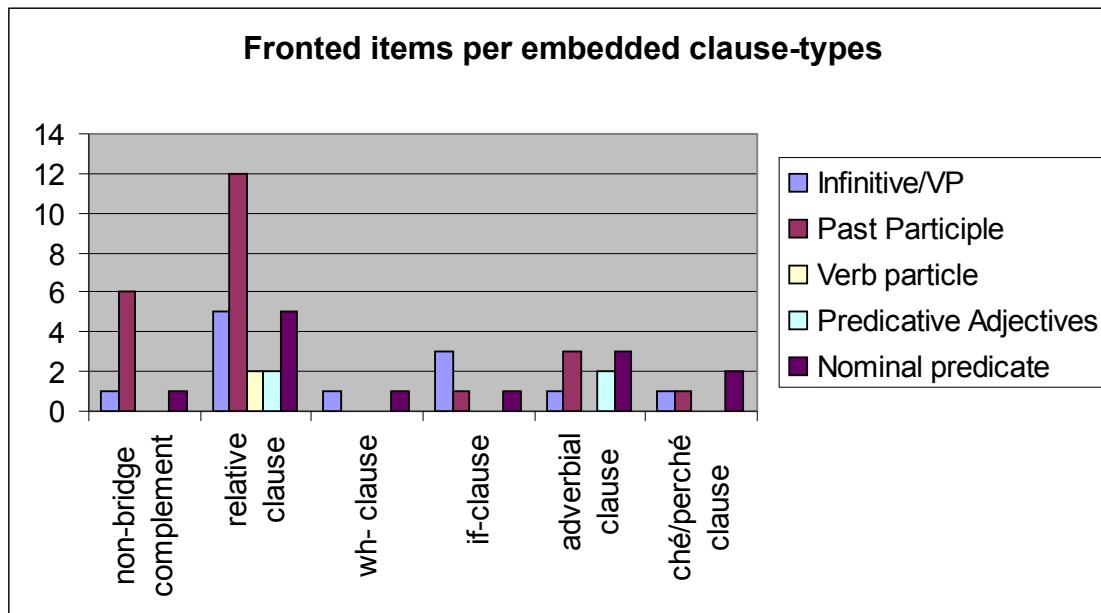
The different syntactic behavior of the two causal subordinators can be explained, in line with Haegeman’s (to app. ) proposal, by assuming that non-V2 clauses are derived by OP movement. The nature of this OP is such that it causally connects the subordinate to the matrix clause. By contrast, such subordinating operation is not present in V2 causal clauses, which can receive a root interpretation.

As the translations in (182)-(183) indicate, there seems to be a subtle semantic distinction between the two forms. The causal clauses without V2 and root properties are subordinate to the matrix. Their propositional content is a belief, motivation or fact representing the cause of the effect expressed by matrix clause. This causal connection is clearly visible if the subordinate clause is preposed. By contrast, root/V2 clauses can be simply explanatory of a state of affairs, and, as such, refer also to a purpose or to the intentionality of the agents reported in the speech. This difference is nonetheless obscured in many cases, because explanations often consist of referring to a fact or event as “the cause” of some state of affairs, but very frequently this causal connection is established in the speech act, rather than in the world.

### 2.4.7. Interpretation of the results

The results of Table 10., p. 81, are summed up in Graph 16. below:

Graph 16.



As illustrated in Graph 16., relative clauses are by far the most favorable environment to SF, and they are typically non-V2 contexts. The most frequently fronted categories in this case are past participles, followed by infinitive verbs or VPs, as well as by nominal predicates. Past participles represent the most-likely fronted category also in non-bridge complement clauses, whereas they seem to have an equal distribution with nominal predicates in adverbial clauses and if-clauses. The highest number of fronted elements in if-clauses is touched by infinitives/VPs. The relevant aspect concerning the facts in Graph. 16 regards the ratio between past participles and nominal predicates. The only cases where the presence of nominal predicates is significantly higher than that of past participles is in *ché/perché*-clauses, which may as well be V2-contexts, as shown above. Furthermore, if we group together infinitives/VPs with past participles on one side, and predicative adjectives with nominal predicates on the other, we can clearly see that:

- (i) the group *predicative adjectives+nominal predicates* “wins” on the *infinitives/VPs+past participles* only in *ché/perché*-clauses;
- (ii) there is (more or less) an *ex-æquo* result between the two groups in adverbial clauses, which are ambiguous V2/non-V2 environments;
- (iii) the group *infinitives/VPs+past participles* “wins” on the “*predicative adjectives+nominal predicates*” in all the other clause-types.

This division “of labour” between the items fronted in V2 contexts and those fronted in non-V2 contexts indicates that different categories have different properties even for SF (which is generally assumed to be some sort of undifferentiated phenomenon).

In summary, the following pattern emerges from the facts illustrated above:

- (184) a. SF in V2 contexts: mostly nominal predicates  
 b. SF in non-V2 contexts: mostly past participles and infinitives/VPs

Instances of (184)a. are given in (185) below; of (184)b. in (186):

- (185) a. **Follia** è di temere quello che non si può cessare  
 Folly is to fear(inf) what that not IMP can stop  
 “To fear what one cannot stop is stupid” [FF, XXIV, 120]

- b. **Prode e gran cosa** è essere issuto picciolo  
 Valuable and great thing is be.INF been little  
 “To have been child is a great and valuable thing” [FF, XXIV, 135]

- (186) a. quello che **scritto** ànno [...] quello che **udito** ànno  
 which that written have3p which that heard have3p  
 “What they have written [...] what they have heard” [FR, 82, 22-23]

- b. a colui che **offendere** lo vuole  
 to who that offend.INF 3s.CL.ACC wants  
 “to who wants to offend him” [FR, 81, 33]

It is worth observing that the nominal predicate SF in V2 contexts often comes in the form of (185)b. where an adjective is nominalized by the generic noun “cosa” (=thing)<sup>61</sup>. Alternatively, the fronted predicate bears some sort of deontic meaning, as in (187); it is an adjective with a degree modifier, as in (188)a. (or an extracted degree modifier as in (188)b.); or it is a quantifier or a numeral, as in (189).

- (187) a. **Meglio** è tagliare che sviare  
 Better is cut(inf) than go astray(inf)  
 “Cutting is better than going astray” [N, 13, 16]

- b. **Bisogno** fa che noi lo ritroviamo  
 Need makes that we 3s.CL.ACC. find  
 “It is necessary that we find him” [FR, 47, 13]

- (188) a. Ora, *ne per la ventura la memoria delle parole* o **troppo malagevoli**  
 Now, neither for the chance the memory of the words either too difficult  
**o poco utili** *pro* pensi  
 or little useful *pro* think.2s  
 “Now, don’t you either consider too difficult or not enough useful the memory of words because of chance” [FR, 82, 131]

<sup>61</sup> Fronting of nouns is also common.

- b. **Troppo** è folle chi contende di passare là ove pro vede che l'altro sia caduto  
 Too is crazy who competes to pass there where pro sees that the other is fallen  
 e **via** è più folle chi non ha paura...  
 and way is more crazy who not has fear...  
 "Who competes in order to pass where he sees that the other has fallen is too  
 crazy and who doesn't have fear [...] is way crazier" [FF, XXIX, 6]

- (189) **Tre** sono le generazioni delle boci  
 Three are the generations of the sounds  
 "The generations of sounds are three" [FR, 69, 1]

Copular constructions are frequently built up as Copula - [Adjective+*cosa*] in Old Italian. Assuming that the noun *cosa* bears a [+N] features, the nominal status of this type of predicate resembles that of complement NPs/DPs which normally undergo topicalizations in V2 clauses with postverbal subjects. I do not deal with inversion in copular constructions in detail, as it would take us too far away from the topic of the discussion. Nonetheless, it is worth observing that such inversion seems required by the pragmatics of the clause, in order to put emphasis on the fronted predicate. On the one hand, this interpretation is in line with the Fischer and Alexiadou's (2001) proposal for Old Romance SF. Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) and Fischer (to app.)a. argue that Old Romance SF is a construction marking the emphasis of the clause: this analysis seems to apply well to cases of nominal predicate fronting as those illustrated in (187)-(189) above, although I do away with their derivation of SF as movement to a  $\Sigma P$ <sup>62</sup> in the Infl domain. The fact that the SF of examples (187)-(189) does have a pragmatic import does not entail that Old Italian SF bears focal stress. Although nothing prevents that the facts of (187)-(189) be analyzed as movement to FocP<sup>63</sup> the same type of fronting is found also in non-V2 contexts, although much more rarely:

- (190) a. acciò che non dica cosa che **necessaria** non sia  
 so that not say.1s thing that necessary not be.3s.(subj)  
 "So that I wouldn't say anything that is unnecessary" [FR, 62, 13]
- b. almen coloro che **così buona** non l'anno  
 at least who that so good not 3s.ACC.cl have.3p  
 "At least those who don't have it so good" [FR, 82, 14]

Assuming that movement to FocP in extraction contexts (as (190) and, most typically, indirect Wh- questions) is in principle ruled out by relativized minimality, SF must target a lower position, which nonetheless bears some pragmatic features and is equally available in non-V2 clauses. Such characteristics correspond quite well to the Modifier Phrase (ModP) of the complementizer domain, which Rizzi (2001) identifies as the

<sup>62</sup> By  $\Sigma P$ , Fischer (to app.a.) refers to the projection of IP where polarity clausal features (i.e. emphasis; negation) are encoded according to Laka (1990).

<sup>63</sup> It is always possible to A'-move a constituent to the left periphery in V2 contexts, where no Wh-extraction interferes.

position dedicated to adverb-preposing<sup>64</sup> and Haegeman (2003) as the position where adverbial clauses are adjoined. The ModP position in Comp differs from Mood of IP (cf. Cinque (1999)) in that it provides structural prominence to the material moved there. Furthermore, Haegeman (2003) shows that such position is available also in factive complements; in adverbial and, more generally, non-V2 clauses. This fact is compatible with the intuition that ModP is not quantificational, but represents type (191)c. of the substantive licensing features identified by Rizzi (2001). Rizzi's (2001) classification, given in (191), plays a crucial role in the definition of structural types subject to relativized minimality:

- (191)a. Argumental: person, number, gender, case  
 b. Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, focus...  
 c. Modifier: Eval, Epist, Neg, frequentative, celerative, measure, manner,...  
 d. Topic [Rizzi (2001), p. 19]

(191) indicates that items belonging to different structural types do not trigger RM effects. In the specific case, a modifier can cooccur with quantificational material, such as a Wh-OP in extraction contexts. The interpretation of SF of nominal predicates as movement to ModP in CP is thus compatible with the possibility for it to occur in extraction contexts as those in (190) above. Furthermore, its emphatic character would receive an explanation without requiring an interpretation of SF as movement to a quantificational projection, i.e. FocP (*contra* Hrafnbjargarson (2003)). Nevertheless, this analysis would also allow for the possibility that SF ends up in the higher FocP, where this position is available (e.g. in root contexts), by analogy with the behavior of adverbs. In this respect, Rizzi (2001) argues that:

“of course the adverb can also move to the Spec of Foc; in that case it will receive the interpretation and intonational contour of a contrastive focus”.

The pragmatically marked character of SF in (187) and (188) above is confirmed by the fact that clauses where the nominal predicate is fronted have a more emphatic flavour than the respective unmarked versions. Compare, for instance, (150), repeated below as (192), with what would be its unmarked correlate in (193):

- (192) a. **Meglio** è tagliare che sviare  
 Better is cut(inf) than go astray(inf)  
 “Cutting is better than going astray” [N, 13, 16]

<sup>64</sup> Rizzi (2001) defines ModP in CP as follows: “As the left-peripheral position targeted by the adverb in simple preposing is neither topic nor focus, we need a third type of licensing head in the space sandwiched in between Force and Fin (with the observed distributional properties). We will call this head “Mod(ifier)”, assuming modification to be the substantive relation between an adverb and the structure it relates to. We assume Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbial positions: each adverb is licensed in the Spec of a dedicated head, occurring in a given position of a universal hierarchy; so, a frequentative adverb occurs as modifier in the Spec of a dedicated frequentative head, etc. On top of the whole hierarchy, we assume that the left periphery can contain dedicated Mod heads which can host adverbs as their specifiers; the functional motivation for such heads is that they make the moved adverb prominent, a property that left-peripheral Mod has in common with Top; it differs from Top, though, in not requiring a connection to the discourse context; and from Foc in not requiring the contrastive focal interpretation proper of the left-peripheral Foc position in Romance (see Rizzi (1997))”.

- b. **Bisogno** fa che noi lo ritroviamo  
Need makes that we 3s.ACC.cl find  
“It is necessary that we find him”

[FR, 47, 13]

- (193) a. È *meglio* tagliare che sviare  
is better cut(inf) than go astray(inf)  
“Cutting is better than going astray”

- b. Fa *bisogno* che noi lo ritroviamo  
Makes need that we 3s.ACC.cl find  
“It is necessary that we find him”

In order to compare the sentences in (192) with respective minimal pairs I personally constructed the grammatical word order in (193) as they would be found in Old Italian texts; although instances of uninverted forms are found in the examined Old Italian corpora as well. Interestingly, many instances of the uninverted predicate *bisogno* (see (192)b., (193)b.) are preceded by some other lexical element, most frequently a negation, as in (194)a.; a degree adverb, as in (194)b.; the CP expletive *sì*, as in (194)c.; a Wh- element as in (194)d.; a topic as in (194)e. (recall that *sì* never occurs together with SF, cf. Graph 4. above).

- (194) a. E **non** fa bisogno che la similitudine che si pone sia per ogni cosa somigliante  
E not makes need that the similarity that IMP put be(subj) for each thing similar  
“It’s not necessary that the presented similarity regards each thing”

- b. anche ne toglì, se **più** te ne fanno bisogno  
also of.it.cl take.off.2s, if more 2s.DAT.cl of.it.cl make.3p need  
“you also take (some) off of it, if you need more”

- c. Dicono i savi che, a volere lo fatto dirittamente ben narrare,  
Say the wise.p that to want(inf) the fact right well narrate  
**sì** fa bisogno che si dica brevemente  
SI makes need that IMP say(subj) briefly  
“The wise men say that, to account properly for a fact, it is necessary to tell it briefly”

- d. di colà **onde** fa bisogno [...] infino colà **ove** fa bisogno...  
of there where makes need up.to there where makes need  
“whereby it is necessary...up to the place where it is necessary...”

- e. Manifesta cosa è che questa cosa fu mia: **dunque** fa bisogno che...  
Manifest thing is that this thing was mine: therefore makes need that..  
It’s evident that this thing was mine, therefore it is necessary that...”

[FR, 42, 43.21; 46, 47.2; 58, 64.10; 60, 66.8; 28, 27.13; 73, 84.2]

The paradigm of uninverted contexts given in (194) shows that the first position is always occupied by some other element when the nominal predicate “bisogno” does not front. Among other possibilities<sup>65</sup>, the element in preverbal position may be a negation or a manner/degree degree adverb. According to Rizzi’s (2001) distinction of the structural types given in (191), the target CP-position for these elements is ModP. The assumption that SF may be the result of a feature-checking mechanism on ModP has some implications in Icelandic, as is shown in Chapter 3.

Let us now turn to the type of SF which is most common in non-V2 contexts. As shown by the facts presented in Graph 8. and 9., and summed up in (184)b., past participles; infinitives or VPs front more easily in non-V2 contexts. The analysis of SF as movement to ModP proposed for predicate fronting can be easily extended to other type of fronting, such as adverb fronting, which has been excluded from the present analysis in order to avoid ambiguity with standard V2 constructions. As Rizzi (2001) points out, all phrasal adverbs of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy can front to ModP, and verbal modifiers, such as manner adverbs (e.g. *ben*=well), are good candidates as well. By contrast, the fact that past participles are frequently fronted in non-V2 contexts, e.g. in extraction contexts, automatically rules out the possibility that they reach a position higher than ModP. In addition, past participles *per se* do not seem to possess any special feature rendering them proper goals for movement to ModP<sup>66</sup>. A past participle can neither target Spec,SubjP for the reasons discussed above. As a consequence, the set of candidate positions provided in (148) is restricted as follows for past participle fronting:

(195) ModP > Past Participle SF > SubjP

The range of possibilities given in (195) indicates a single structural position: FinP, as ModP and SubjP are excluded. Even allowing for the possibility that a past participle may move to ModP for some reason or other (see fn. 58), two questions then arise:

1. Is the set in (195) applicable also to the other types of SF most commonly found in non-V2 contexts, i.e. does SF of infinitives and VP-fronting also target exclusively FinP?

<sup>65</sup> The preverbal position may be equally occupied by a Wh- element, moving to a higher FocP in main clauses (or to the edge of the CP, in subordinate ones); or by a topic, which is merged even higher, as in (i) below:

(i) **Al consigliere che in su le cose vuol sapere ben consigliare**

To.the one.who.gives.advice that in on the things wants be.able(inf) well suggest

fanno bisogno tre cose di sapere

make.3p need three things to know

“To the one who gives advice, who wants to be able to give proper advice about things, must know three things” .

Notice that the inflected verb in (i) agrees with the postverbal subject, contrary to other instances of “fa bisogno” which is default 3s. This indicates that (i) is a normal inversion in a V2 sentence. As a consequence, nothing, in principle, rules out the possibility that the predicate fronts to either ModP or to FocP, in the contexts where FocP is available. However such possibility depends on the pragmatics of the sentence, e.g. if the predicate does not contrast with the content of the previous discourse/given contexts, it can only be an unmarked Focus, which, according to Benincà (2001); (2004) and Benincà and Poletto (2002) is located below the contrastive Focus in the Focus field in CP, as in the structure below:

(ii) {Frame[HT]..} {Topic...[LD]..} {Focus...[ContrastFocus]...[UnmFocus]..}

<sup>66</sup> However there is no syntactic evidence that past participles do not move to ModP, beside the speculation on their featural content.

## 2. Why should SF target FinP?

The answers come from an analysis of the function of SF. Let us assume, by hypothesis, that the answer to question 1. is affirmative, namely that also infinitive and VP fronting target FinP. Then we need to answer question two, which is the topic of next chapter.



## Chapter 3

### The function of SF

#### 3.1. The proposal

In the first chapter, I have suggested that the system proposed to account for English locative inversion (LI) by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) can also apply to the facts presented so far in order to explain the function of SF both in Old Italian and in Icelandic. Rizzi and Shlonsky analyze the LI inversion facts presented by Stowell (1981) as cases in which the Subject criterion<sup>67</sup> is satisfied by PP fronting, instead of subject raising. This is an option available under specific conditions (i.e. locality restrictions operating between the probe of LI and the thematic structure, cf. (61), p. 33): according to Rizzi and Shlonsky, the preposed PP, on its way to a criterial position in CP (e.g. TopP or FocP) is able to value and check the nominal features on FinP, which, in the case of LI, are [+Loc]<sup>68</sup>. FinP is not a criterial head and its features are the uninterpretable, formal counterpart of other criterial features, relevant to the interpretation. According to Rizzi and Shlonsky, LI structures satisfy the Subject criterion by valuing and checking these uninterpretable features on FinP. This explanation follows the account for subject extraction strategies proposed by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006), where it is shown that the Subject Criterion is satisfied in different ways than by merger of an NP/DP in SubjP.

Following Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2007) intuition, my hypothesis is that SF is a mechanism involving phrasal movement to FinP, where some features, which are verified in a lower position, can be interpreted. Such phrasal movement to the left periphery enables the extraction of the subject from a lower, non-“criterial” position. As Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) argue, the interpretive requirement on FinP is normally satisfied by subjects moving to their “criterial” position, SubjP, in the high IP field. The local c-command configuration created between the lowest C-head and an overt subject in its criterial position is sufficient to check the features on FinP. Doing away with the notion of government, Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) proposed that locality depends on c-command and may also be expressed as a head-head relation between Fin and Subj. Rizzi and Shlonsky take as an instance the *que-qui* alternation of French. Following Taraldsen (2001), they assume *qui* to be derived from external merger of *-i* in Fin, spelling out the uninterpretable nominal phi-features on the Comp-head. They explain the local relation between Fin, where *qui* is merged, and Subj as follows:

“[<sub>Fin</sub>-i] is not in a Spec-head configuration with Subj [...] Rather, it is the immediately superordinate head to Subj in the clausal hierarchy. So, what we need is a more general characterization of the criterial configuration, one which encompasses both Spec-head and local head-head configurations. What the two configurations have in common is locality: nothing intervenes between the criterial head Subj and the element which satisfies the criterion, be it a Spec or a head. We can therefore restate (53) as follows:

(54) For [+F] a criterial feature, X<sub>+F</sub> is locally c-commanded by A<sub>+F</sub>.” Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), p. 23.

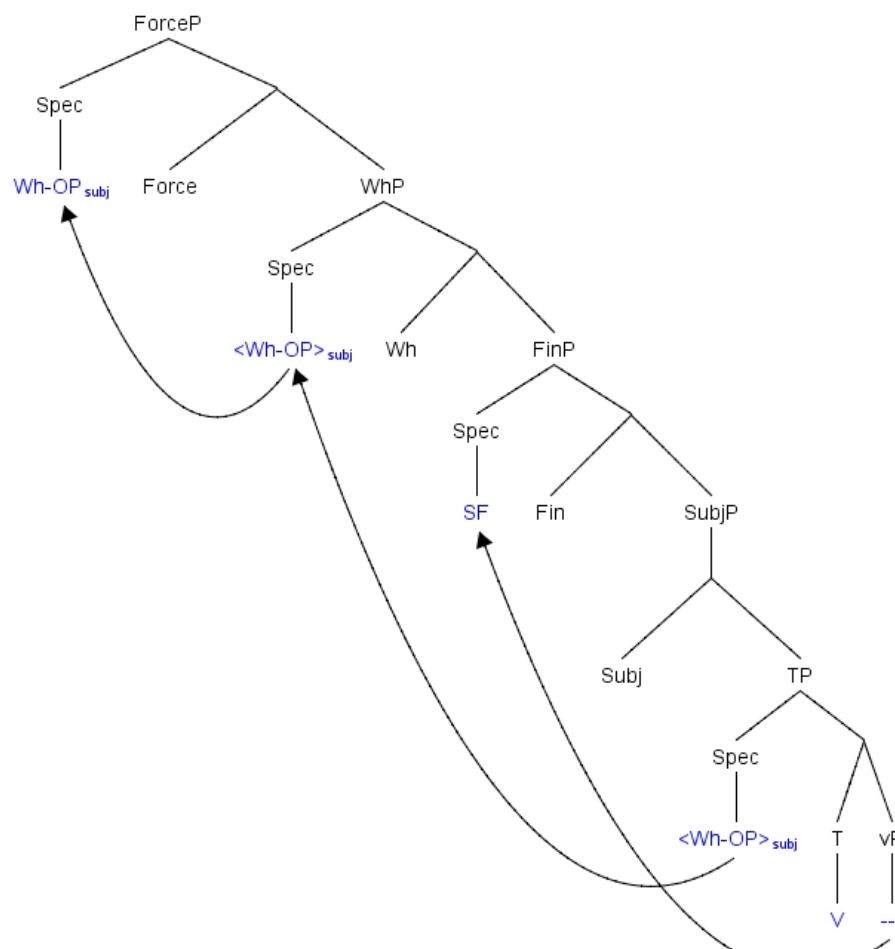
<sup>67</sup> The Subject Criterion is proposed by Rizzi's (2003) in order to account for the EPP requirement on subjects and the ECP effects in a more economic way.

<sup>68</sup> A special instance of Phi- features, according to Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), a.o.

The formulation of locality proposed by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) can (in principle) be generalized to all cases where the Subject Criterion is satisfied by activation of FinP, rather than by internal or external merge to Spec,SubjP.

Consider for instance the derivation of an embedded interrogative, given in Figure 3. below. The Wh- subject can be extracted and escape the criterial subject position in Spec,SubjP, because an item from the verbal complex is stylistically fronted to satisfy the formal features on Fin. Notice that Fin c-commands SubjP.

Figure 3.



In this perspective, FinP is a sort of “gateway” that enables syntactic elements to satisfy interpretive requirements by undergoing criterial movement to the CP. In the case of subjects, the locality between FinP and SubjP makes the subject “visible” at the interface. Normally, a subject has to reach its criterial position, but once it is there it can no longer move: criterial freezing prohibits subject extraction (see Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, a.o.). In other cases, alternative strategies<sup>69</sup> allow extraction of the subject to a CP or higher position. If movement or merger of another syntactic element is able to check

<sup>69</sup> Different strategies are adopted in various languages to check such features on FinP. It is the case of French *que-qui* alternation: by elaborating Taraldsen’s (2001) proposal (to which Rizzi (2003) also refers), Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) propose that FinP can be endowed with uninterpretable nominal (Phi-) features, spelled out as the *-i* of *qui* in case of subject extraction.

the formal features of FinP, the Subject Criterion will be satisfied through local c-command on SubjP and freezing effects on the latter will be avoided. The checking of Fin features can be done through diverse mechanisms, according to Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), depending on which ones are available in a specific grammar. The considerable amount and variety of such mechanisms has been understood as a generic EPP requirement on the clause, broadly discussed in literature. However, such requirement is descriptive and does not really explain the nature and trigger of its effects. For the sake of economy principles, Rizzi's (2003) formulation of the Subject Criterion does away with the notions of EPP and ECP effects. As proposed by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), one way of checking the formal features on FinP is by successive-cyclic movement of an operator on its way to a criterial position in CP. Another way is by merger of a lexical head with proper featural endowment, as for French *que-qui* alternation (see fn. 69) or Bavarian agreeing complementizers.

On the basis of further evidence, I propose that SF as well may function as a strategy to extract the subject, enabling dislocations to the CP; postpositions; subject questions and relatives; and other constructions characterized by the lack of an overt preverbal subject in canonical position. The intuition is that SF basically functions as a “filler” of the low CP area, and is able to check the formal features on FinP, so that an overt subject in SubjP is no longer required, and subjects can be extracted from a lower position, resulting in subject relatives; subject questions; subject postpositions (cf. the analysis of heavy NP-shift proposed by Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007). The claim that Old Italian SF functions like a strategy to satisfy the Subject Criterion, by analogy with English locative inversion (LI), is based upon the following evidence:

- (196) a. **Ragionevole cosa** è bamboleggiare in giovinezza (Old Italian)  
Reasonable thing is play.INF in youth  
“To play is reasonable in youth” [N, 5, 32]

- b. **Under the stars** is a nice place to sleep [Stowell, 1981]

A comparison between (196)a. and b. shows a clear similarity between the inversion of the two copular constructions. As Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) point out, the type of LI shown in (196)b. does not create an island to extraction, as shown in (197)a., neither does Old Italian SF in (197)b., nor Icelandic SF, as illustrated by (57), repeated below as (197)c.:

- (197)a. The fact that **under the stars** is a nice place to sleep is obvious

- b. nè mai non dissi cosa che **disinore** fosse di mio zio...  
Neither never not said.1s thing that dishonor were of my uncle  
“Neither have I ever said anything dishonorable for my uncle...”  
[N, LXV, B, 40]

- c. Hver heldur þú að **stolið** hafi hjólinu?  
Who think you that stolen has bike.the  
“Who do you think that has stolen the bike?” [Holmberg 2000, 31, 63]

d. Hvor lengi heldur þú að í Ósló hafi verið búið?

How long think you that in Oslo has been lived

“How long do you think that they have been living in Oslo?”

[Holmberg 1999, 16, 40]

Following Bresnan (1994), Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) assume that the possibility to extract in (197)a. is related to the fact that the preposed constituent is headed by a silent noun (i.e. “PLACE”). This analysis can be straightforwardly applied to Icelandic locative SF in (57)b. repeated above as (197)d. as well as to nominal predicate SF in Old Italian, where the head noun is not PLACE, but THING, and it can be either null or overt, as *cosa* (=thing) in (197)b. clearly witnesses (cf. also (185)b. above and discussion at p.130). Recall that other cases of LI, as that in (55) repeated below as (198), are island to subject extractions, in contrast to SF in Icelandic (cf. (197)c. and d.) and Old Italian (197)b., which never is:

(198) \*What does John say that **near his house** lies?

The explanation for this contrast comes from the fact that

“the preposed locative plays a critical role in the satisfaction of the Subject Criterion, but that it can do so only parasitically, as it were, and in passing, when moving to a final destination in the left periphery” (Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007), p. 4).

Because Fin is not criterial, the locative PP must move to TopP or any other criterial position in the CP, which would trigger relativized minimality effects with extractions. Notice, indeed, that movement to FocP licenses LI:

(199) IN THE LIVING ROOM is sitting my old brother (not in the bedroom)

[Rizzi; Shlonsky (2007), 4, 10]

On the other hand, no relativized minimality effects are triggered by extractions from a clause where SF has occurred, under the assumption that SF is movement to ModP (for nominal predicates) or to FinP (for past participles). At the same time, relativized minimality explains why adverb preposing (to ModP) is in complementary distribution with SF of phrases extracted from a lower structural position. A critique to this analysis would claim that the lack of island effects in SF is due to the fact that SF indeed targets SubjP, as proposed by Cardinaletti (2003). This possibility is ruled out for SF, as well as for LI, by the following pieces of evidence, which would be unexpected if SF, in (200)b. and (201)b. (NA=not attested), or LI, in (202)b., were in subject position, as Rizzi and Shlonsky observe for LI, in (202):

(200) a. **Fram** hefur komið að...

(Icelandic)

Forth has come that

“It came up that..”

b. \*Hefur **fram** komið að...?

Has forth come that

“Did it come up that...?”

[Thráinsson (2007), 331, 6.50]

(201) a. **più atteso** si può fare...

(Old Italian)

more expected IMPcl can.3s make(inf)

“One can make it more expected...”

[FR, 57, 3]

b. <sup>N4</sup>Puossi **più atteso** fare...?

Can3s.IMPcl more expected make(inf)

“Can one make it more expected?”<sup>70</sup>

(202) a. **In the room** is sitting my old brother

b. \*Is **in the room** sitting my old brother?

[Rizzi, Shlonsky (2007), 4, 9]

Example (201)b. above indicates that cases of SF in direct Y/N questions are not attested, similarly to the ungrammaticality of LI in the same context.

In line with Rizzi and Shlonsky’s (2007) analysis, I thus propose that constituents undergoing SF (and crucially assuming that this is NOT topicalization) satisfy the Subject Criterion in the following ways:

(203) SF satisfaction of the Subject Criterion:

a. SF of Negation/ Adverbials/ Phrasal Adverbs/ Degree Modifiers/ Nominal predicates/Predicative adjectives/ Nouns → parasitically, on the way to ModP

b. SF of Past Participles/Infinitives → as a syntactic realization of FinP

The proposed analysis of SF provides an answer to the second issue regarding the possibility to dislocate subject DPs and pronouns in SF contexts posed at p. 83 and repeated below for convenience:

“2. When dislocated, subject DPs and subject pronouns must be able to avoid freezing effects in the subject criterial position, i.e. SubjP, identified by Rizzi (2003). Thus a strategy for subject extraction is required”

This issue refers to the assumption that pre-SF subject DPs and pronouns must be dislocated, for the proposed analysis to be tenable. Underlined DPs and pronouns in (122)-(124) and (126)-(127), repeated below for convenience, were considered cases of dislocation:

(204) Il saver dell’arme color di Cartagine **difender** non potè

The know.INF of.the weapon those of Carthage defend.INF not could.3s

“The knowledge of warcraft could not defend the people of Carthage” [FR, 23, 5]

---

<sup>70</sup> Verb movement to C in Y/N questions typically triggers enclisis (i.e. *puossi* in (155)b., or *possi*; proclisis in this context is ruled out by the Tobler-Mussafia law). Even admitting the possibility of OV as the result of scrambling to a low FocP in Old Italian, (155)b. would be equally bad.

(205) *In questo modo tutte le parole dette* saranno  
 In this way all the words said will.be.3p  
 “All the words will be said in this way” [FR,82,77]

(206) noi medesimi diciamo che noi possiamo dire, o che *l'altra parte dire* non puote  
 we same say1p that we can1p say.INF, or that the other part say.INF not can.3s  
 “We ourselves say that we can tell, or that the other part cannot” [FR,17,6]

(207) io obbligo l'anima mia a perpetua prigione  
 I force the soul my to everlasting prison  
 [infino a tanto che *voi pagati* siate]  
 until to much that you.s paid are.2p(subj)  
 “I force my soul to everlasting imprisonment until you will get paid”  
 [N, 19, 98-100]

(208) Messere, *io lavato* l'ho  
 Sir, I washed 3s.CL.ACC have  
 “Sir, I did wash it” [N, XLIII, 10]

In fact, the subject DPs and pronouns may target a quite high position in the CP in Old Italian, as shown in (204). The adjacency between SF and the verb is a further indication that SF is a strategy allowing subject extraction and dislocation. Such adjacency is also required in Icelandic, where, contrary to subjects, SF cannot be separated from the finite verb by a parenthetical:

(209)a. Ég hélt að *Jón* (eins og sannur skáti) myndi hjálpa  
 I thought that John (like a true scout) would help  
 gömlu konunni að komast yfir götuna  
 old lady.the to cross the street  
 “I thought that John, like a true scout, would help the old lady to cross the street”

b. Ég hélt að *byriað* (\*eins og María hafði sagt) yrði  
 I thought that started (like Mary had said) would.be  
 að opna pakkana strax eftir kvöldmatinn  
 to open presents.the right after supper  
 “I thought that opening the presents, as Mary had said, would start right after supper”  
 [Jónsson 1991, 3, 6]

In Icelandic, the possibility of XP dislocation to the CP together with SF is ruled out for independent reasons. Being Icelandic a strict V2 language (in contrast to Old Italian, which has a relaxed V2), V3 orders are generally banned<sup>71</sup>. Let us now see in detail what are the differences and the similarities between Old Italian and Icelandic SF, and how they extend respectively to Old Romance and Old Scandinavian.

<sup>71</sup>The reason for the parametric difference surfacing in a strict rather than relaxed V2 order requires a separate discussion. For a proposal concerning Scandinavian V2 see Franco (forthcoming).

### 3.2. A comparison between Old Italian and Icelandic

SF seems to be the same phenomenon both in Old Italian and in Icelandic, along with the analysis of Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) for Old Romance SF.

As for the frontable categories, the facts presented so far show that they are basically the same both in Icelandic and in Old Italian, provided that the proper restrictions leaving out the ambiguous ones are made. The only exception is represented by SF of verb particles, which is very uncommon in Old Italian for the reasons mentioned above (cf. fn. 43).

SF exhibits the same characteristics identified by Maling in Table 1. above both in Old Italian and in Icelandic, perhaps with the only exception with respect to the “lack of emphasis”, which is not always respected in Old Italian (and Old Romance, see Fischer and Alexiadou, 2001). Nevertheless, there are contrasting opinions on this aspect of SF construction in Icelandic as well. While many scholars (e.g. Thráinsson 2007; Sigurðsson 1990; Maling 1990) claim that SF lacks the emphasis that characterizes V2 topicalizations; others (e.g. Jónsson 1991) claim that SF of main and complement clauses is more restricted to literary language (i.e. shall we infer that its pragmatics is different?) or even argue that SF is a sort of focalization (cf. Hrafnbjargarson 2003). This debate may be explained in light of the proposal made for Old Italian SF: little or no emphasis is conveyed by movement to a non-criterial projection like FinP, but a markedness effect is obtained if the stylistically fronted item targets ModP, where the fronted syntactic material becomes discourse prominent, but does not interfere with Wh-movement targeting FocP (or a higher projection). In the specific case of extractions, we can assume that the extracted element is cyclically Wh-moved to a higher position in the CP regardless the final position of SF (i.e. FinP or ModP). I illustrate a possible derivation for SF applicable to extraction contexts as well as to other subjectless clauses below, but first I show that Icelandic and Old Italian SF are basically the same phenomenon for all relevant aspects.

Consider, for instance the range of categories fronted and recall that the selection of fronted items analyzed in the Old Italian corpora regarded precisely those categories that unambiguously undergo SF but not topicalization. In Old Italian, as well as in other Old Romance languages (cf. the Old Catalan example in (212)) proper goals of SF are past participles and nominal predicates or predicative adjectives. The same categories occur not only in Icelandic SF, but also in Old Scandinavian languages, that exhibit SF, contrary to modern Mainland Scandinavian ones:

#### Past participle fronting

- (210) Per una grande pioggia che **venuta** era (Old Italian)  
For a big rain that come was  
“Because of a lot of rain that had come” [N, 31, 11]

- (211) Malvolentieri ci sono venuto, per molte parole che **dette** sono di voi e di me.  
Reluctantly LOC am come for many words that said are.3p of you.2p and of me  
“I came here reluctantly because of all the words that are said about you and me”  
[N, LXV, B, 22-23]

- (212) com no li responia a la demanda que **feta** li havie \_\_\_\_ (Old Catalan)  
 how not him answered to the question that made him had.3s  
 “How (he) didn’t answer to the question that he had made him” [Fischer 2000]
- (213) þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið \_\_\_\_ (Icelandic)  
 this is issue that discussed has been  
 “This is an issue that has been discussed” [Thráinsson 2007]
- (214) lágu hestarnir á kafi annat skeið, svá at **draga** varð \_\_\_\_ upp (Old Norse)  
 lay.3p horses.the on snow other time so that pull became up  
 “The horses sank into the drifts now and again, so that they had to be pulled out”  
 [Faarlund 2008, 237, 104d., Eg]
- (215) som **sagd** er \_\_\_\_ ved Propheten (Middle Danish)  
 as said is with prophet-the  
 “as is told by the prophet” [1550, *The Bible*, Falk & Torp 1900:296]
- (216) þæn sum **fangit** hæer \_\_\_\_ uinum (Old Swedish)  
 he who caught has friend.the  
 “He who has caught the friend” [Delsing 2001]

#### Nominal predicates and Predicative adjective fronting

- (217) que **corporal** és \_\_\_\_ e composta (Old Catalan)  
 that corporal is.3sg and compound  
 “That is corporal and compound” [Metge, 191]
- (218) Nel decimo uno nostro conto che **Decimo** si chiami \_\_\_\_ (Old Italian)  
 in.the tenth a our count that Decimo REFL call.3s.Subj  
 “In our tenth counting that is called Decimo” [FR, 82, 34]
- (219) eina dottur er **Droplaug** hét \_\_\_\_ (Old Norse)  
 one daughter who Droplaug.N was.called  
 “One daughter who was called Droplaug” [Faarlund, 2008, 237, 104c., Dpl]
- (220) Sá sem **fyrstur** er \_\_\_\_ að skora mark fær sérstök verðlaun (Icelandic)  
 he that first is to score goal gets special prize  
 “He who is first to score a goal gets a special prize” [Jónsson 1991]

### **3.3. Extraction from predicates**

One interesting correlation was found between Old Italian and Old Swedish SF. Quite similarly to Old Italian (and other Old Romance languages, as Old French in (223) and Old Catalan in (224)), Old Swedish and Old Norse show splitting of noun phrases in complement/predicative position<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> This is also a property shared by some Icelandic V2 constructions, as in (i), and is compatible with the claim that movement to ModP (or to a higher phrase) can parasitically satisfy the Subject Criterion, but the primary trigger is not related to the absence of a subject:



Compare (188)b. above repeated below as (221) and (222) from Old Italian, to (225) and (226):

(221) **Tropo** è \_\_\_ folle chi contende di passare là ove pro vede che l'altro sia caduto  
 Too is crazy who competes to pass there where pro sees that the other is fallen  
 e **via** è \_\_\_più folle chi non ha paura...  
 and way is more crazy who not has fear...  
 “Who competes in order to pass where he sees that the other has fallen is too crazy  
 and who doesn't have fear [...] is way crazier” [FF, XXIX, 6]

(222)a. **propri** è \_\_\_ di colui che fa volentieri fare avacciamente  
 typical is of whom that does willingly do.INF in advance  
 “To do (something) in advance is typical of whom does (something) willingly”  
 [FF, XXIV, 10]

b. **Molto** è \_\_\_ meglio d'aliquanti averli iscoperti nemici  
 Much is better to many(TOP) have.INF.CL3pACC found enemies  
 “To find out many enemies is much better” [FF, XVII, 23]

c. **signore** pro t'ho fatto \_\_\_ di molte dilizie  
 lord pro 2s.CL.ACC have.1s made of many delicacies  
 “I have made you lord of many delicacies” [N, LXXII, 10]

(223) Or voi ge bien, **plains** es \_\_\_ de mautalant. (Old French)  
 now see I well, full are-2sg of bad-intentions  
 “Now I see clearly that you are full of bad intentions.”  
 [Roberts 1993; Charroi de Nîmes 295]

(224)a. *que molt es noble cavalier,* (Old Catalan)  
 that **much** is.3sg \_\_\_ noble man,  
 “Who is a very noble man” [Fischer, to app.a; Desclot/275]

b. **molt** fo \_\_\_ *meravellat lo rey de les peraules del pagès*  
**very** was \_\_\_ surprised the King of the words of-the page  
 “The king was very surprised of the words of the page”  
 [Fischer, to app.a; Llull/190]

c. *que corporal és e composta,*  
 that **corporal** is.3sg and compound,  
 “That is corporal and compound” [Fischer, to app.a; Metge/191]

---

(i) a. Svakalega hleypur hann \_\_\_ hratt!

Terribly runs he fast

b. ?\*Svakalega hratt hleypur hann \_\_\_!

Terribly fast runs he

[Thráinsson 2007, 347, 7.13]

The preference to extract rather than pied-pipe a bigger phrase seems related to properties of the high left clausal periphery as well as to the DP periphery.

(225) a. sum **fapir** uar \_\_\_ barnsins (Old Swedish)  
 who father was children.the.GEN  
 “Who was father of the children” [Delsing 2001, ÖgL]

b. At **twænne** hittas \_\_\_ herradöme  
 that two.kinds are.found dominions  
 “That are found two kinds of dominions” [Delsing 2001, Mos-A]

c. þæn **ængæ** aghärn \_\_\_ hjorþ löt  
 he (who) no owns pasture land  
 “He who owns no pasture land” [Delsing 2001, UL]

d. hans sum **rättär** war \_\_\_ giptar madher  
 he who true was best.man  
 “He who was a true best man” [Delsing 2001, ÖgL]

(226) trúið á goð várt, er **alt** hefir \_\_\_ ráð yðart í hendi (Old Norse)  
 believe.2p(imp) on god our who all.ACC has condition.ACC your.p in hand  
 “Believe in our god, who has your life in his hands”  
 [Faarlund, 2008, 237, 104e., Hkr]

Notice that in many cases the fronted element is a degree/quantificational modifier (as in (221); (222)b.; (224)a. and b.; (225)b.; and (226)); a negation (as in (225)c.) or simply a noun/adjective extracted from a larger phrase, complement to the verb (as in (222)a. and c.; (225)a. and d.). All these items are proper goals for ModP fronting as proposed above (cf. p. 132). This idea is also supported by Platzack’s (2008) analysis of Left Branch Extractions (LBE), accounting for the possibility of extracting modifying adjectives in Old Scandinavian. According to Platzack, Old Scandinavian DPs have a different structure from Modern Scandinavian ones, which do not permit LBE. Basically, Old Scandinavian DPs were formed by an NP to which a modifying adjective (MP) is adjoined. Such MP consists of the adjectival head taking as a complement a null pro argument coindexed with the modified noun, as illustrated in Figure 4.a. for the phrase *góðan konung*.

Figure 4.a.

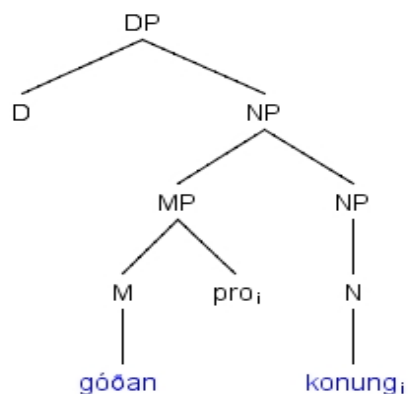
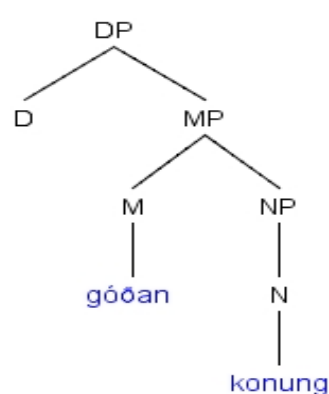


Figure 4.b.



According to Platzack (2008) the structure of DPs given above is responsible for the frontability of modifiers by SF. He observes that there is a close connection between LBE and SF:

“Stylistic Fronting of nominal modifiers is lost apparently at the same time as LBE of nominal modifiers in main clauses” (p. 361).

Platzack provides support to the claim that the lack of a head-complement relation between modifier and noun, together with the presence of a pro coreferential with the modified noun, allows for LBE of the modifier as SF. Crucially, SF is phrasal movement of the MP, rather than head movement. Platzack’s proposal is appealing for the present account of SF. As shown in the previous chapter, in Old Italian, SF of nouns shows that the nominal predicate is often formed by an adjective plus the generic noun *cosa*. The latter seems to be a sort of “expletive” argument, modified by an MP as the one in the structure illustrated in Figure 4.a. for Old Scandinavian, and coindexed with a pro. As well as Old Scandinavian nouns, *cosa* can be stranded by LBE of its modifying adjective (see discussion at p 131). In support of this intuition is the fact that *cosa* becomes a functional Wh- element introducing direct and indirect Wh- questions in Italian. Another similarity between Romance and Scandinavian consists of the fact that neither in Modern Scandinavian, nor in Modern Italian, SF by LBE of modifiers is possible any longer. Platzack (2008) explains this difference with a reanalysis of the DP structure based on the the Head Preference Principle (“Be a Head rather than a Phrase (if possible)”; van Gelderen 2004). The reanalyzed DP in modern varieties has the structure in Figure 4.b.; Platzack explains that LBE is no longer possible once a head-complement relation between M and NP is established.

Platzack’s (2008) account of LBE is fully compatible with Poletto’s (2005) analysis of Old Italian V2 as parameter uniformly set across phases, which is adopted here as well. Poletto (2005) argues that Old Italian V2 depends on a feature-checking requirement generalized to all phase edges, thus involving the CP as well as the vP and the DP peripheries. Poletto argues that the expectation of a parallel behavior among the three peripheries is borne out by movement of non-specialized constituents or subconstituents attested at the CP level (i.e. by preverbal fronting in V2 clauses); as well as to the vP periphery, where OV order is derived from fronting to a low FocusP; and to the DP periphery. In the latter case, Poletto hypothesizes that Old Italian scrambling at the DP level results from movement of a constituent to a Focus position in the DP-left periphery, giving rise to orders like the one in (227) below:

- (227) quando vi dissi [**del cavallo** [cosa così meravigliosa \_\_\_\_ ]                      (Old Italian)  
       when 2s.DAT.cl told.1sg of.the horse thing so wonderful  
       “When I told you such a wonderful thing about the horse”                      [N, 120, 14]

The order in (227) is what enables LBE in Old Italian (Cecilia Poletto p.c.) and in Old Scandinavian, under the assumption that the left periphery of the Old Scandinavian DPs has a parameter setting which parallels that of the CP periphery. With regard to the DP-periphery fronting, Poletto (2005) proposes that:

“The scrambling process can be interpreted as movement to either a Focus or a Topic position in the left periphery of the DP area similar to the one of the other phases” (p. 17).

On the basis of the evidence provided by the Old Scandinavian LBE and scrambling facts illustrated above, and in Platzack (2008), Poletto's idea can be extended to Old Scandinavian DPs as well. Nonetheless, further research is needed in order to determine precisely the trigger of movement, hence the exact scrambling position in the DP periphery<sup>73</sup>.

### 3.4. Clause boundedness

On a par with Icelandic, Old Italian SF is subject to the clause-boundedness restriction. Although it is not possible to have a feedback on constructions which are expected to be ungrammatical when dealing with diachronic data, positive evidence for the present case consists of the absence of instances of cross-clausal SF. The respect of the clause-boundedness restriction in Old Romance SF is also observed by Fischer (to app)a. for Old Catalan (NA=not attested):

- (228)a. *E dix que **anat** se n'era \_\_\_ja la nuit ...* (Old Catalan)  
 and said.3sg that gone ref. there'was.3sg \_\_\_ already the night  
 "and he said that the night had already gone ..."  
 [Descloit/284]
- b. <sup>NA</sup>*E **anat** dix que se n'era \_\_\_ja la nuit*  
 and **gone** said.3sg that ref there'was.3sg \_\_\_ already the night

On a par with Icelandic, Old Italian SF can also cross a modal without violating the clause boundedness restriction, as Old Italian modals do not select a complementizer-headed clause but an infinitive. Compare the Old Italian facts in (229) and (230) with the Icelandic ones in (231):

- (229) *Facciasi con più onestade e con più cortesia* (Old Italian)  
 Do.subj-IMP.cl with more honesty and with more courtesy  
 che **fare** si puote  
 than do.INF IMP can.3s  
 "Shall one do it as honestly and kindly as one can"  
 [N, 1, 14]
- (230) *A colui che **offendere** lo vuole*  
 to who that offend.INF 3s.CL.ACC wants  
 "to who wants to offend him"  
 [FR, 81, 33]
- (231) a. *þetta eru born [sem **lesa** þurfa(\*að) \_\_\_ þessar bækur]* (Icelandic)  
 these are kids that read need (to) these books  
 b. *þetta eru born [sem þurfa \*(að) lesa þessar bækur]*  
 these are kids that read need (to) these books  
 "These are kids that need to read these books"  
 [Thráinsson 2007]

<sup>73</sup>As mentioned in the previous chapter, the idea that scrambling targets a Focus position activated across phases can be controversial. An element allegedly undergoing Focus-fronting to the low vP periphery would have no reason to further move to a CP Focus position, unless we provide evidence for extra feature triggering the latter movement step. Therefore, further investigations on the actual relation among the left peripheries of the three phases are called for. See also section 3.6. below.

Recall that Icelandic SF is possible with modal complements that are not introduced by an overt complementizer, as shown in (231)a. (see p. 15 and ff.). On the contrary, *að þurfa* requires an overt complementizer if no SF takes place, which is a clear indication that SF movement is subject to locality restrictions: i.e. the goal is not visible across a clausal boundary.

### 3.5. No auxiliary fronting

A further similarity to Icelandic, specifically to the facts observed in Holmberg (2000), is that auxiliary fronting is not possible in Old Italian either (no cases have been found). The possibility to front the root infinitive of the verb *essere* (= to be) is in fact strictly related to its non-auxiliary status. In example (232) below, *essere* behaves like a lexical verb, and is complement to a modal verb, whereas in (233) its past participle form is frontable because of its existential meaning:

- (232) “Ben può essere” disse lo ‘mperadore: “Dacchè egli è vestito di vergato,  
Well can.3s be.INF said the emperor Since he is dressed of striped.fabric  
**esser** può: ch’egli è uno matto”.  
Be.INF can.3s that he is one crazy  
“Indeed it may be” said the emperor: “Since he is dressed in stripes, it can be: as  
he is crazy” [N, 22, 28-29]

- (233) o per alcuna buona e onesta persona che **stata** vi sia  
or by any good and honest person who been there.CL be.3s.Subj  
“Or by any good and honest person who has been there” [FR, 61, 12]

Furthermore, fronting of the verb “to be” is possible in certain copular constructions in Old Italian (i.e. *esser* in (234) below), as well as in Icelandic, as in (38) above, repeated below for convenience (cf. Holmberg (2000)):

- (234) *Da me avuta* non l’ài [...] *mio erede esser* non puoi (Old Italian)  
From me had not 3s.CL.ACC have.2s [...] my heir be.INF not can.2s  
“You didn’t have it from me[...] you cannot be my heir” [FR, 28, 5-6]

- (235) þeir sem **verið** hafa veikir (Icelandic)  
they that been have ill  
“They that have been ill” [Holmberg 2000, 27, fn.28]

Fronting of the verb *avere* (=to have), which can also be used as an auxiliary, is subject to the same restrictions of the verb “to be” in Old Italian. (234) exhibits fronting of the past participle form of “to have” (*avuta*) because in this case the verb has a lexical use, meaning “possession” (it is a synonym of “received”).

By contrast, the verb *esser* (=to be) is used as an auxiliary and doesn’t front despite being in a context favorable to SF in (236) below (subject relative). This indicates that the auxiliary is not a potential candidate:

- (236) Se tu dirai quella che voll'esser consolata dirai il vero  
 If you say.FUT which that want.3s be.INF cheered say.2s.FUT the true  
 "If you said the one who needs to be cheered up, you'll speak the truth"  
 [N, LXXI, 13-14]

The similar behavior of Icelandic and Old Italian auxiliaries with regard to SF clearly argues in favor of the claim that Old Italian SF and Icelandic SF are the same phenomenon.

### 3.6. VP fronting and complement stranding

An important difference between Old Italian and Icelandic is visible in example (234) above and regards VP fronting. As (234) shows, the SF of the past participles linearly follows the phrases *da me* and *mio erede*. I have already discussed the possibility to have more than one constituent in preverbal position in Old Romance, due to the presence of a relaxed V2, so this is not a difficulty. Other similar cases are found in Old Italian, as shown below:

- (237) a. traditor del paese, *dinanzi a costor* **venire** ài ardimento  
 betrayer of.the country, before to those come(inf) have.2s impudence  
 "Betrayer of the country, before them you dare come" [FR, 24, 5]
- b. che *dalle genti quella cosa* **lodata** non sia  
 that from people that thing praised not be.3s.Subj  
 "That that thing is not praised by people" [FR, 80, 4]
- c. se profetato era che *Troia* **disfar** non si potea  
 if foretold was that Troy destroyed not PASS could3s  
 senza le saette d'Aloteta  
 without the lightnings of Aloteta  
 "If it were foretold that Troy couldn't be destroyed without Aloteta's lightnings"  
 [FR, 31, 3]

Neither Icelandic, nor Old Scandinavian SF allows for such a possibility. Furthermore, Icelandic SF cannot give rise to complement stranding, as shown by (27) and (28) above, repeated below for convenience, whereas this is possible in Old Swedish, as in (240):

- (238) \*Stelpan sem **út** hefur sloppið \_\_\_ kettinum (Icelandic)  
 Girl.the that out has let cat.the  
 "The girl that has let out the cat"
- (239) \*þeir sem \_\_\_ í hafa búið \_\_\_ Ósló  
 they that in have lived Oslo  
 "They that have lived in Oslo"

(240)a. allum þem **til** liggia \_\_ bolbysyns (Old Swedish)  
 all those to lie village.GEN  
 “all those of the village to lie”

b. Nu kunnu þer koma sum i aghu \_\_sakinne  
 Now may they come who in own legal.case.DAT  
 “Now those who have a legal case may come” [Delsing 2001, ÖgL]

The facts in (240) and the similarity between Old Swedish and Old Italian seem to correlate with the fact that Old Swedish has basic OV order (cf. Delsing 2001), whereas Old Italian has OV order derived by object movement to a Focus position in the low left periphery, which results in a contribution to the sentence information structure. The (basic or derived) OV in the two varieties mentioned above can in fact explain why SF is much less restricted than in Icelandic.

The contrast between Icelandic and Old Swedish/Old Italian cannot be satisfactorily explained just as dependent on a different setting of the V2 parameter (i.e. its “relaxed” vs. “strict” character). Such distinction would simply be descriptive. Instead, I assume with Poletto (2005) that both OV and complement stranding depend on a property of the left periphery which is “uniform across phases” (see Poletto 2005; discussion in Section 3.3. and in Chapter 4. below). In this perspective, the CP periphery may reveal a potential parallel activation of the left vP (and DP) periphery.

A further indication for the possible derivation of the sentences above comes from the presence/absence of VP fronting in the languages under examination. I have already mentioned that Icelandic does not allow VP-fronting, and I report the relevant examples below:

(241)a. \***Keypt nokkrar bækur** hefur hún (Icelandic)  
 Bought some books has she  
 “She has bought some books”

b. \***Lesa allar bækurnar** mun hún  
 read all books.the will she  
 “She will read all the books” [Thráinsson 2007, 349, 7.18]

Old Italian, on the contrary allows VP-fronting:

(242) E se **fare proemio** non vuole (Old Italian)  
 and if do.INF preamble not wants  
 “And if he doesn’t want to make a preamble” [FR, 54, 3]

(243) Dei nostri nemici **cercare e prendere vendetta** dovemo dentro a nostra magione  
 Of our.pl enemies find.INF and take.INF revenge must.1p inside to our mansion  
 “We must find and take revenge of our enemies inside our mansion” [FF, X, 26]

Examples (242) and (243) can be analysed as cases of SF of VP. Under this hypothesis, SF would be a case of phrasal movement, in apparent contrast with all the accounts of

the Icelandic counterpart of the phenomenon as head movement (cf. Section 2. of the present chapter). Nonetheless, as all cases of long head movement, an analysis of SF in terms of head movement is problematic for locality constraints (such as the HMC).

Why is VP fronting possible in Old Italian but not in Icelandic? Following the intuition presented in Section 3.3. and above (cf. Poletto 2005), Old Italian can be considered a “uniform-periphery language”, so to speak, where related projections are activated at all phases (CP; vP and DP), without entailing identical feature reduplication on each periphery. In syntactic terms, this setting results in a generalized “scrambling”: marked OV orders, discontinuous DPs, V2 topicalization (or focalization, according to which head requires feature-checking). Assuming a connection between the CP and vP peripheries, VP fronting in Old Italian would depend on the possibility to front the whole VP to a functional projection of the vP periphery first, in order to verify a feature, allegedly connected to a specific eventive structure, where the agent is missing or extracted and is not the thematic subject of predication in clause-initial position. Successively, the verbal phrase would front to the CP in order to be visible for interpretation.<sup>74</sup> The possibility to front the whole VP is instead missing in Icelandic, but a real explanation is not available yet.

### 3.7. The analysis

I propose that SF is derived by (remnant) movement of an XP.<sup>75</sup> In order to have a clearer instance of the mechanism, compare the derivation of (242) proposed in Figure 5.<sup>76</sup> to that of the passive in (236)b. proposed in Figure 6., where the verb moves to Fin, as in common V2 clauses. Movement of SF to Spec,FinP or higher positions is possible also in non V-to-C clauses. The presence of SF is not *per se* indicative of the position of the inflected verb. Accordingly, one might as well assume that the verb does not target the CP but remains in AgrSP in specific subordinate contexts both in Old Italian and in Icelandic, as proposed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995) for the latter. Under this approach, it is possible that the inflected verb remains in the IP domain, leaving the Fin head empty, while SF targets the specifier of Fin. In the two derivations illustrated in Figure 5. and Figure 6. I assume that the fronted VP takes an intermediate step in the low vP periphery. In Figure 5. the VP moves to an activated functional projection, called LowFocP<sup>77</sup>, in line with Poletto (2005) and discussion above. On the existence of a

<sup>74</sup>I thank Ur Shlonsky for bringing the relevant aspects of this issue to my attention. See below for further clarifications on this point.

<sup>75</sup>Actually, I am not the only one that propose a derivation of Icelandic SF by remnant movement. An independent analysis is presented in Ott (2009), a publication that is contemporary to the completion of the present work. Differently from the present proposal, however, Ott (2009) argues that the target of SF is Spec,TP. Both Denis Delfitto and Gillian Ramchand (p.c.) independently remark that it is not clear which condition imposes that a minimal phrase consisting of no more than one lexical element (at least in Icelandic) can be a proper goal for SF, under a remnant movement analysis. This is still an open issue, together with the contrast between late and early evacuation of the stylistically fronted phrase in Old Italian and Icelandic, respectively, applied in the remnant movement analysis of stylistically fronted items.

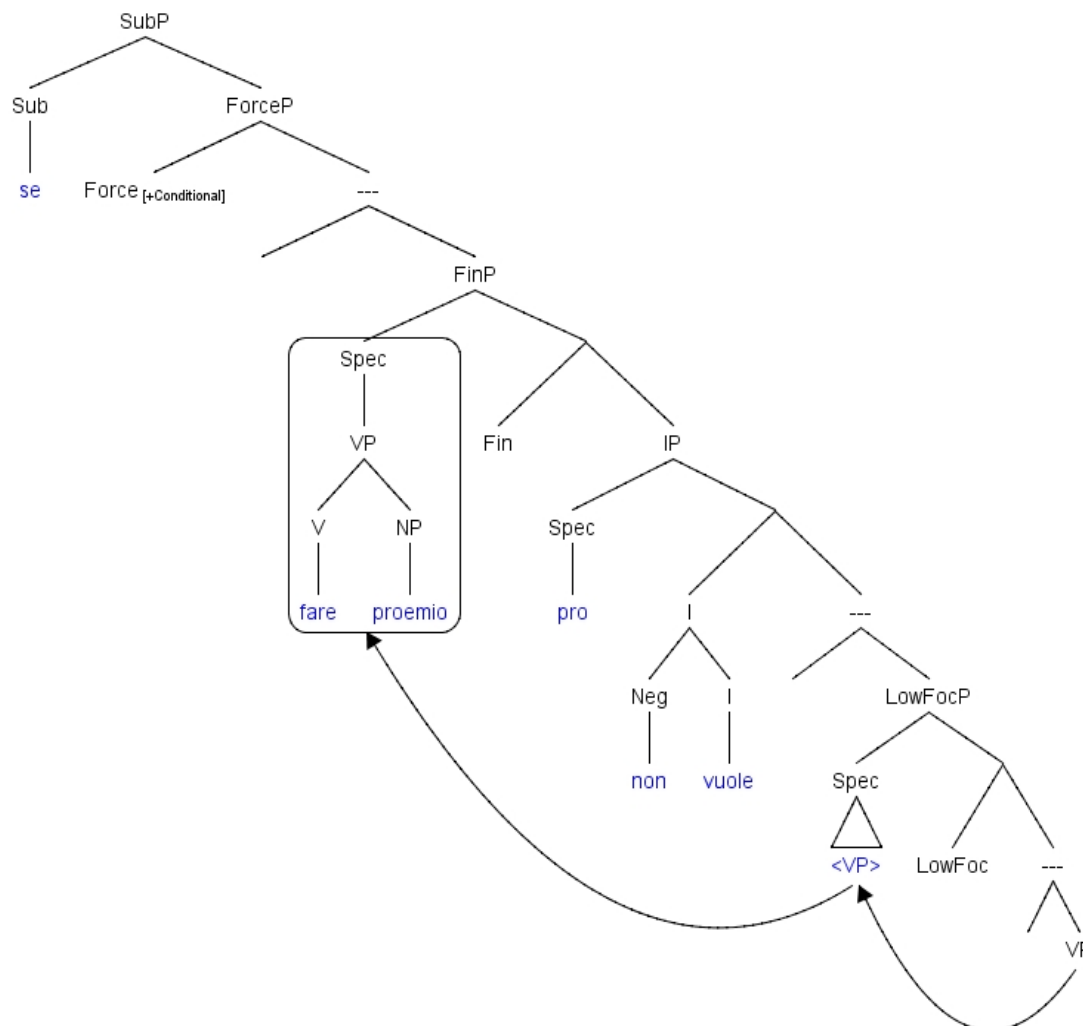
<sup>76</sup> In this structure I assume that Old Italian VP fronting simply targets the specifier of FinP. Nonetheless it is likely that VP fronting is subject to further movement to a criterial head in CP, on a par with German VP preposing in V2 clauses. This hypothesis cannot be directly tested for (242) as VP-to-TopP would be string-vacuous. However, such possibility holds for conditional clauses as well, as they are suitable contexts for topicalization in Old Italian.

<sup>77</sup> No assumption is made on the interpretation of the constituents that target this position, at this point of the investigation. The label was chosen following Poletto's (2005) proposal, although the vP peripheral



similar position see also Belletti (2004). For reasons of space and clarity, only the relevant projections and steps in derivation are given below.

Figure 5. “se fare proemio non vuole” (cf. 242)



Derivation of VP fronting in Figure 5.

Step 1. The whole VP is pied piped to Spec, LowFocP, in the left periphery of vP, where it verifies the respective feature and becomes visible to the next phase.

Step 2. The VP fronts to Spec, FinP, in order to make the feature verified on LowFocP interpretable after the inflected verb (a modal, in this case) is merged forming a complex head with negation. Notice that the subject position is filled with *pro*. Arguably this position is AgrP (cf. Cardinaletti 2004), not the higher SubjP, under the assumption that a null element cannot be marked as subject-of-predication. SubjP has been omitted because it remains empty.

For simplicity, the inflected verb does not to front to FinP in Figure 5., following the generalization that no V-to-C takes place in subordinate clauses in Old Italian. However,

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projection may as well be reanalyzed as a functional projection where assertion is structurally encoded (cf. Duffield 2007). I leave this identification task to future research.

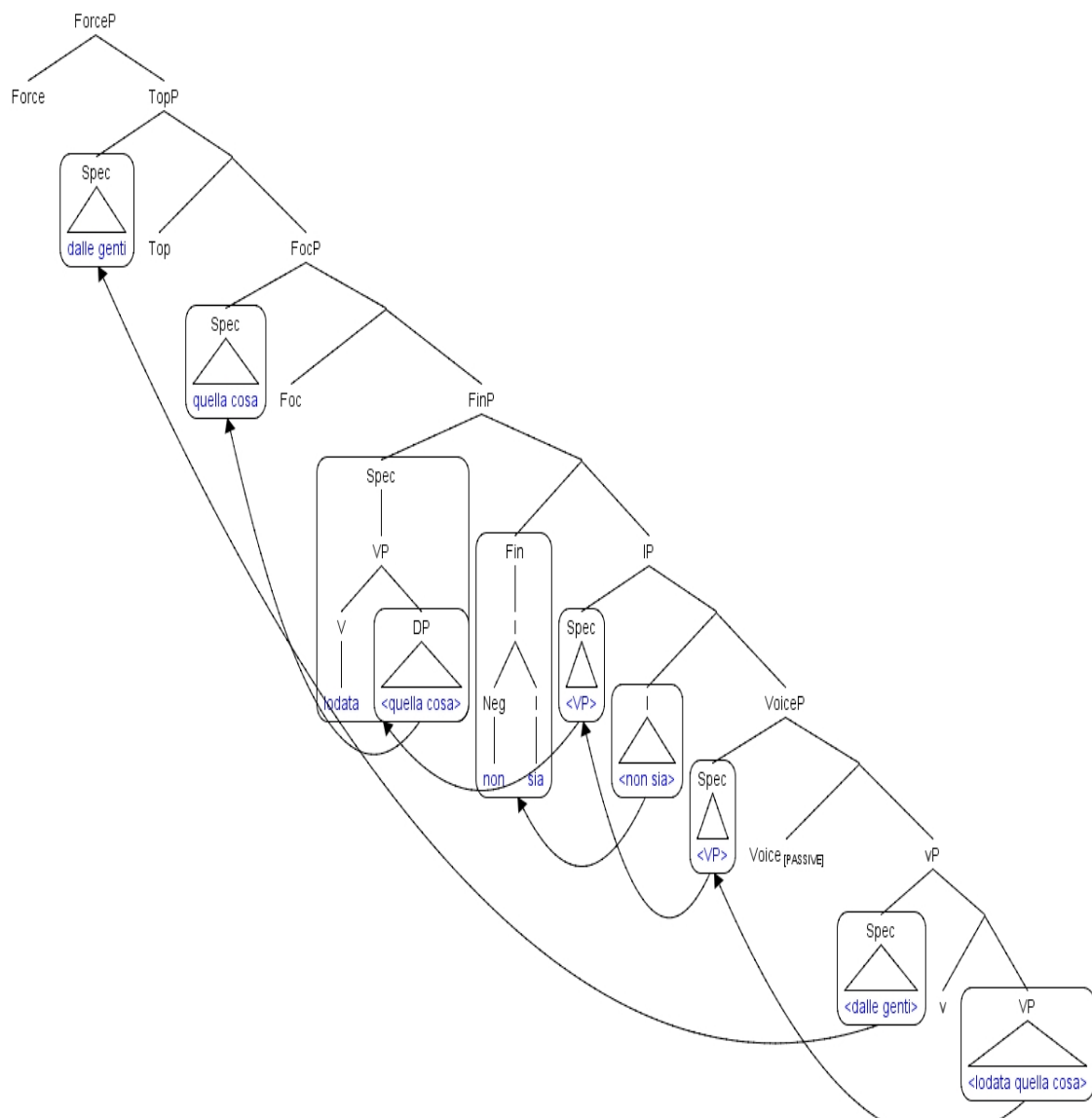
(242) may as well be a case of embedded root phenomenon, thus V-to-Fin is expected, contrary to other embedded clauses with a non-root status. Moreover, the inflected (modal) verb is not a proper goal for SF, allegedly because it lacks the proper feature specification<sup>78</sup>.

Compare the derivation of VP fronting in Figure 5. with that of a remnant VP in Figure 6. below.

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<sup>78</sup>Fisher and Alexiadou (2001) argue that SF is movement to a projection where the polarity of a sentence is marked. A tentative suggestion in this perspective is that SF is to some extent compatible with the assertion of the propositional content spelled out at the end of the lower phase (where “assertivity” is verified, see also Duffield 2008). If this intuition is on the right track and explains at least some types of SF (i.e. SF of items from the verbal complex), the impossibility to front a modal is accounted by the fact that modal contexts are not assertive. Moreover, SF of a vP-element past a phrasal adverb is equally ruled out for scope reasons, i.e. the adverb takes scope over the syntactic material it c-commands.

Figure 6<sup>79</sup>. “Dalle genti quella cosa **lodata** non sia”



The structure of the VP is given in its target- rather than base-position. I assume a derivation partially based on Collins' (2005) smuggling account of passives. The steps of the derivation are given below. Notice that the VP undergoes a “late evacuation”<sup>80</sup> from Spec,FinP, due to criterial movement of the DP object to a higher position in CP. As a result Spec, FinP is occupied by a remnant VP where only the past participle head is spelled out. The derivation illustrated in Figure 6. proceeds as follows (crucial steps only):

<sup>79</sup> The derivation of the passive withing VoiceP differs from that recently proposed by Collins (2005) according to whom the by-phrase is formed by a linear combination of the head “by” of VoiceP and the specifier DP of the vP which the passive VoiceP selects. I do away with this option because of the problems related to considering the by-phrase as a non-constituent. However, the precise derivation of passives is not a central issue for the present purposes.

<sup>80</sup> Below I show that Icelandic, instead, requires an early evacuation of the remnant VP.

- Step 1. Merge of the By-phrase in Spec, vP
- Step 2. VP-to-Spec, VoiceP, required to check the Passive features of Voice: the probe sees the DP as goal, but the whole VP is pied-piped by smuggling
- Step 3. merge of Aux *sia* and negation in I forming a complex I
- Step 4. VP moves to Spec, IP, where the object DP (closer than the by-phrase, as a goal) is assigned nominative case
- Step 5. complex I-to-Fin
- Step 6. SF of VP to Spec, FinP
- Step 7. A'-OP-extraction of DP *quella cosa*-to-Spec, FocusP
- Step 8. A'-movement of the By-phrase to Spec, TopicP

There are other instances where “scrambling” to higher peripheral positions clearly takes place from the moved VP, leaving its remnant in a lower position (arguably Spec, FinP). Take for instance (243) above, repeated below for convenience, where the phrase *dei nostri nemici* has been extracted from the DP complement *vendetta*:

- (244) *Dei nostri nemici* [**cercare e prendere vendetta** \_\_\_\_] dovemo  
 Of our.pl enemies find.INF and take.INF revenge must.1p  
 dentro a nostra magione  
 inside to our mansion  
 “We must find and take revenge of our enemies inside our mansion” [FF, X, 26]

In (245) below, instead, the underlined DP subject is extracted from the VP to a position above an adverbial clause in the CP, leaving the remnant VP [*sotterrato* \_\_\_\_] in Spec, FinP:

- (245) posso dire che allotta desti opera che  
 can.1s say that then gave.1s work that  
*il lor padre*, *dopo la giustizia fatta*, **sotterrato** non fosse  
 the their father, after the justice done, buried not were  
 “I can say that you then obtained that their father, after justice being done, was not buried.” [FR, 17, 31]

Clear instances of scrambling after XP-to-FinP (or late evacuations) are exhibited by (233) and (236)a. above, repeated here for convenience:

- (246) *Da me* [**avuta** \_\_\_\_] non l'ài (...) *mio erede* [**esser** \_\_\_\_] non puoi  
 From me had not 3s.CL.ACC have.2s ... my heir be.INF not can.2s  
 “You didn’t have it from me [...] you cannot be my heir” [FR, 28, 5-6]

- (247) traditor del paese, *dinanzi a costor* [**venire** \_\_\_\_] ài ardimento  
 betrayer of.the country, before to those come(inf) have.2s impudence  
 “Betrayed of the country, before them you dare come” [FR, 24, 5]

The PP *da me* and the DP *mio erede* in (246) cannot be extracted from their base position, or a cyclicity violation would occur. Indeed their extraction before pied-piping

of the phrase containing them would require that they take an intermediate step in the non-criterial position Spec,FinP, thus blocking SF. This fact explains why the impossibility to create an OV order by movement to the low vP periphery determines the impossibility to have full VP fronting or later evacuation of the Old Italian style in Icelandic. Further support to this explanatory hypothesis comes from the distribution of SF of past participles, and from the analysis of past participles offered by D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008). SF in general, and past participle SF in the specific case, is more frequent with intransitive, than with transitive predicates (cf. the paradigm offered for particle SF at p. 23 above). The fact that SF is more often found with intransitive, than with transitive constructions, is explained in light of the analysis proposed by D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) for past participles. Basing their argument on agreement facts from Italian, they argue the syntactic properties of past participles of intransitive verbs differ from that of transitive ones in that the latter are subject to locality conditions imposed by the non-defective phase (vP) they are headed by. By contrast, the Phase Impenetrability Condition is circumvented in intransitive constructions, given that vP is a defective phase in this case. Accordingly, the “visibility” of intransitive past participles in the lower, defective phase makes them proper goal for a SF movement to the higher phase edge (I leave deeper investigations on this topic to future research, but cf. also D'Alessandro and Roberts 2008, p. 12 for subject-object asymmetries).

### 3.8. Explaining complement stranding in Old Italian

This analysis can equally apply to cases that may seem unexpected at first sight, namely cases of complement stranding. Complements in a low position, linearly following what is analysed as the extraction site of the stylistically fronted XP are a problem. If SF of a past participle/infinitive is indeed movement of a larger XP (often resulting in a remnant verbal head), how can complements be stranded in a low position? For clarity's sake consider the following cases:

- (248) **Nunziata** m'hai *cosa ch'io l'aspettava*  
 Announced to.meCL have2s thing that I itCL was.waiting  
 “You have announced me (some)thing that I was waiting for” [FF, II, 18]
- (249) **Malvolentieri** ci sono venuto, per molte parole che **dette** sono *di voi e di me*.  
 Reluctantly LOC am come for many words that said are.3p of you.2p and of me  
 “I came here reluctantly because of all the words that are said about you and me” [N, LXV, B, 22-23]

First of all it is worth mentioning that the apparent cases of complement stranding of the type shown (in italics) in (248) and (249) above are very rare with past participle or infinitive fronting. Secondly, they can be accounted in two different ways, since they have different derivations. As for (248), complement stranding is the result of extraposition of the whole relative clause forming the complement by heavy NP-shift. With regard to the derivation of (249), I hypothesize that apparent complement stranding is possible because of the properties of the low left periphery of Old Italian discussed above and by Poletto (2005, 2008) and Cognola (2008, for Mochoeno). In this

perspective *di voi e di me* is first extracted from the VP to a position in the low left periphery, labeled LowFocP in the derivation in Figure 5., perhaps a Focus position with contrastive features in this case. The PP (*di voi e di me*) remains there, whereas the remnant VP undergoes SF to Spec,FinP.

This idea seems to be on the right track for two reasons:

- (i) It explains the ungrammaticality of complement-stranding in Icelandic, where the low left periphery is not available for this kind of movement.
- (ii) The intuition that evacuation of the VP is “forced” by other syntactic mechanisms in different contexts explains the apparent head status of SF in Icelandic.

### 3.9. The relation between the low periphery and SF: Object Shift

Point (ii) above is complicated by the syntactic properties of the lower clausal part characterizing Icelandic. On a par with other Scandinavian languages, Icelandic has object shift (OS) both for pronouns and, optionally, for full NPs (contrary to Mainland Scandinavian, which doesn’t have OS for full NPs). OS in Icelandic, as well as in the other Scandinavian languages, is subject to the Holmberg’s Generalization (HG). Compare the possibility to have pronominal OS (in (250)) and full NP OS (in (251)) in Icelandic and Danish.

(250) a. Nemandinn las **hana** ekki \_\_\_\_ (Icelandic)  
Student.the read it not

b. \*Nemandinn las ekki hana  
Student.the read not it

c. Studenten læste **den** ikke \_\_\_\_ (Danish)  
Student.the read it not

d. \*Studenten læste ikke den  
Student.the read not it  
“The student does not read it”

(251) a. Nemandinn las ekki bókina (Icelandic)  
Student.the read not book.the

b. Nemandinn las **bókina** ekki \_\_\_\_  
Student.the read book.the not

c. Studenten læste ikke bogen (Danish)  
Student.the read not book.the

d. \*Studenten læste **bogen** ikke  
Student.the read book.the not  
“The student does not read the book”

However, unlike other Scandinavian languages, HG does not hold for negative object movement (NM) in Icelandic, as shown by (54) above, repeated below for convenience

- (252) a. Ég hef **enga bók** keypt \_\_\_\_ (Icelandic)  
 I have no book bought  
 b. \*Ég hef keypt engu bók  
 I have bought no book  
 “I didn’t buy any book” [Delsing 2001, 157, 43]

Depending on the choice of the quantifier (and on the dimension of the phrase, cf. Svenonius (2000)), also quantifier movement (QM) behaves like NM in Icelandic, thus escaping HG. However, QM is not obligatory, contrary to NM:

- (253) a. Jón hefur **ýmislegt** þurft \_\_ að þola  
 Jón has various had to tolerate  
 “Jón has had to put up with various things”  
 b. ?Jón hefur **ýmsa erfiðleika** þurft \_\_ að þola  
 Jón has various things had to tolerate  
 “Jón has had various things to put up with” [Svenonius 2000, 261, 14]

Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that optional OS of full NPs regards almost exclusively definite NPs, not indefinite ones, for the reason that:

“constituents representing new information cannot readily undergo OS. Since indefinite NPs frequently represent new information, they are rarely shifted” (Thráinsson 2007, p.76).

This is illustrated below:

- (254) Ég á ekkert eftir Chomsky  
 I have nothing by Chomsky  
 a. Átt þú ekki eitthvað?  
 Have you not something  
 b. \*Átt þú **eitthvað** ekki \_\_\_\_?  
 Have you something not  
 “I don’t have anything by Chomsky/ Don’t you have anything?” [Thráinsson 2007, 75, 2.105]

Thráinsson (2007) further observes that indefinite NPs can nonetheless shift when they have a specific interpretation, as illustrated by the contrast in (256) below:

- (255) a. Ég las aldrei þrjár bækur  
 I read(past) never three books  
 “I never read three books”  
 b. Ég las **þrjár bækur** aldrei \_\_\_\_  
 I read(past) three books never  
 “There are three books that I have never read” [Thráinsson 2007, 76, 2.29]

The data of the Icelandic lower clausal part can be summarized and interpreted as follows. On the one hand, Thráinsson's (2007) observations are in line with Diesing (1996) analysis of OS as a way to remove (definite) expressions from the focused part of the clause. On the other hand, Svenonius (2000) proposes that NM and QM in Icelandic are feature-driven and, because of this<sup>81</sup>, not subject to HG, in contrast to OS which is a semantically driven phenomenon, as proposed by Diesing (1996). Regardless the type of trigger for object movement, what is relevant to the present discussion is the possibility for an object to evacuate the VP, leaving a remnant as potential candidate for SF. What emerges from these observations is that (at least) two types of movement target the vP periphery in Icelandic. One is OS, which regards only objects and, according to Diesing (1996); Svenonius (2000) and Thráinsson (2007), a.o., is semantically driven and subject to HG. The other type of movement is not subject to HG and is realized as NM or QM, the latter being non-obligatory. A distinction between raised objects and quantifier or negative movement is found in Old Italian as well. Following the facts and proposal illustrated in Egerland (1996), Italian OV order with preverbal objects is derived by movement of the DP objects to AgrOP, whereby agreement on the past participle is triggered. This movement type reminds intuitively of OS, with the difference that it is not subject to HG and not limited to pronouns. By contrast, QM and NM in Old Italian display a different behavior from object movement to AgrOP. I do not develop this topic further here, as it is not strictly pertinent to my discussion (see Poletto 2005 for details). It is nonetheless worth pointing out that, in addition to these two types of movement (i.e. object movement to AgrOP and QM/NM<sup>82</sup>), a third type is movement to the functional projection arbitrarily labeled Spec,LowFocP, which is generalized to all kind of (focalizable) elements. Now, consider (256) below, which seems a case of verbal complement stranding (with the stranded object in italics), apparently contradicting the expectations of the remnant movement analysis of SF:

- (256) Hann spurði hver **sullað** hefði *bjórnum* (Icelandic)  
 He asked who spilt had beer.the  
 "He asked who had spilt the beer" [Hrafnbjargarson 2003, 158, 11]

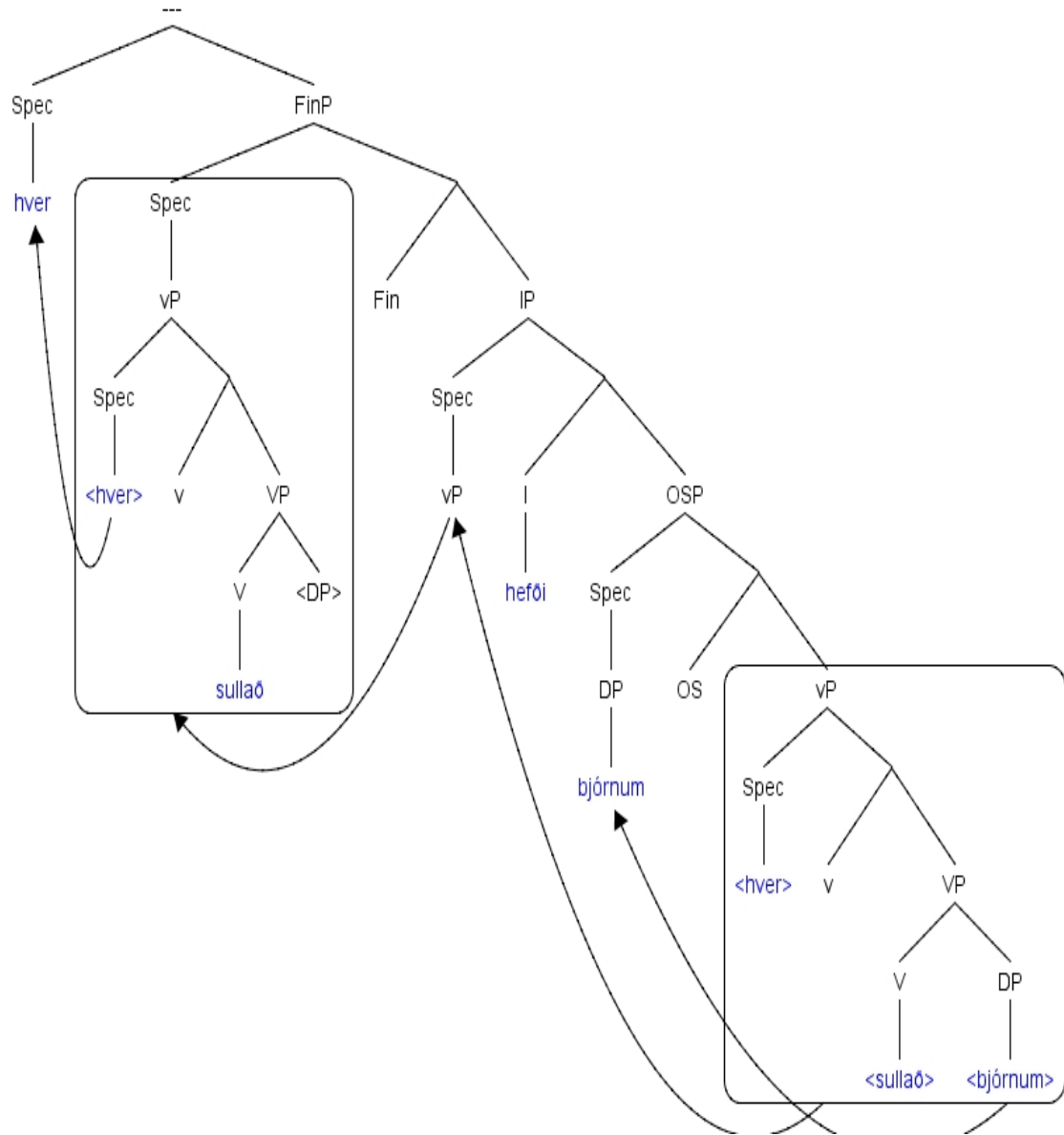
In light of the facts concerning the Icelandic object properties in the low clausal part, the difficulty presented by (256) is solved as in the simplified structural representation given in Figure 7. below, where the Wh- element *hver* is supposed to reach a the edge of the subordinate clause selected by the main verb *spurði*.

<sup>81</sup> See Svenonius 2000 for an explanation of the feature- and semantically-driven movement types and their relation to HG.

<sup>82</sup> QM is still different from NM.



Figure 7. “hver **sullað** hefði bjórnum”



Derivation steps of the subordinate clause in (256) (crucial steps only):

Step 1. Once the thematic structure is complete, the DP object undergoes OS to the OSP located above vP.

Step 2. Merger of the auxiliary *hefði* in I

Step 3. Pied-piping of the remnant vP to Spec,IP for a case-checking requirement on the Wh- *hver*.

Step 4. SF of vP-to-Spec,FinP from Spec,IP (a position *lower* than SubjP, which is empty)

Step 5. Extraction of the Wh- phrase to the edge of CP, from the remnant vP which now consists of the verbal head *sullað*.

According to the derivation in Figure 7. the object *bjórnum*, being definite, is free to undergo OS to a higher position (which I label OSPhrase for the sake of simplicity). A first difference from Old Italian SF given in Figures 5. and 6. above is that Icelandic SF is movement of a remnant vP, rather than a VP, in this case. The possibility that SF moves a phrase larger than a VP, i.e. the vP<sup>83</sup>, in the present case, is related to the visibility condition of the latter at the phase edge and is subject to specific conditions:

- (i)a. the subject must be either absent (i.e. null), or
- (i)b. the subject must be extracted/extraposed<sup>84</sup>, and
- (ii) the VP must be early evacuated of the object, if any.

In (256), condition (i)b. is satisfied because the Wh- subject *hver* is extracted to a left peripheral position. Condition (ii) is satisfied by OS. In principle, OS in (256) should be ruled out by HG, given that the object, in its base position, follows a past participle. Nonetheless the HG violation is repaired by subsequent fronting of the (remnant containing the) non-finite verb to the CP. A similar strategy, repairing for HG violations, has been observed by Holmberg (1999). Holmberg observes that cases of “remnant VP fronting<sup>85</sup>” in Mainland Scandinavian escape HG, and he concludes that “HG is due to a surface filter” (p. 8):

- |  |    |     |                         |
|--|----|-----|-------------------------|
| VP   | OS | Neg |                         |
| (257) <b>Kysst</b> har jag <i>henne</i> <u>inte</u> (bara hållit henne i handen) |    |     | (Swedish)               |
| Kissed have I her not only held her in hand.the                                  |    |     |                         |
| “I haven’t kissed her (just hold her hand)”                                      |    |     |                         |
|  |    |     | [Holmberg, 1999, 7, 11] |

<sup>83</sup> It is difficult to determine syntactically whether VP or a larger phrase, e.g. vP, undergoes SF in Icelandic, due to the remnant status of the stylistically fronted phrase. I assume that SF targets phrases which are visible at the edge of the vP and that movement operations respect antilocality restrictions.

<sup>84</sup> The presence of a condition like (i)b. is attested by the paradigm in (iii) in Icelandic, where an indefinite subject in Spec, IP (not necessarily in Spec, SubjP, but potentially lower, cf. Thráinsson 2007, ch.6) is possible as associate of an expletive in (iii)a. (a construction resulting from external merge), but not in a clause with SF, in (iii)c (resulting from movement). By contrast, SF is grammatical with an extraposed subject, as in (iii)d.:

- (iii) a. það var þá sem það voru *einhverjir kettir* reknir út  
it was there that there were some cats driven out
  - b. það var þá sem það voru reknir *einhverjir kettir* út/ út *einhverjir kettir*  
it was there that there were driven some cats out/ out some cats
  - c. \*það var þá sem **út** voru *einhverjir kettir* reknir  
it was there that out were some cats driven
  - d. það var þá sem **út** voru reknir *einhverjir kettir*  
it was there that out were driven some cats
- [Thráinsson 2007, 331, 6.51]

The paradigm in (iii) is subject to the further complication that *einhverjir kettir* is the subject of a passive structure, therefore not merged in Spec,vP, but A-raised to IP from the V-complement position, via smuggling (cf. Figure 6. above). As a consequence, the only way in which SF can be compatible with an overt subject is via extraposition of the latter. The sentences in (iii) are chosen on purpose. They show particle SF, because the exact subject position can be detected by leaving the past participle in situ. Under the assumption that past participles and particle are equally accessible to SF, the conditions ruling out (iii)c. but not (iii)d. would replicate for SF of the remnant vP containing the past participle. The derivation of particle SF is given in the next section.

<sup>85</sup> Different from Icelandic SF: remnant VP fronting is a stressed construction, not in complementary distribution with overt subjects in high IP position.

Since the vP in (256) is evacuated by OS, the remnant can undergo SF to Spec,FinP. Under this analysis, evacuation not only occurs under the form of OS but also as NM or QM in Icelandic.

As for (257), HG does not rule out OS in (256) above, because the past participle does not linearly follow the shifted object.<sup>86</sup> In this perspective, an additional reason impeding SF in Mainland Scandinavian languages may be related to the impossibility for full NPs to undergo OS and evacuate the VP/vP. Of course, one may reply that the presence of OS in (256) is controversial as it would be a string vacuous movement in that case. This is true and it cannot be tested with phrasal adverbs either, since they would need to be fronted instead of the past participle, as predicted by Maling's hierarchy. Thus, a sentence like (258) where the object has visibly undergone shift past the phrasal adverb *aldrei* is ungrammatical for independent reasons (namely, phrasal adverbs are ranked in a higher position in the hierarchy of SF, cf. (40) above):

- (258)a. ... \*hver hefði bjórnum aldreí sullað      \*OS for HG      (Icelandic)  
               who had beer.the never spilt  
       b. ... \*hver **sullað** hefði bjórnum aldreí \_\_\_\_      \*SF of participle over phrasal adverb  
               who had beer.the spilt never  
               "...Who had never spilt the beer"

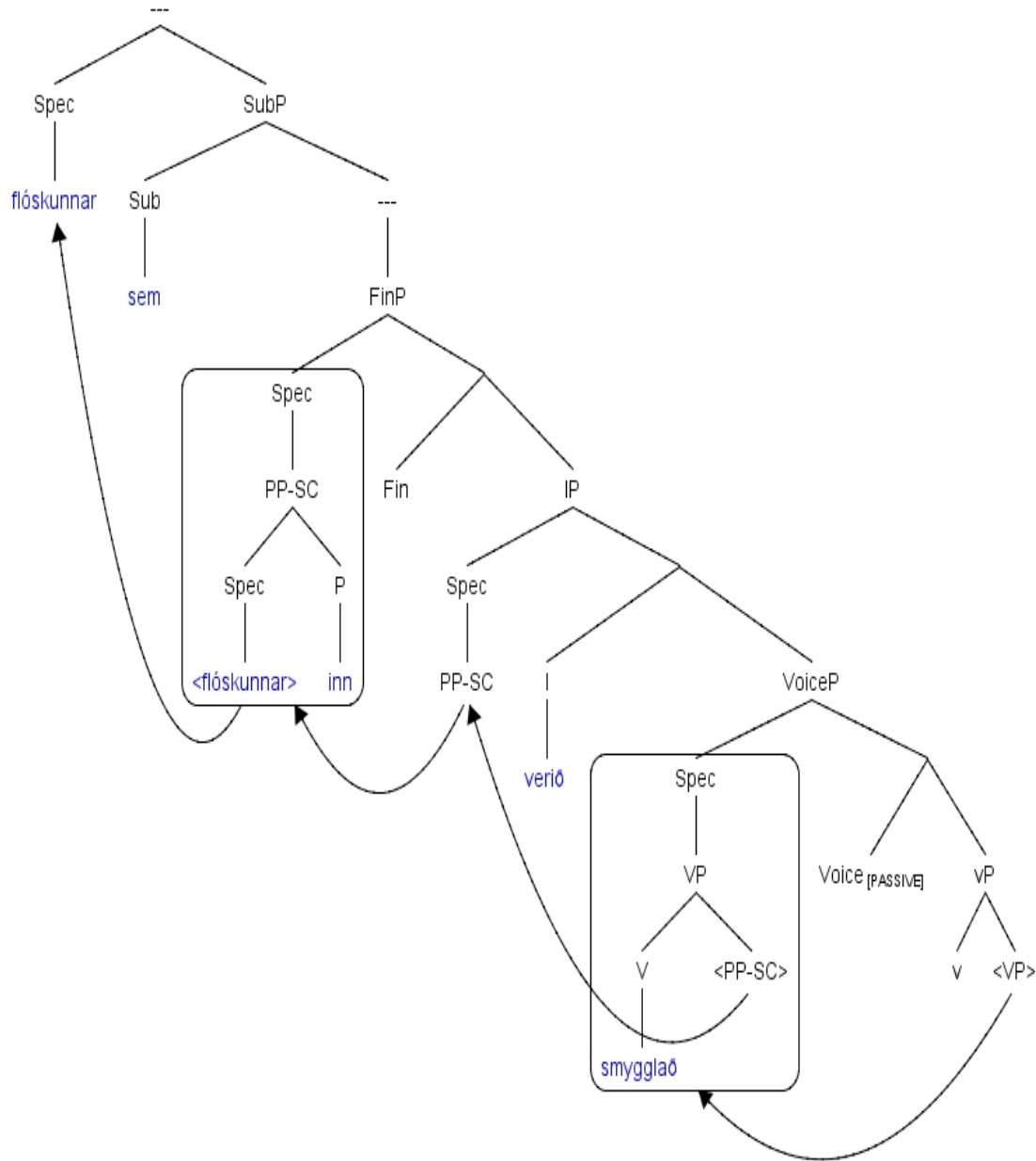
### 3.10. Explaining particle fronting in Icelandic

The analysis of SF as remnant movement is also applicable to cases of particle fronting in Icelandic. Either assuming that particles are merged in a PP, or in a small clause selected by the verb (cf. Ramchand 2008 for a recent account), particle SF can be explained as movement of the phrase containing the particle to the specifier of FinP. This is possible because, in presence of a PP/small clause, SF cannot move either the vP or the VP. Such movement would necessarily entail that the particle is fronted together with the past participle, but such a constituent would be too "heavy" for the interface requirements that seem to operate on Icelandic SF. When the lexical verb selects a PP/small clause, the latter may instead undergo SF, as shown in (14) repeated below as (259) and schematically illustrated in Figure 8.

- (259) Hann syndi mér flóskunnar sem **inn** verið smygglað \_\_\_\_      (Icelandic)  
       He showed me bottles.the that in were smuggled  
       "He showed me the bottles that were smuggled in"

<sup>86</sup> In other words, HG may be understood as the impossibility to have a remnant past participle linearly following the shifted object.

Figure 8. “flóskunnar sem **inn** verið smygglað”



The derivation of the relative clause in (259) proceeds basically as the other cases of passives previously illustrated in the chapter. The significant differences are that, after VP pied-piping by smuggling to Spec,VoiceP, the PP/Small Clause is extracted and undergoes SF to Spec, FinP. From there, the subject undergoes relativization, leaving a remnant PP consisting of the particle *inn*. Notice that SF of the whole VP from Spec,VoiceP would be impossible because the particle would surface together with the verbal head in the remnant in Spec,FinP.

Nonetheless, SF of the past participle *smygglað* is an available alternative to SF of the particle *inn* in (259). This puzzle could in principle be solved if there was an evacuation mechanism taking the PP out of the VP (in Spec,VoiceP, above). In the hypothesis that

some kind of particle movement evacuated the PP from the vP, the latter would be able to undergo SF and surface as a remnant past participle.

The existence of such a movement is attested for Old Icelandic. Below, I report Hróarsdóttir's (2008) analysis of particle movement in Old Icelandic, according to which a position above the participle phrase is available to particle movement. Following her hypothesis, I assume that particle movement targets a low vP peripheral position, perhaps analogous to LowFocusP. However, an account identifying the features triggering particle movement to such intermediate projection is still missing.

A necessary condition for particle SF to obtain is that no DP object is included in the PP/Small clause because neither PP-complement stranding, nor SF as pied-piping of particle+DP are possible options. This is illustrated in (27) above, repeated below as (260)a., and in (260)b. respectively:

- (260) a. \*Stelpan sem **út** hefur sloppið \_\_\_\_ kettinum (Icelandic)  
 Girl.the that out has let cat.the  
 b. \*Stelpan sem **út kettinum** hefur sloppið \_\_\_\_  
 Girl.the that out cat.the has let  
 "The girl that has let out the cat"

As (260)b. shows, particle SF differs from the cases of locative and other PP preposing discussed in Holmberg (2000) and above. The latter admits movement of the full PP, whereas particle fronting of the type illustrate in Figure 6. crucially involves SF of a *remnant* PP/Small clause consisting of just the particle. The different conditions imposed on complement PPs vs particle PP/small clauses must depend on differences on the internal structures. While complement PPs are commonly formed by a prepositional head selecting an NP complement, the phrase containing a particle is usually more complex. Ramchand (2008), adopting both the Small clause and the PP analysis of verbal particles for different, relevant aspects, proposes that particles realize the head of a ResultativeP after undergoing obligatory particle shift from the head of a lower PP. If there is a complement NP, the latter may optionally move to the Spec of ResultativeP or remain in its base position, i.e. the Spec, PP, which gives the alternation Particle-Object/Object-Particle. The availability of such alternation is subject to crosslinguistic restrictions. In Ramchand's terms, the present account would explain particle SF as movement of a remnant ResultativeP consisting only of a particle and whose object is either implicit or has moved out.

A more complex issue is presented by verb-particle constructions when SF doesn't raise the verbal particle, but the past participle, which is repeated in (261) below:

- (261) Hann syndi mér flóskunnar [sem **smygglað** verið inn]  
 He showed me bottles.the that in were smuggled  
 "He showed me the bottles that were smuggled in"

The presence of the particle *inn* in postverbal position, apparently lower than the past participle extraction site, is problematic for a remnant approach to SF. So far, I have shown that SF takes place when the lower clausal part, probed by Fin, can be evacuated first and then move as a remnant containing only one lexical item. The identification of

this item seems to depend on its features. In line with Holmberg's (2000) and Rizzi and Shlonsky's (2007) observations, Fin is not endowed with specific uninterpretable phi-features, in SF as well as in expletive constructions. Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) argue that the feature on Fin is [U: locative] in locative inversions. After observing the characteristics of the fronted elements in SF, I conclude that Fin is the syntactic projection where the clausal theme is interpreted. In some specific cases, the feature interpreted on Fin is generated in the eventive structure (i.e. within vP) and made prominent in the discourse by SF, as a contribution to the information structure.<sup>87,88</sup>

Let us now get back to the issue illustrated in (261), which is problematic because of the particle-stranding in a low position. The solution to this puzzle is offered by Hróarsdóttir (2008) as an analysis of the diachrony of Icelandic. Hróarsdóttir observes that Old Icelandic (XIV century) exhibits a high frequency of OV as well as of Particle – V order. When the DP complement is merged in a small clause containing a particle, and the particle is found in preverbal position, then two orders, given in (262)a. and (262)b., are possible, whereas (262)c. is not attested:

(Old Icelandic)

(262) a. ... hefði Grundar-Helga **upp alið** þessa Ingigerði *[particle - Vmain - DP]*  
 ... had Grundar-Helga up brought this Ingigerður  
 "Grundar-Helga had brought up this Ingigerður"

b. at ek skyldi eigi fleiri born **upp ala** *[DP - particle - Vmain]*  
 that I should not more children up bring  
 "that I should not bring up more children"

c. Not attested *\*[particle - DP - Vmain]*  
 [(Finn, Morð) Hróarsdóttir 2008, 219, 17-19]

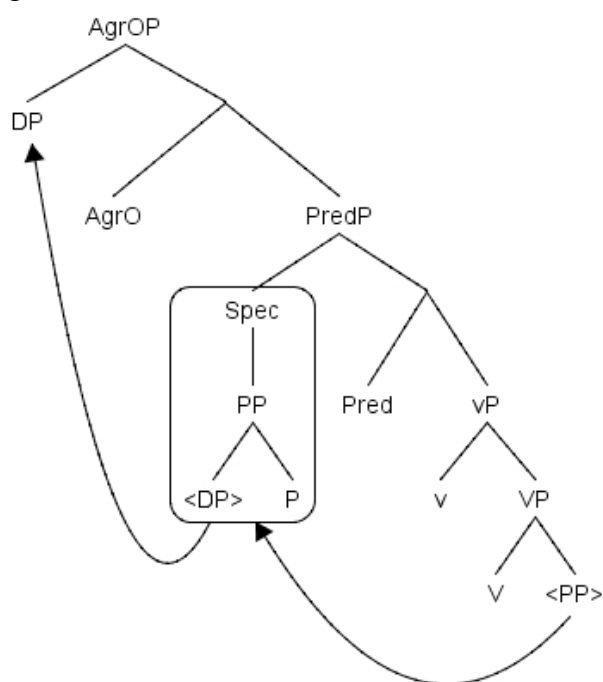
Postverbal particles are also possible in the Old Icelandic corpora analyzed by Hróarsdóttir. In order to account for the wide range of differences in the linear order, she provides a remnant-VP account of particle movement that is also compatible with the V2 requirement (see Hróarsdóttir (2008) for derivation details). I do not go into the details of her proposal here, but refer only to the most interesting aspects for the present purposes. Hróarsdóttir derives the particle – V order as particle fronting to a functional PredicateP (PredP) position located above the VP. Particle movement is XP-movement of a small clause containing the particle and the object DP. The fact that the object can precede the particle or be stranded in a lower position is explained with the fact that it evacuates the small clause where it is generated in order to reach Spec,AgrOP. The latter position is crucially located higher than PredP, which is why the Part – DP – V order given in (263)c. above is unattested. Hróarsdóttir's (2008) analysis is based on a set of

<sup>87</sup> In line with Fischer and Alexiadou's (2001) proposal, discourse related properties of the finite event spelled out as the lower phase are interpreted at the end of the main phase. In this perspective, the synergy between the higher and the lower phase is explained in terms of interpretation requirements on the propositional eventive content in its finite temporal domain.

<sup>88</sup> A further speculation concerns the cases of extractions illustrated above (cf. Figg. 7, 8). A plausible hypothesis, worth deeper investigations, is that the phi-features on Fin are valued and checked by the relative/Wh- operator which is then extracted leaving a remnant phrase in Spec,FinP.

assumptions and stipulations that I disregard, also because they would need revising in order to account for the possibility to have past participle SF. Nonetheless, I do take advantage of her intuition concerning the possibility of particle movement to a position higher than the vP. Hróarsdóttir calls such position PredP, and it is not clear how to better identify this functional projection. Assuming that both the object DP and the verbal particle are outside the past participle domain, as schematically illustrated in Figure 9. below, the remnant past participle phrase in vP becomes a potential goal for SF.

Figure 9.



Assuming that SF of a phrasal-verb past participle probes the remnant vP, in a similar fashion to what is illustrated in Figure 7. above, the resulting linear order where SF of the past participle has successively applied corresponds to the linear order of the constituents in the relative clause in (261) “...[sem **smygglað** verið inn]”, namely Past Participle – Aux – Verb particle.

Hróarsdóttir’s (2008) idea explains facts of Old Icelandic. The question is how her proposal can actually apply to Modern Icelandic facts about SF of past participles with particle stranding. The answer may sound speculative, but, in my opinion, is very simple: since SF is well attested and also less restricted in old varieties of Scandinavian, it can be interpreted as a residual mechanism in present-day languages where it still occurs. Accordingly, SF may be related to other residual syntactic mechanisms adopted only in connection to it, as, for instance particle fronting. In other words, Modern Icelandic would allow for particle fronting in connection with SF, but a deep understanding of this phenomenon, as well as of particle movement in general, requires further investigation.

## Chapter 4

### Licensing conditions for SF: comparative data from Scandinavian

#### 4.1. “State of the art”

The comparative analysis proposed in the previous chapters reveals that SF is a syntactic phenomenon attested crosslinguistically in Old Romance; Old Scandinavian and Modern Insular Scandinavian languages. The facts discussed in chapters 2 and 3 give reason to think that presence and distribution of SF in these two language groups is affected by a combination of certain syntactic parameters (e.g. basic word order; pro-drop; inflection; etc.). Accordingly, SF is primarily characterized as a syntactic phenomenon and described as a strategy to either extract or drop the subject. Two basic types of SF have been identified.

##### 4.1.1. SF in non-V2 contexts

The first type of SF consists mostly, although not exclusively, of “items from the verbal complex”. It has been shown that this type of SF is more frequent in so-called “non-V2 contexts”, i.e. when the inflected verb is not expected to raise to Fin. If Fin requires its features to be checked but neither merger of an IP-peripheral subject, nor V-to-Fin are possible, some other strategy must be adopted. According to Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007) a subject in its criterial position Spec, SubjP checks the features of Subj. Assuming that Fin and Subj are in a head-head relation, the subject in Spec, SubjP can value and check the phi-features on Fin. In the previous chapter it has been shown how SF of an item related to the eventive structure<sup>89</sup> (e.g. a remnant VP/vP or a verbal particle) may represent another possible solution for valuing and checking Fin features. The hypothesis that has been put forward is that the uninterpretable counterparts of the phi-features possessed by “regular” subjects are not specified on Fin, in this context. The analysis of SF as a strategy of subject dropping/extraction is explained if we think of one type of SF as movement of a remnant eventive structure (or subpart of it) that can plausibly check the formal features expressed on FinP. In some constructions (e.g. impersonal; expletive-presentational, to mention a couple) these features are not checked by a topical subject, but respond more abstractly to the requirement that a clausal theme be interpretable. One possibility is that a remnant eventive structure becomes discourse prominent by fronting to the CP layer. In this fronting phrase the thematic structure is such that no thematic agent is an available candidate as a subject-of-predication. Notice that SF of a remnant vP (or of a subpart of it) is very frequent with structures lacking an agentive subject (as in passives, impersonal constructions, etc. see Thráinsson (2007) for Icelandic), both in Old Italian and in Icelandic. Alternatively, the agent is directly extracted from its base-generated position. Because the thematic subject of the clause cannot be the agent (being it missing, or extracted), the features interpreted on Fin can be checked by SF of the eventive structure, which is not rhematic in this case. The parallelism between the function of SF and that of a subject of predication could perhaps be understood as two different realizations of the clausal “theme” (by contrast to a “rheme”). In the SF of a remnant eventive structure, the verbal

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<sup>89</sup> Recall that also phrasal adverbs and negation can undergo SF, and they crucially take scope over the eventive structure. Since scope-related properties matter to interpretation, the locality constraints on the accessibility hierarchy of frontable items are accounted for.



phrase becomes part of the theme, as does not realize the rheme of the clause, which is also compatible with the fact that stylistically fronted material is defocalized (in the sense that it does not carry the main clausal stress, cf. Thráinsson 2007).<sup>90</sup>

From the facts on SF in non-V2 contexts presented in the previous chapters, it is not clear what the exact position of the verb is. The verb always surfaces in an adjacent position to the stylistically fronted item, but in fact it may be either in Fin or in AgrS in Icelandic as well as in Old Italian. In principle, the verb would be expectedly in AgrS in Icelandic or Old Italian non-V2 clauses, but the real target of V<sub>fin</sub> in this case is still under a poignant debate (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Hróarsdóttir et al. 2008; a.o.). One hypothesis is that SF be in Spec,Fin and the verb in AgrS. The surface adjacency between SF and V would be given by the absence of a topical subject in SubjP. Another hypothesis is that SF licenses V-to-Fin. However, this mechanism would not be clear to me, since I don't see a valid reason to treat verb movement as totally dependent on movement of an overt XP.

According to Falk (1993), there is a correlation between the loss of person features and the significant decrease of SF in Old Swedish. In other words, she argues that SF was possible only as long as the whole phi-feature set was fully specified on the verb. Falk's point is based on an analysis of SF as movement to Spec,IP, rather than Spec,CP as is instead proposed here. Even assuming that SF requires V-to-I, whence the correlation between rich inflection and SF, we have no reason to expect SF from languages displaying a combination of V-to-I and other favorable conditions to SF, such as null subjects. A very telling case is represented by the lack of productive SF in Modern Italian, which has both null subjects and V-to-I (see Appendix for examples). In this chapter it is shown that SF depends on a combination of more factors, rather than just on the positive setting of pro-drop and the presence of V-to-I. Further evidence is provided by Garbacz (2009) who argues for the lack of a correlation between SF and V-to-I in Övdalian (cf. section 4.8.).

In the analysis of SF proposed here, one of the target positions of SF is Spec,FinP, and SF itself is characterized as not directly dependent on the scope of inflected verb movement. This means that a Spec-Head configuration between the finite verb and the stylistically fronted item needs not (and in non-V2 contexts probably cannot) be created. It is my impression that the correlation between V-to-I and SF is more complex than the one postulated by Falk (1993) a.o., since facts show that it involves two distinct projections. In the forthcoming sections, and in the next chapter, it is briefly discussed how SF seems to presuppose V-to-I but not viceversa.

#### 4.1.2. SF in V2 contexts

The other type of SF that has been identified solves the same function of the SF encountered in non-V2 contexts (i.e. checks the formal Fin features) in a “parasitic” way, by moving to a higher projection in the CP. Differently from the previous type of SF, however, the present one does not only have the function of checking the Fin features through morphologic realization, since this requirement is already satisfied by

<sup>90</sup> The distinction between theme and rheme (or focus) can probably be attributed first to Weil (1987). I thank Gillian Ramchand for discussing with me this point.

Another hypothesis applicable to subject-extraction contexts is that the phi-features on Fin are checked by movement of an operator which is stylistically fronted with the remnant vP and then extracted to a higher CP position.

the inflected verb. In V2 contexts, indeed, the fronted constituent is free to target a criterial projection, or a projection where it would acquire discourse-prominence, much like cases of Locative Inversion (although the latter differs from SF in some relevant respects, see Chapters 1 and 2).

The expectation that SF in V2 (i.e. in root) contexts may contribute to the information structure (by targeting a criterial position in CP) seems confirmed by the facts, as well as by some speakers' judgments, in Icelandic (cf. Jónsson 2002). In this case, the fronted item gains discourse prominence without necessarily having an operator status<sup>91</sup>. The lexical categories most commonly involved in this type of SF are nominal predicates and predicative adjectives (or extracted parts of them), which presumably possess different features (+N; +Mod; etc.) and whose distribution privileges V2 contexts in Old Italian (cf. chapter 2).

It is worth remarking that the differences between these two types of SF are not so sharply defined. Sometimes, lexical categories preferred in non-V2 contexts are found in V2 contexts as well, and viceversa. Recall that the proposed analysis doesn't rule out the possibility that an item fronted in a non-V2 clause targets a low, non-quantificational position such as ModP, where adjectives; modifiers or full nominal predicates gain discourse prominence.

A tentative hypothesis is that SF may have been subject to a sort of generalization process, according to which elements usually stylistically fronted in V2 clauses could sometimes be fronted in non-V2 clauses for Fin-feature checking. Such a process would primarily be of syntactic nature. Sufficient input for the acquisition of SF would be the evidence for "fronting an item that is directly or indirectly<sup>92</sup> related to the eventive structure", provided that the grammar has a suitable parameter setting. It is my impression that the generic character of SF, where diverse lexical categories are moved, depends on the purely formal character of the features specified on Fin<sup>93</sup>. It is worth pointing out that all the lexical items undergoing SF are [+V]. Not only verbal heads, but also nominal predicates, predicative adjectives and verbal complements, being predicates in a remnant VP, must be +V. Furthermore, adverb and verbal particles possess a [+V] feature. In the literature, the feature specification of PPs is usually considered ambiguous between +N and +V. It is believed that this ambiguity regards CPs as well<sup>94 95</sup>: a belief with which the present analysis is compatible, given that the

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<sup>91</sup> Differently from V2 topics in Germanic.

<sup>92</sup> Where "directly" refers to what Maling (1990) calls "items from the verbal complex", whereas "indirectly" indicatively refers to all those elements not included in the verbal complex (e.g. phrasal adverbs, negations), but modifying the semantics of the event by taking scope over it. The latter meaning can also refer to a potential "assertion marking mechanism" where an assertive feature, verified at the vP periphery (cf. Duffield 2008 and references therein) is made visible to interpretation by fronting some properly specified syntactic material to the CP level.

<sup>93</sup> Fin seems to be prone to a variety of alternative strategies enforcing the feature-checking mechanism in absence of overt preverbal subjects/inflectional morphology. Just to mention a few: agreeing complementizers in Bavarian; the *que/qui* alternation of French, locative inversion, *do* insertion (cf. Taraldsen (1979); Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007)).

<sup>94</sup> For an account of syntactic phenomena related to the +N/+V specification on FinP in V2 languages see Haeberli (2002).

<sup>95</sup> CP complement clauses may be derived by a null pronoun in object position. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of nominal clauses such as "(the fact) that..."

predicates undergoing SF are [+V] *qua* predicates, but they may be also [+N] (e.g. nominal predicates).<sup>96</sup> It is worth anticipating that among the categories that concur to Fin-feature checking are clitic pronouns, on a par with other inflectional elements (cf. Cocchi and Poletto 2000 for an account of complementizer deletion facts in Florentine). This is an option only in some languages with clitics, but it is generally impossible in Germanic<sup>97</sup>. Evidence in support of this hypothesis is given in the next chapter.

## 4.2. The optionality problem

One problematic aspect of SF is its optional character. Even assuming that all the relevant syntactic conditions for the realization of SF obtain, SF most often happens to be non-obligatory, as can be clearly seen in Modern Icelandic, where SF may alternate with the expletive/quasi-argumental *það*<sup>98</sup> (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1984 for a detailed discussion) or with a gap (a trace or a null expletive/quasi-argumental pro). How can this optionality be explained?

In order to answer this question, the specific syntactic conditions licensing SF must be identified: further investigations actually reveal that optionality is only apparent. On the one hand, a merely syntactic analysis of SF cannot provide any satisfactory answer to this puzzle: one cannot assume that sometimes the uninterpretable features on Fin require an overt realization, but some other time they don't. As is well known, optionality is a puzzle for the economy of syntax, and finding some good reasons to do away with it is always desirable for a sound model.

On the other hand, SF is attested also in Old Mainland Scandinavian languages, thus a diachronic study of the favorable conditions present in different languages at earlier stages of evolution is desirable. In this perspective, a possibility is that a combination of parametric changes caused the loss (i.e. in Mainland Scandinavian) or the significant decrease (i.e. in Icelandic) of SF in present-day languages.

Two aspects must be considered in order to solve the issue of SF optionality.

1. A first possible solution may come from the interpretive properties of SF. SF is a syntactic phenomenon, but it crucially involves the left periphery (i.e. the lower CP area<sup>99</sup>), which structurally encodes the pragmatic features of the clause. In the present analysis two types of SF have been identified. Assuming that the interpretation of any syntactic object targeting the CP falls, to some extent, in the domain of pragmatics, a hypothesis is that the presence vs. absence of SF depends on subtle pragmatic differences. This idea also applies well to the “parasitic” type of SF (in V2 contexts), since the pragmatic difference, in this case, consists of the discourse prominence that fronted items gain in moving to ModP.

<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, not all verbal elements can undergo SF: recall that auxiliary verbs are not proper candidates to SF (I thank Ur Shlonsky who pointed this out to me). Presumably, this is due to the fact that their feature specification cannot require discourse prominence, contrary to phrasal adverbs, and is not sufficient to make the event expressed in the clause interpretable (contrary to other resultative elements).

<sup>97</sup> Gothic has clitic pronouns: crucially, Eythórsson (1996) shows that Gothic does not have a strict, but rather a relaxed V2.

<sup>98</sup> Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.) points out that when the choice is between *það*-insertion and SF, *það* is usually the preferred option in colloquial language.

<sup>99</sup> The exact target position depends on the specific featural endowment of the fronted item as well as on the type of clause (root vs. non root, cf. above).

When the fronted item targets Spec,FinP and doesn't move further (as is claimed for the type of SF occurring in non-V2 contexts) this "pragmatic" difference would have to do with the overt vs. covert realization of Fin features. Perhaps, it can be related to the interpretation of a specific feature encoded in the eventive structure or in elements that modify the latter. In this view, the function of this type of SF would not be simply "expletive" (cf. Holmberg 2000), otherwise we could not account for its "optional" character<sup>100</sup>. Indeed, SF is in complementary distribution with expletive/quasi argumental *það* in Modern Icelandic, but the set of contexts admitting SF is larger than the set of contexts licensing expletive/quasi argumental *það*-insertion (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1984)<sup>101</sup>. This slightly different distribution suggests that SF has different properties from *það*, which is the unique entry for both expletives and semi-arguments. More on the distribution and optional character of *það* is said in section 4.5. below. As we will see, some pragmatic factors seem to play a role in *það*-drop in those contexts where an overt expletive is otherwise expected. Such factors, discussed by Sigurðsson (1990; to app.) and Sigurðsson and Maling (2008), basically regard the degree of presupposition/givenness of the information conveyed in the clause where *það*-drop is attested.

- (263) Við fórum ekki fyrr en eftir að \_\_ byrjaði að rigna. (Icelandic)  
 we went not before than after began.3SG to rain  
 "We did not leave until after it began raining." [Sigurðsson (to app.) 26, 59]

- (264) A: Hvað finnst þér um nýja húsvörðinn?  
 what think you about new janitor.the  
 B: \_\_ Veit'ég(g) \_\_ ekki...  
 know'I not... [from Sigurðsson and Maling (2008), 13, 31]

With regard to SF, a tentative hypothesis is that subtle pragmatic differences of this sort can also account for the "optional" character of SF-to-Spec,FinP. In this view, some distinctive conditions related to the information structure would trigger this mechanism in a clause but not in others. Under the assumption that one type of SF targets Spec,FinP, this hypothesis presupposes that FinP encodes some pragmatic properties as well, which are yet to be identified. These properties seem to be related to an interface requirement for the full interpretation of the lower phase (but this is just a speculative hypothesis so far).

2. Another possibility is that SF is optional only if we consider it from a synchronic perspective, but once we analyze its history, we may see that its (apparent) optionality results from being in competition with other syntactic strategies introduced in the language at a more recent stage. This hypothesis is built on the observation that SF

<sup>100</sup> For instance, expletive/semi-argumental subjects must be overt in a non-pro drop language like English, where no optionality is possible:

(i)a. There were many people at the party  
 b. \* were many people at the party

Having partial pro-drop, Icelandic has a special behavior. The expletive is usually present in preverbal position, but must be dropped when postverbal.

<sup>101</sup> With the exclusion of some sentences where the subject, although non-topical, is not extraposed, thus impeding SF but not the creation of an expletive-associate chain. See Thráinsson (2007), ch. 6.

seems possible only under specific syntactic conditions. A first one is the lack of IP-peripheral subjects, which gains consistent evidence in pro-drop languages where a “subject gap” obtains in subject extractions (where the gap consists of a trace), as well as in various declarative constructions, where the gap is realized as pro. Nonetheless fulfillment of the “subject gap condition” (SGC) alone is not sufficient to ensure the appearance of SF in a language. In many cases, this requirement is satisfied but SF is no longer possible, as for Modern Romance pro-drop languages. As mentioned above, the assumption that the presence of V-to-I (cf. Falk 1993) in addition to the SGC determines SF doesn’t account for the situation in the Modern Romance languages either. By contrast, other languages with full pro drop do license SF, as is the case for Old Icelandic and Old Mainland Scandinavian. Facts from Old Scandinavian languages suggest that the acquisition of SF depends on consistent evidence for the positive setting of other syntactic parameters, in addition to the SGC, namely OV order in combination with V2. Following the suggestions given in Chapter 3., this combination of syntactic factors seems to result from the uniformity setting of a specific parameter across phases. As proposed by Poletto (2005) for Old Italian, this parameter setting has the visible effect of a generalized scrambling at the phase edge: constituents or subconstituents are moved to a position –which Poletto (2005) tentatively identifies as a Focus- and check its features<sup>102</sup>. Being of the A’-type, this kind of movement targets non-specialized (but focalizable) elements. The fact that such feature-checking requirement is generalized to all phases, gives rise to different syntactic phenomena, such as discontinuous DPs, at the DP level; OV orders, at the vP level; and V2 orders at the CP level. Poletto (2005) shows that once the (Focus) feature-checking requirement at the edge is lost, a simultaneous resetting of the parameter at the three phases is attested. In other words, when V2 disappears, also OV and DP-scrambling lose their productivity. Among the Germanic languages, German has preserved the uniformity of the parameter across phases (i.e. it is a V2 language with base OV order), although a clear identification of the parametrized feature is not yet proposed. By contrast, Scandinavian languages have lost consistent OV and DP-scrambling, despite being V2. A closer look at their grammar shows that OV order is however recreated in a number of contexts (e.g. by OS, cf. Chapter 3.). Crucially, OV order was lost only recently in the history of Icelandic, as is discussed in Section 4.9. (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1994; Hróarsdóttir 2000) and contemporarily SF lost much of its productivity. Moreover, OV orders are recreated in a greater variety of contexts in Icelandic, in contrast to Mainland Scandinavian, perhaps partly as a residue of the former word order. This fact correlates with the fact that SF is still productive in Modern Icelandic, although to a minor extent. In this perspective, it becomes clear why V2 alone is not a sufficient condition for licensing SF. Nonetheless, the uniformity of cross-phasal movement-to-the-edge is itself not a sufficient condition for SF, as indicated by the absence of the latter in German. Indeed, SF requires an at least partially positive setting of the pro drop parameter.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> At the present stage of research no conclusions can be made with regard to the label and feature of such position. In addition, it is not clear whether such “move-to-the-edge” requirement is specific for one position or is generalized (given the V2 character of the languages presenting it) and may involve different functional projections. This issue is currently under investigation, together with the relation between the various phase edges.

<sup>103</sup> The correlation between the DP, the vP and CP periphery in Icelandic is a topic which definitely requires further investigations.

In the following sections it is shown that SF partially correlates with the absence of alternative checking mechanisms for Fin features, such as merger of overt expletives or low complementizers. SF is the outcome of the interplay of many syntactic factors, which significantly narrows down the possibilities that SF is found in a grammar as a productive phenomenon.

This second hypothesis can only be confirmed (or disconfirmed) by looking at the properties and distribution of SF in older varieties, as well as in languages where the favorable conditions for the development of this mechanism obtain.

In summary, the optionality issue can be solved, on the one hand, by considering some pragmatic factors as responsible for SF, under the hypothesis that the latter does contribute to the information structure to some extent. On the other hand, by exploring the diachronic evolution of SF and its relation with other syntactic parameters affecting its distribution. This second aspect of the analysis is crucial to determine what makes a mechanism that often seems to have just an “expletive function” optional (cf. Holmberg 2000).

I believe that neither of the two approaches should be completely excluded. The analysis presented in the forthcoming sections is mostly based on the second approach (point 2. above). In addition, the first approach (point 1.) is taken into account as long as SF is considered as a mechanism giving prominence to fronted items, as is the case for V2 contexts and with regard to elements that are most likely fronted to ModP (see Chapter 3). The pragmatic import of SF is also considered in a diachronic perspective, following the analysis of Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) for Old Romance, according to which Old Romance SF has a pragmatic correlate (cf. the general claim that SF does not require emphasis in present-day Icelandic, Maling 1990; Thráinsson 2007, a.o.). A crosslinguistic investigation of the presence/absence and characteristics of SF in different languages, considering diachronic facts, may contribute to define the properties of the complementizer domain and its relation to the subject requirement.

In the following sections, I consider whether and how SF obtains in different Scandinavian languages and what its relation to the pro-drop parameter is. The choice of the languages is based on the parameter setting considered as a favorable environment for SF.

First, the pro drop setting in Swedish and Icelandic is briefly illustrated from a diachronic perspective. Second, the Old Swedish facts presented by Delsing (2001) are considered in line with the present perspective on SF, and contrasted, in the subsequent section, with Old Icelandic facts. Then the modern variety of a Swedish dialect, Övdalian, is analyzed in its diachronic evolution on the basis of Rosenkvist’s (1994) and Garbacz’s (to app.) studies. In conclusion, it is illustrated how the structural properties of the CP are realized in two different systems giving rise to the basic distinction between Insular and Mainland Scandinavian, and resulting from separate diachronic evolutions of Scandinavian.

#### **4.3. The complex relation between SF and null subjects**

In the present section the problematic relation between SF and specific settings of the pro-drop parameter is illustrated. This section is meant to be introductory and motivate the discussion which is put forward in the remainder of the chapter. A more detailed

discussion of the pro-drop setting in the history of Swedish and Icelandic is presented in Sections 4.4. and 4.5.

Crosslinguistic facts reveal that SF is favored in varieties where the positive setting of the pro-drop parameter is constrained in some manner, so that pro-drop turns out to be partial in some way or another. As previously mentioned, I do not accept many of the SF options reported by Cardinaletti (2003) in my variety of Italian, whereas I accept some of them only in a very formal register. Other Italian speakers share my judgment, which seems a clear indication of the residual character of SF in Modern Italian, by contrast to Old Italian (see the Appendix for an overview of possible/impossible cases of SF in Modern Italian and some Sub-Standard Italian). For sure, the few possible cases of SF in Modern Italian are not reported in the prescriptive school grammars, contrary to what happens in Iceland (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1994). Moreover, there doesn't seem to be SF in other null-subject Romance languages either, which contradicts the expectation that SF be productive when the pro-drop parameter has a positive setting. Given the analogous evolution of Old Catalan, Old Spanish and Old Italian<sup>104</sup> into the respective modern varieties, the presence of productive SF only in Italian among other modern Romance varieties would be unexplained. I do away with this issue by simply claiming that Modern Italian SF is a residual phenomenon, limited to formal speech and to some varieties of Central and Southern Sub-Standard Italian (mostly involving copular constructions)<sup>105</sup>.

Let us turn to the conditions favoring the adoption of the SF strategy. If there were a bijective correlation between the positive pro-drop setting or the richness of verbal inflection and SF, one would expect the latter to obtain in Modern Italian as well, given that this language has full pro-drop and rich inflection. Since this is not the case, it seems that the favorable environment for the appearance and productivity of SF is not simply associable to a positive setting of the above mentioned parameters, but the picture of its syntactic licensing conditions is more complex.

In summary, I make the preliminary hypothesis that the relation between the licensing conditions for SF and the occurrence of the latter is univocal, as illustrated in (265) (the arrow indicates entailment):

- (265) a. \* [(at least partial) pro-drop / rich verbal inflection ↔ SF]  
       b. SF → (at least partial) pro-drop / rich verbal inflection

(265)a. indicates that there is no entailment between the syntactic conditions to the left of the biconditional and SF, whereas the generalization in (265)b. indicates that the occurrence of SF presupposes that the language has a positive setting of the pro-drop parameter and rich verbal inflection. The extent and nature of the pro-drop setting may

<sup>104</sup> Albeit displaying SF (Mathieu 2006), Old French has a different evolution, see Roberts (1993; 2008).

<sup>105</sup> Evidence of the non-productivity of SF in Italian is given in (i), where SF is restricted to one nominal predicate but not another, interpretively analogous one:

- (i) a. **Certo** è che Gianni sa molte cose  
       Certain is that John knows many things  
       ‘‘It is certain that John knows many things’’  
       b. \*?**Sicuro** è che Gianni sa molte cose  
       Sure is that John knows many things  
       ‘‘It is sure John knows many things’’

vary: what seems relevant is that a pro subject be to some extent available in the grammar. For instance, Old Italian has full pro-drop in main clauses, whereas only quasi-argumental and expletive pro-drop (but not referential pro drop) in subordinate clauses (without V-to-C, cf. Chapter 2., and Section 4.5. below). Modern Icelandic doesn't exhibit a main-subordinate asymmetry of this kind, and has expletive pro-drop but not referential pro-drop. On the contrary, Old Icelandic has full pro-drop (Faarlund 2008; Fischer, to app.). According to Faarlund (2008):

“The subject is not an obligatory category in Old Norse. Finite sentences may be lacking a subject.[...]” (pp.199).

As Faarlund (2008) observes, generic subjects, as *one*, and non referential subjects may be omitted. However, Faarlund argues that Old Icelandic is not a regular pro-drop language because referential subjects cannot be omitted unless recoverable from the context. The same restriction applies in Old Swedish as is confirmed by Håkansson (2008). As mentioned above, Modern Icelandic does not allow for referential pro-drop, and in some cases the conditions licensing expletive/semi-argumental pro-drop seem to be the same that Old Icelandic applies to referential pro-drop. Indeed, Sigurðsson (1990) observes that in Modern Icelandic it is possible to drop the expletive/quasi-argumental *það* in embedded declaratives provided that it conveys some information recoverable from the context, as the contrast between (266)-(267) shows:

(266) a. Því er sennilegt [að \_\_ rigni meira á morgun] (Modern Icelandic)  
 Thus is likely that rains more heavily tomorrow  
 “Thus it is likely that it will rain more heavily tomorrow”

b. Ég vissi ekki [að \_\_ færu til Grænlands svona mörg skip]  
 I knew not that went to Greenland so many ships  
 “I didn't know that so many ships went to Greenland”  
 [“Tilhugalíf”, Ch. 5, in Maling 1990, 75: (7)d.]

(267) a. ?Þeir segja [að \_\_ verði dansað í brúðkaupinu]  
 They say that will-be danced in wedding-the  
 b. Þeir segja [að það verði dansað í brúðkaupinu]  
 They say that there will-be danced in wedding-the  
 “They say that people will dance at the wedding” [Thránsson 2007, 335: (7.35)]

Fischer (to app. b) observes that:

“In Old Icelandic all different *pros* were possible, whereas in Modern Icelandic only quasi-subjects and expletives can be dropped (cf. Falk 1993: 131ff). Furthermore *það* in Old Icelandic could only be used together with stylistic inversion, as a topic marker, whereas in Modern Icelandic it is used as a referential subject, i.e., if *það* appears in a sentence, it is the only subject of this sentence” (p. 17)

Some remarks on Fischer's observations follows:

(i) no overt expletive form is attested in Old Icelandic (cf. section 4.5). Notice that Old Icelandic *það* is not even semi-argumental, and it is never found with weather verbs (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1991).



(ii) the Old Icelandic *það* to which Fischer refers is a referential topic marker, and appears together with verb-subject inversion.

Indeed, in a footnote, Fischer (to app. b) observes a similarity between Old Catalan and Old Icelandic SF. According to the data provided by an anonymous reviewer of her work, in Old Icelandic an overt subject could cooccur with SF and follow the finite verb. However, contrary to Old Catalan and Old Italian, the only possible linear order attested for Old Icelandic clauses presenting both SF and overt subject is SF – V-Subject as illustrated in (268) below:

- (268) **Sagt** hefi *eg* \_\_\_\_ það er *eg* mun segja      *SF – V- Subj*      (Old Icelandic)  
           said have I that which I will say  
           “I have said what I will say...”      [Svarfdæla saga p. 1812]

In Old Catalan and in Old Italian overt subjects are possible also in pre-SF position and are analysed as dislocations. Instead, Old Icelandic preverbal subjects are in complementary distribution with SF.<sup>106</sup> The different restrictions on the availability of pre-SF positions can be related to the different nature of V2 in Scandinavian and Old Romance, albeit such descriptive generalization doesn’t tell much about the properties of the left periphery in these two language groups.

It is worth observing that the SF in (268) occurs in a main clause and does look like V2 topicalization, despite the fact that the fronted element is a past participle. Fischer does not report any observation on the interpretation of (268), but one might as well hypothesize that this instance of SF contributes to the information structure to some extent, given its similarity to Old Romance SF, which Fischer claims to be a pragmatically marked phenomenon. This idea would not contradict the analysis of Old Italian presented above and the distinction between different types of SF, but support the argument that SF targets the CP. Analogously, further evidence that SF targets the CP comes from other Old Icelandic cases, where it is possible to have SF in relative clauses with a postverbal subject pronoun in the order SF – V- Resumptive Subj pro. This type of clauses are also evidence of V-to-Fin (see Section 4.7. for data).

The distribution reported in (203) above and repeated below for clarity indicates a “preference”, rather than a sharp contrast:

- (269) SF satisfaction of the Subject Criterion:  
       a. SF of Negation/Adverbials/Phrasal Adverbs/Degree Modifiers/Nominal  
           predicates/Predicative adjectives/Nouns → parasitically, on the way to ModP  
       b. SF of Past Participles/Infinitives → as a syntactic realization of FinP

Nonetheless, facts like the cooccurrence of subjects and SF given in (268), and much similar to a V2 structure, seem to invalidate the generalization in (269). In light of these facts, I propose to “adjust” the analysis of SF as a way to satisfy the Subject Criterion after exploring some further diachronic facts. Basically, the intuition is that, in a great number of contexts, SF used to be a pragmatically marked phenomenon in Old

<sup>106</sup> Whereas preverbal subjects cooccurring with SF in Old Icelandic can only be clitics, according to Fischer (to app.)b. However, the only examples she provides in support of this claim are from Hrafnbjargarson (2003), which are controversial, according to Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.). Cf. Chapter 1.

Scandinavian, as well as in Old Romance (as proposed by Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) and Fischer (to app.)a., b.), but then underwent a reanalysis according to which, in many cases, it lost its capacity to contribute to the information structure: a loss which seems related to the shift from OV to VO (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1994). The outcome of such reanalysis is visible in present-day SF in Icelandic, adopted as a strategy to satisfy the Subject Criterion, as proposed in (269). When fronting the subject is not possible or desired, phi-features are simply not specified on Fin. Instead, the interpretation of other features may be required on Fin, given that this projection behaves as a “gateway” where all the syntactic features contributing to the information structure must be interpreted. In this sense, which type of features can be encoded on Fin may depend on discourse prominence factors (cf. Sigurðsson 2008), but the specific properties of Fin are still under investigation. As suggested by Rizzi and Shlonsky (2006), following Stowell (1982), Fin can be endowed with a [locative] feature in locative inversions. Another feature that requires to be interpreted on Fin is [mood], as discussed in Damonte (2008) (cf. Chapter 5). One tentative proposal for the analysis of SF of (remnant) vP/VP/PP is that what is interpreted on Fin is a feature related to the eventive content of the clause. This mechanism obtains in absence of an agent (or, more generally, a subject) checking a “subject-of-predication” feature in the IP-peripheral position.

#### 4.4. The pro-drop parameter in Old Swedish

Let us see how this reanalysis may have proceeded, by looking at facts from Old Swedish for comparison.

On a par with other Old Scandinavian languages, Old Swedish exhibits SF of a wide range of categories. By contrast, Modern Icelandic SF has a more restrictive character as for the types of frontable items (e.g. cf. example (225)). Old Swedish had a basic OV order until about 1350, (cf. Table 13. below). Moreover, Falk (1993); Platzack (1996); Delsing (2001) and Håkansson (2008) confirm that subjects are often not spelled out in Early Old Swedish (1225-1375). Håkansson (2008) argues that Early Old Swedish pro-drop is related to pragmatically determined movement strategies, and motivates his analysis with the observation that the loss of pro-drop occurs prior to the loss of person agreement (dated around 1500)<sup>107</sup>. Delsing (2001) defines the subject omissions of Early Old Swedish as “modal pro-drop” found “quite frequently with subjunctive main verbs and with modal verbs [...] primarily found in main clauses”. After this period, pro-drop becomes less and less frequent.

An interesting similarity with Old Italian can thus be drawn: SF coexists with null pro subjects at least for a certain period in the history of Swedish, specifically from 1225 to 1375, the Early Old Swedish period. Following Delsing (2001), the preference for dropping subjects in main, rather than in subordinate clauses, suggests that Early Old Swedish pro-drop exhibits a main-embedded asymmetry similar to that of Old Italian. Specifically, Old Swedish pro-drop seems to be licensed by verb raising, given that it occurs mostly with modals. Despite this similarity in the distribution of null subjects,

<sup>107</sup> Another case where a direct correlation between verbal morphology and pro-drop is problematic or at least controversial is that of French. Old French has pro-drop, whereas Modern French doesn't, despite the fact that the verbal morphology hasn't (apparently) changed. See also Poletto (1995); Roberts (1993) and (2007).

the parameter setting of Old Swedish differs from that of Old Italian in some relevant respects. For instance, Swedish loses overt person agreement and verb movement to Agr<sup>o</sup> after 1500 (cf. Falk 1993 and Platzack 1996), whereas Italian doesn't, as is shown by the contrast between (270) and (271) below. Recall that V-to-Agr in Italian cannot be determined with respect to negation, as the latter has a different status from Scandinavian negation and always precedes the verb. Other sentential adverbs are often dislocated in a preverbal position in Old Italian, thus the only clear evidence contrasting with Modern Swedish concerns person agreement, which is missing on the latter (as in (270)b.) but is visible on Old and Modern Italian verbs (as in (271)).

- (270)a. hvy kristne män **räddos** ei pino (Old Swedish)  
 why Christian men dreaded.3pl not pain  
 “why Christian men did not fear pain”
- b. varför kristna män *ej* **fruktade** pina (Modern Swedish)  
 why Christian men not feared pain  
 “why Christian men did not fear pain” [Platzack 1996, 190, 17]
- (271)a. se gli **cade** in acconcio alcuna volta d'usare... (Old Italian)  
 if 3s.DAT.cl fall.3s in proper any time of use(inf)  
 “If it seems proper to him to use [it] sometimes...” [FR, 49, 10]
- b. **vinci** *sempre* perchè **vai** *sempre* molto veloce (Modern Italian)  
 win.2s always because go.2s always very fast  
 “You always win because you always go very fast”

According to Falk (1993) and Platzack (1996), the pro-drop parameter setting of Old Swedish changes as a consequence of the loss of person agreement. With the loss of verb inflection, the Old Swedish AgrS<sup>o</sup> feature becomes weak, so V-to-Agr is no longer required, in Platzack's analysis. At the same time, the Spec,AgrSP features become strong<sup>108</sup>, thus requiring overt referential subjects and forbidding the null referential subject forms which were available at an earlier stage. Around the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Old Swedish also loses quasi-argumental and expletive null subjects (cf. Falk 1993). The loss of different types of pro depends on the progressive reduction of the phi-features on the verb inflection, according to Falk (1993). Specifically, each type of pro is licensed only if the respective features can be recovered. Different pros are identified in the following way:

- (272) a. referential pro: phi-features of number and person  
 b. quasi-argumental pro: phi-features of number  
 c. expletive pro: no phi-features<sup>109</sup> [Falk 1993, 134, 5]

<sup>108</sup> In Platzack view's the Spec and the Head features constitute two parts of the same XP feature and checking the head feature before PF causes deletion of the Spec feature as well, see Platzack (1996), p. 187 and ff. for further details.

<sup>109</sup> This ranking confirms the original hypothesis of Rizzi (1986).

On the basis of Falk's (1993); Platzack's (1996) and Delsing's (2001) observations, the changes regarding verb movement, verbal inflection and pro-drop in Old Swedish are reported in Table 12. below, where they are compared with Old and Modern Italian.

Table 12.

Properties	Old Swedish (pre 1500)	Old Swedish (1500-1600)	Swedish (post 1600)	Old Italian (1250-1300)	Modern Italian
agreement on V	yes	no	no	yes	yes
V- to - Agr	generalized	no	no	generalized	generalized
referential pro-drop	in main clauses	no	no	in main clauses	yes
quasi- argumental pro drop	yes	uncommon	no	yes	yes
expletive pro drop	yes	main clauses	no	yes	yes

The second line of Table 12., "V-to-Agr", reports the setting of verb movement to Agr, independently from V-to-C. Of course, this step is obscured by V-to-C in V2 contexts, but examples like the one in (270) above take Agr, rather than C as the target of verb movement according to Platzack. This assumption is based on the chosen clause type illustrated in (270). Being subordinate Wh- clauses, (270)a. and b. are not potential contexts for V-to-C<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> Vikner (1995), p. 74, shows that the only Germanic V2 language allowing for V2 topicalization in subordinate why-clauses is Yiddish *far vos*, as shown in (i)a. below, whereas Icelandic *af hverju* (lit. by whom.DAT) does not admit topicalization, see (i)b.

- (i)a. Ikh veys nit far vos **in tsimer** iz di ku geshtanen (Yiddish)  
I know not why in room is the cow stood
- b. \*Ég veit ekki af hverju **í herberginu** hefur kýrin staðið (Icelandic)  
I know not why in room is the cow stood  
"I don't know why the cow has stood in the room" [Vikner 1995, 74, 25]

However, the facts illustrated in Vikner's examples are not transparent because the Why-clauses are not embedded under a verb of asking, but rather under a negated semi-factive predicate. Such a matrix context may not allow a V2 complement *regardless* of the sentential form of the latter (i.e. of whether it is introduced by a Wh- or a declarative complementizer). After a web search on *af hverju* -clauses embedded under the verb of asking *að spyrja* (to ask), I didn't find any case of non-subject initial V2, cf. (ii) below. Instead, I found a case where negation fronting (*ekki*) seems possible in why-clauses introduced by *hvers vegna* (lit. whose.GEN by), given in (iii), where there is a null expletive subject. The absence of an overt preverbal subject is compatible with the analysis of the facts in (iii) as SF.

- (ii) ég spurði hann *af hverju* ég **hefði** aldrei séð hann fyrr  
I asked him why I had never seen him before  
"I asked him why I had never seen him before"
- (iii) ...spurði *hvers vegna* **ekki væri** hægt að...  
asked why not were possible that...  
"...asked why it wasn't possible that..."

According to the descriptive grammar of Venturi (2004), *af hverju* has a final connotation, whereas *hvers vegna* a causal one.

Moreover, Table 12. indicates that quasi-argumental pro-drop was lost before expletive pro-drop. According to Falk (1993), the overt form *det* became productive in Early Modern Swedish (from 1500), in so called clause-anticipating constructions:

- (273) a. *Det* wore mycket illa, [om den posten (Early Modern Swedish)  
 It would.be very bad if that post  
 råkat uti Saxernas händer]  
 (has) fallen into Saxon's.the hands  
 "It would be very bad if that post had fallen into the Saxon's hands"  
 [Hermelin: 24]
- b. att *thet* war svårt för migh, [så ofta gåå then långa vägen]  
 that it was difficult for me so often walk that long distance  
 "That it was difficult for me, to walk such a long distance so often"  
 [Gyllenius: 17; Falk 1993, 239-40, 76,79]

In (273), *det/thet* is referred to the clause in brackets it introduces. According to Falk (1993), the expletive use of *det* is enforced only later in the history of the language, as data show that *det* is more common in quasi-argumental than in expletive constructions. However, Falk remarks that:

"quasi-argumental *det* is not introduced in the language as a result of the loss of agreement in person. This is shown by the fact that quasi-argumental *det* is used already in Old Swedish" (p. 236).

In other words, there is not a one-to-one correlation between the loss of inflection and the introduction of *det*. This discrepancy is explained with the assumption that:

"The Old Swedish/Early Modern Swedish subject *det* is an argument, the null subject is non-referential" (Falk 1993, p.237).

An implication of the statements quoted above is that expletive *det* should not be possible before the loss of inflection, at least in principle. Nonetheless cases of expletive *det* are found in existential constructions, in the texts written by the generations born before 1600, and already in Old Swedish, although more rarely (spelled out as *thz* in the latter case):

- (274) *Thz* war een iomfru som altidh ploeghadhe gerna danza (Old Swedish)  
 It was a maid that always used (to) willingly dance  
 "It was a maid that always used to dance willingly" [ST: 104, Falk 1993, 256: 10]

Crucially, Falk observes that

"expletive *det* does not occur in the inverted subject position of main clauses" (p. 252)

and that it has the same pragmatic function of Icelandic *það*, namely it is a topic. The last point is supported by the fact that *det* is found in preverbal position in main clauses or in subordinates with main clause word order:

(275) om *thett* ähn kunde regna bönder nid (Early Modern Swedish)  
 if it yet could rain peasants down  
 ett helt dygn igenom  
 a whole day through  
 “If it would yet rain on the peasants all day long” [Brahe: 36, Falk 1993, 254: 9]

Falk (1993) argues that, prior to the loss of inflection, Old Swedish/Early Modern Swedish topic *det* is merged in Spec,CP. Despite having the same function of topic *det*, Falk maintains that Icelandic *það* instead occupies the Spec,IP position. This assumption is rejected in the present perspective, for the simple reasons that:

- (i) V2 order is derived as V-to-Fin, at least in main clauses;
  - (ii) postverbal *það* is not possible; i.e. only *það* – V is possible (whereas \*V *það*<sup>111</sup>);
- Hence *það* must be in a position higher than Spec,IP. Doing away with the details of Falk’s argument, next section discusses the properties of null subjects in Old Icelandic.

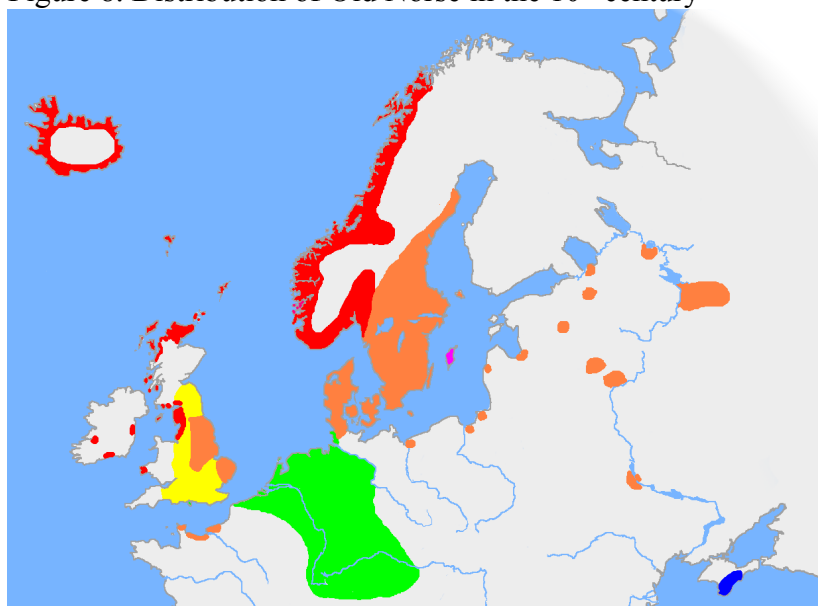
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<sup>111</sup> The situation is different in Faroese, where postverbal *tað* is possible, under specific conditions. Albeit a comparison between Icelandic and Faroese would be interesting, it is out of the scope of the present analysis. See Erikssen (to app.) for an account of Faroese facts.

#### **4.5. The pro-drop parameter in Old Icelandic**

The term “Old Norse” mentioned in the previous sections actually refers to the Old West Norse variety attested in general until about 1300<sup>112</sup>, which included both Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic. The latter is addressed as the ancestor of Modern Icelandic, although it is only slightly different from Old Norwegian. Due to historical factors (i.e. the social upheaval consequent to the Black Death, first; the Denmark-Norway union, later), Norwegian underwent a process of language change and influence from the Old East Norse dialect. Figure 10. below illustrates the geographic distribution of the Old Norse varieties in the 10<sup>th</sup> century:

Figure 8. Distribution of Old Norse in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>113</sup>



- Old West Norse dialect
- Old East Norse dialect
- Old Gutnish dialect
- Crimean Gothic
- Old English
- Other Germanic languages with which Old Norse still retained some mutual intelligibility

Given that the amount of differences between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian is irrelevant for the present purposes, the term “Old Icelandic” will be used instead of Old West Norse.

In comparison to the Old Swedish system, this section gives a brief overview of the pro-drop setting of Old Icelandic in connection with the presence of SF.

<sup>112</sup> The texts excerpted, in Faarlund (2008), which will be taken in account, are all dated before 1400.

<sup>113</sup> From Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old\\_Norse](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Norse).

#### 4.5.1. Referential pro-drop in Old Icelandic

The pro-drop parameter of Old Icelandic does have a different setting with respect to Modern Icelandic. In these old varieties, referential null subjects are attested in main clauses, but also in subordinate clauses.

Faarlund (2008) singles out two conditions for a sentence to present null subjects:

(i) The verb selects no external argument (with impersonal verbs; psych-verbs; double accusatives; mental process verbs; *like*; passives; gerunds) as in (276):

(276) súrnar í augunum (Old Icelandic)  
becomes-sour in eyes.D-the  
“one’s eyes are smarting” [Faarlund, 2008, 217: (57)c.]

(ii) The subjects are unexpressed external arguments (impersonal use of otherwise regular verbs; ergative constructions; comparatives; non-specific subjects).

An example of non-specific null subject, understood as “one” is given in (277) below:

(277) *pro* skal þat barn út bera (Old Icelandic)  
*pro* shall that child.ACC out carry  
“That child shall be exposed” [Faarlund 2008, 220, 69; (Gunnl 6.4)]

According to Faarlund (2008), subject drop is possible under specific conditions, given in (278) below:

(278)a. Referential subject drop in main clauses → if reference is recoverable from the context

b. Referential subject drop in subordinate clauses → if subject is coreferential with a phrase in the matrix (see Faarlund 2008, pp. 221-222)

On the one hand, the requirement in (278)a. explains why subject-drop is most frequently found in the second conjunct of matrix clauses, and is reducible to topic-drop. On the other hand, the requirement in (278)b. explains why null referential *pro* is available in subordinate contexts as well, although much less frequently. Apart from the difference expressed by (278)a., the pro-drop setting of Old Icelandic seems equivalent to that of Old Italian<sup>114</sup>, and of Old Swedish, at least as far as referential subjects are concerned. With regard to Old Italian, it has been shown that subordinate pro-drop is much rarer for the reason that null subjects are licensed by V-to-C, which is typically a main clause phenomenon.

By contrast, if Faarlund (2008) and Håkansson (2008) are right, referential pro-drop in Old Icelandic and Old Swedish is determined by pragmatic factors. According to Håkansson (2008) omission of subjects in Old Swedish verb second main clauses and subordinate clauses is an effect of movement strategies depending on a pragmatic component. Similarly, Old Icelandic referential pro-drop is licensed when the information conveyed by the dropped element is already given in the context; in the discourse, or is shared/presupposed by the discourse participants.

<sup>114</sup> Actually, a more evident analogy is with the Brazilian Portuguese type of pro-drop (see Figueiredo Silva, 1993, a.o.).



How can we reconcile this idea with the syntactic licensing of null subjects by V-to-C? In my view, the two perspectives are indeed two sides of the same coin. The pragmatic account of null subjects seems to follow from their syntactic licensing quite easily, i.e. in the common situation, declarative V-to-C is the syntactic prerequisite for topic drop. The association of main pro-drop with topic drop in Old Scandinavian is not trivial, but a closer look at comparative diachronic facts will show that it is not problematic either. Eythórsson (1996) shows that V-to-C is obligatory with declarative topicalizations (as well as in imperatives; interrogatives and with negation) in Continental West Germanic and North Germanic languages. By contrast, Gothic (†East Germanic), a null subject language, does have V-to-C only with subject topicalizations, but not with non-subject frontings. The scope of verb movement is clearly signaled by the position of the clitic particle *up* in (279), which normally appears after the first word in the sentence, since it cliticizes on the leftmost head (cf. Wackernagel 1892), and can be localized in a position in CP<sup>115</sup>. According to Eythórsson (1996), the clitic particle *uh* is in complementary distribution with subordinating conjunctions and serves to conjoin main clauses (similarly to Latin *–que*).

(279)a. manag-*up* þan jah anþar þrafstjands **þiupspilloda** managein (Gothic)  
much-cl PRTcl also other urging preached multitude.DAT  
“Many other things he preached to the people urging them”

b. *ip* is **qah-uh**  
but he said-cl  
“But he said”

[Eythórsson 1996, 21, Lk 3:18; 19 Jn 9:17]

In constructions introduced by the adversative *ip* (=but) as in (279)b.; *uh* doesn't cliticize on the first word, but is enclitic on the verb, indicating that the latter must have moved to a CP position higher than the CP position where the clitic adjoins. For the present purposes, the relevant aspects of the facts in (279) are that a contrastively marked subject (*ip is* in (279)b.) triggers verb movement, but other preposed elements (as in (279)a.) allegedly don't. Eythórsson (1996) proposes that:

“In Gothic sentences of the type “*ip Iesus iddj-uh*” [=but Jesus went, analogous to (279)b.], verb fronting applies in order to license the trace of the topicalized subject” (p. 120).

It is not necessary that the subject be a focus or a contrastive topic, because in Germanic languages verb movement to the CP is generalized to all main subject-initial clauses. Eythórsson's generalization is that, in North and West Germanic, V-to-C is triggered by subject and non-subject topics, since all topics carry an operator. Instead, in Gothic, subject initial clauses in general require verb movement, but non-subject initial clauses don't, given that the latter do not necessarily carry an operator. This difference between North and West Germanic languages on the one hand, and Gothic, on the other, reminds

<sup>115</sup> In V2 languages, the presence of a clitic in CP (cf. Benincà 1993; Poletto 2005) is understood as the “clitic-second” requirement otherwise known as Tobler-Mussafia law, compatibly with the restriction that at most one element precedes the verb, yielding the structure in (i):

(i) XP-cl V

For an account of enclisis and proclisis in Medieval Romance (V2) languages see Benincà (2006).

much of the distinction between rigid Germanic V2 and relaxed Romance V2 (cf. Chapter 2., (176)). The latter type of V2 allows multiple topicalizations precisely because fronted constituents don't necessarily contain an operator, contrary to rigid V2 languages. As a consequence, no minimality effects arise with multiple frontings in relaxed V2 languages<sup>116</sup>.

Notice that the facts in (279)a. do not automatically rule out V-to-C (*contra* Eythórsson) as long as verb movement targets a position lower than the position where the clitic is placed. In other words, the verb could as well have moved to Fin in (279)a., provided that the clitic position is located in CP. In this perspective, *uh*-enclisis on the verb would require verb movement to a topic position or higher, on a par with enclisis on the verb in Medieval Romance (see Benincà 2006). Actually, given the distribution and nature of the particle *uh* (a conjunction allowing V1 in main clauses) this hypothesis seems plausible. This latter option would entail that Gothic V2 allows for fronting of more constituents, similar to Old High German (see Fuss 2008) and to Old Romance.

The facts in (279)b. entail that, being Germanic languages V2, preverbal subjects are in CP, as well as topics. Following Eythórsson's (1996) intuition, let us assume that V-to-C serves as a mechanism licensing the trace of the subject moved to the CP domain, among other different functions depending on the type of clause where it takes place. In the present perspective V-to-C can be seen as strategy to avoid freezing effects on the subject in Spec,SubjP (cf. chapter 3). The idea is that a properly specified verb, by adjoining to Fin, can make its phi-features interpretable. An overt subject in Spec,SubjP is no longer required and the same be extracted to a position in the CP ("skipping" the freezing position). Although formulated in different frameworks, this hypothesis is not new and can be associated to the lexicalization of Fin operated by means of *qui*-insertion in French (cf. Taraldsen 1978; 1979), with the difference that the latter involves merge of a complementizer rather than movement of the verb.

When V-to-Fin takes place, not only can subjects be A' or A-moved to a CP position, but also dropped (see Sigurðsson to app., on the empty left edge condition, ELEC). The pragmatic properties of subject drop in Old Scandinavian then follow from the fact that the dropped subject features must be identified in either of the following ways:

- (i) by valuing and checking the uninterpretable phi-features on Fin with V-to-Fin richness of inflection does play a role since phi-features are interpretable on the verb in this case);
- (ii) as a topic given in the context/previous discourse.

Following recent arguments (cf. Håkansson, 2008; Faarlund 2008), the reference of dropped subjects in Old Swedish and Old Icelandic is not recovered by means of the syntactic mechanism in (i), but rather through its pragmatic properties, as illustrated in (ii).

Following Rögnvaldsson (1984), the omission of the CP expletive *það* in Modern Icelandic (which can be considered as a case of topic-drop), depends on pragmatic properties of this sort (cf. (ii) above). Below it is suggested that this type of *það*-omission is determined by interpretive requirements analogous to those licensing/banning embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian.

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<sup>116</sup> See chapter 2. for a discussion of the status of preverbal constituents in Old Italian.

#### 4.5.2. Expletive and quasi-argumental subjects

On a par with Old Swedish and Old Italian, Old Icelandic has expletive and quasi-argumental subject drop: differently from Modern Icelandic, no overt pronouns of this type are attested in the old varieties. The sentences in (280) below illustrate expletive and quasi-argumental pro-drop in Old Icelandic, by contrast to the presence of the overt expletive/quasi-argumental form *það* in sentence-initial position in Modern Icelandic main clauses, cf. (281). Arguably, *það*-drop is a case of topic drop in Modern Icelandic (cf. also Falk 1993 and Sigurðsson to app.).

(280)a. en er Ø haustaði (Old Icelandic)  
but when became.autumn  
“but when the autumn came” [Hkr II.8.16]

b. Ø fjarar nú undan skipinu  
ebbs now from.under ship.DAT.the  
“The tide now recedes from under the ship” [Laxd 42.1]

c. Ø má þar ekki stórskipum fara  
can there not big.ships.DAT travel  
“One cannot travel there with big ships” [Hkr II.10.1, in Faarlund, 2008, 217]

(281)a. það bráðnaði stórt stykki af jöklinum (Modern Icelandic)  
there melted big piece from glacier.the  
“A big piece from the glacier melted”

b. það á að hvesa á morgun  
it is to get.windier tomorrow  
“It’s going to be windier tomorrow”

c. það má ekki ganga á grasinu  
it may not walk on grass.the  
“No walking on the grass” [Thráinsson 2007, 311, 6.2; 9; 10]

As illustrated in (280) above, no equivalent overt forms of expletive/quasi-argumental *það* are found in Old Icelandic. Moreover, constructions of predicates taking finite or non-finite clausal subjects, introduced by *það* in Modern Icelandic (cf. (283)), have the following form in Old Icelandic:

(282) satt er þat, [at mjök er niðr fallit ríki (Old Icelandic)  
true.N is that.N, that much is down fallen kingdom.NOM  
Haralds konungs ins hárfagra]  
Harald.GEN king the hair.fine.  
“It is true that King Harald the Fine-haired’s kingdom has suffered a great decline”  
[Faarlund, 2008, 224: (75)a.]

- (283) *það* er líklegt [að tunglið sé úr osti] (Modern Icelandic)  
 it is likely that moon.the is.SUBJ of cheese  
 “It is likely that the moon be of cheese” [Thráinsson 2007, 311, 6.11]

Following Faarlund (2008), the clausal subject in (282) is to be analyzed as a complement to the demonstrative *þat*. With regard to (283), Thráinsson (2007) observes that:

“*það* can be ambiguous in extraposition contexts, i.e. it can either be the expletive *það* or a referential *það* modified by a clause. The latter does not have the properties typical of the Icelandic expletive and is not restricted to clause-initial position as shown by examples like the following, which is natural in a discourse context where the price of gas has been discussed [...]”(pp. 311-12):

- (284) *það* [að bensínið er dýrt] skiptir engu máli en... (Modern Icelandic)  
 it that gas.the is expensive makes no difference but  
 “That the gas is expensive makes no difference but...”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 312, fn. 3]

Moreover, (282) reminds of the “clause-anticipating construction” where Early Modern Swedish *det* frequently appears, repeated below for convenience:

- (285) a. *Det* wore mycket illa, [om den posten (Early Modern Swedish)  
 It would.be very bad if that post  
 råkat uti Saxernas händer]  
 (has) fallen into Saxon’s.the hands  
 “It would be very bad if that post had fallen into the Saxon’s hands”  
 [Hermelin: 24]
- b. att *thet* war svårt för migh, [så offta gåå then långa vägen]  
 that it was difficult for me so often walk that long distance  
 “That it was difficult for me, to walk such a long distance so often”  
 [Gyllenius: 17]

The similarity between Early Modern Swedish *det/thet* and Old Icelandic *þat* is visible morphologically (cf. also the demonstrative form *thetta* (E.M. Swedish), in Falk (1993), and *þetta* (Icelandic)). Moreover, recall that expletive *det* is not attested in “inverted subject positions in main clauses” in Old and Early Modern Swedish (Falk, 1993, p. 252), a constraint that holds also for Modern Icelandic *það*<sup>117</sup>.

Given the similarity of the Old Icelandic construction in (282) to the Modern Icelandic one in (284), it is plausible that the quasi-argumental/expletive use of *það* is a late development from its referential status in this kind of constructions. In other words, the

<sup>117</sup> This similarity between Old/Early Modern Swedish and Modern Icelandic reveals that the latter is more conservative of the old syntactic pattern than Swedish, as is clearly visible in the forthcoming sections. By contrast, Swedish grammar has undergone more significant changes which provoked the loss of null expletives, among other facts.

extraposition constructions illustrated above provide positive evidence that present-day *það* developed from the Old Icelandic demonstrative *þat*. That *það* occurred first as a referential subject is also attested by Fischer (to app.)b. According to this diachronic analysis of expletive and quasi-argumental subjects in Icelandic, the lexical entry for the expletive is available in the language and the form Expl-V is preferred once the presence of V1 orders decreases dramatically.<sup>118</sup> This different distribution is indeed attested and confirmed not only by the adoption of *það* as expletive and quasi-argument, but also by the decreased productivity of SF in the modern variety. Hróarsdóttir's (1996) facts show that this change happens quite late in the history of Icelandic, and there is a sensitive decrease of both referential and preverbal expletive null subjects in the language of speakers born after 1750 (cf. Hróarsdóttir's 1996, 118-123). In connection to this change, Rögnvaldsson (1994) observes that around the same period, i.e. 1800, the frequency of SF dropped.

Before turning to the relation between SF and expletive/quasi-argumental subjects, let us briefly consider the status and distribution of Modern Icelandic *það* and null expletives. According to Falk (1993), *það* is a topic marker in Modern Icelandic<sup>119</sup>. Support for this claim comes from the possibility of dropping *það* in specific contexts both in main and subordinate clauses, which gives rise to main and embedded V1 orders, as illustrated in (286) below.

- (286) a. Ø Voru oft margar mýs í baðkerinu (Modern Icelandic)  
           were often many mice in bathtub.the  
           ‘‘There were often many mice in the bathtub’’ [Sigurðsson 1989, 298]
- b. Ég veit að (*það*) hefði verið dansað í gær  
           I know that (there) had been danced yesterday  
           ‘‘I know that people danced yesterday’’ [Falk 1993, 114, 13]

Following Falk (1993), the verb-first orders in (286)a. and b. are analyzed as cases of topic-drop, licensed by the pragmatics of the sentence. By contrast, null expletives/quasi-arguments in (280) are the only option in Old Icelandic, and they are licensed syntactically by V-to-C.

A distinction of the conditions determining the omission of *það* in Modern Icelandic is now in order.

1. On the one hand, *það* is subject to the CLIC (Clause Initial Constraint, cf. Sigurðsson 2004), according to which *það* cannot occur in postverbal position:

- (287) Í gær hefði (\*það) verið dansað (Icelandic)  
           Yesterday had there been danced  
           ‘‘People danced yesterday’’

<sup>118</sup> Þórallur Eyþórsson (p.c.) confirms that hypothesis.

<sup>119</sup> However, it is worth remarking that *það* does not behave like a topic in many respects, e.g. it does not create an island to extractions (cf. Thráinsson 2007). For a proposal concerning the identification of *það* in Modern Icelandic, see Sigurðsson (2004) and (to app).

Recall that Faroese *tað* is not subject to the CLIC, and postverbal *tað* is licensed in different contexts, as shown in example (65) repeated below for convenience:

- (288) Alla náttina varð (*tað*) dansað (Faroese)  
 All night was (there) danced  
 “People danced all night”

The impossibility of postverbal *það* in Icelandic seems related to the fact that Modern Icelandic does license null expletives through V-to-C, in the same way Old Italian would license pro-drop of all kinds of pro (cf. chapter 2.) .

Falk (1993) argues that Icelandic *það* is associated to a null pro in postverbal position, in a similar fashion to SF. I do not discuss her proposal further: for the present purposes, it suffices to remark that the CLIC doesn’t depend on pragmatics factors (cf. Sigurðsson to app.), but on the syntactic properties of *það*, considered as a CP-expletive, and on the availability of null expletives and quasi-arguments. The situation is different in Faroese, where postverbal *tað* has become an option (cf. Erikssen to app. for an analysis of the conditions licensing *tað*-drop in Faroese).

2. On the other hand, the possible dropping of preverbal *það* in Icelandic is related to the pragmatics of the discourse. Rögnvaldsson (1984) suggests that *það*-insertion, in cases where *það* can optionally be dropped, is connected with the assertive character of the clause. Consider the pair given in (289):

- (289)a. Ég vissi að (*það*) væri ekið vinstra megin í Ástralíu (Modern Icelandic)  
 I knew that (there) were driven on the left side in Australia  
 “I knew that it was driven on the left side in Australia”  
 b. Ég veit að \*(*það*) er ekið vinstra megin í Ástralíu  
 I knew that there is driven left side in Australia  
 “I know that it is driven left side in Australia” [Rögnvaldsson 1984, 17: 46-47]

Basically, Rögnvaldsson (1984) explains the difference between (289)a. and b. by identifying obligatory *það*-insertion with embedded root contexts ((289)b). By contrast, *það*-optionality in (289)a. would be attributed to the interpretation of the clause as not necessarily asserted (cf. Rögnvaldsson (1984), p. 18). Conditions of type (ii) at p. 203 above<sup>120</sup> licensing expletive/quasi-argumental pro-drop in Modern Icelandic seem to correlate to some extent with the conditions allowing or banning embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian, on which there is vast literature (cf. Julien (2007); Wiklund et al. (to app.), just to mention a few)<sup>121</sup>.

In light of the diachronic facts presented so far, an account of the optionality of *það*-insertion in some embedded clauses is offered below, along the lines of Rögnvaldsson (1984) and Sigurðsson (1990).

Notice that, according to Maling (1990), the subject gaps in *declarative clauses*:

<sup>120</sup> The condition states that identification is done by recovery of a topic given in the context or previous discourse.

<sup>121</sup> I leave explorations in this direction as a potential topic for future research, but see Franco (forthcoming).

“must be filled in order to satisfy V2, either by stylistic fronting or by *það*-insertion [...]”(p. 85).

This observation accounts for the following facts:

- (290) a. ?Þeir segja [að \_\_ verði dansað í brúðkaupinu] (Modern Icelandic)  
 They say that will-be danced in wedding-the  
 b. Þeir segja [að **það** verði dansað í brúðkaupinu]  
 They say that there will-be danced in wedding-the  
 “They say that people will dance at the wedding”  
 [Thráinsson 2007, 335: (7.35)]

The preference for the overt expletive in (290)b. contrasts with the perfect acceptability of a null pro expletive in (291) below:

- (291) a. Því er sennilegt að \_\_ rigni meira á morgun (Modern Icelandic)  
 Thus is likely that rains more heavily tomorrow  
 “Thus it is likely that it will rain more heavily tomorrow”  
 b. Ég vissi ekki að \_\_ færu til Grænlands svona mörg skip  
 I knew not that went to Greenland so many ships  
 “I didn’t know that so many ships went to Greenland” [Haeberli 2002, 342: 58]

The sentence in (291)a. is an impersonal construction, whereas (291)b. is a case of postponed subjects. The answer to the dilemma of the optionality of *það* raised by the contrast between (290) and (291) comes from Sigurðsson (1990). He provides a different description of subject gaps and argues that the presence of *það* in embedded declaratives with non-topical subjects is not necessary, as shown in (291)b.. The fact that *það*-insertion is not required in some embedded declaratives is compatible with the facts in (291) above. Embedded declarative clauses with an unfilled subject gap can be considered a marginal option, strictly related to discourse related properties or to the presence of a non-topical subject as a syntactic constraint (cf. Sigurðsson (1990)). Under the assumption that the overt realization of a subject is primarily a syntactic fact, an explanation of the expletive/quasi-argumental pro-drop, as in (291), based on some undefined pragmatic properties is not satisfactory. Nonetheless, the diachronic facts presented so far provide a useful way out to this issue. Let us assume that the expletive/semi-argumental overt subject *það* of Icelandic developed from the identical referential impersonal/generic form *þat* of Old Icelandic (cf. (282) above). Faarlund’s (2008) conditions licensing referential pro-drop in Old Icelandic given in (278) would apply to *þat* as well.

Accordingly, the preverbal expletive/quasi-argumental *það* of Modern Icelandic is subject to the conditions analogous to those licensing referential pro-drop in Old Icelandic, i.e. conditions licensing a pragmatic recovery of the discourse topic. In line with the interpretation given in Rögnvaldsson (1984), this analogy is compatible with *það* being analysed as a topic or CP expletive. By contrast, null expletives/quasi arguments are syntactically licensed by V-to-C both in Old and in Modern Icelandic.

The scheme in (292) illustrates the different licensing conditions of *það*-drop and expletive *pro* in Modern Icelandic:

- (292)a.  $\emptyset_{\text{það}} - V \rightarrow$  Topic-drop: pragmatic recovery of reference  
 b.  $\dots V - \text{pro} \rightarrow$  Pro-drop: V-to-Fin allows syntactic recovery of phi-features

The fact that (292)a. concerns the “reference” of *það* may seem strange, given that an expletive/quasi-argument does not have intrinsic referential content. However, *það* is claimed to have a presentational function (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990); or to be referential (Falk 1993). There is evidence that *það* is linked to the lower clausal part, i.e. the VP, whereby it receives its referential content. This connection is witnessed by the definiteness effects to which the *það*-associate is sensitive (cf. Vikner 1995; Thráinsson 2007):

- (293) a. *það* hefur alltaf verið köttur í eldhúsinu (Modern Icelandic)  
 there has always been cat in kitchen.the  
 “There is always been a cat in the kitchen”  
 b. \**það* hefur alltaf verið kötturinn í eldhúsinu  
 there has always been cat.the in kitchen.the  
 “There is always been the cat in the kitchen” [Thráinsson (2007) 322, 6.27]

A further interesting remark concerns (292)b. In principle one may assume that pro-drop cannot be licensed without V-to-Fin, unless some other device to check the phi-features (which in the present case are default) is adopted. This alternative device can be represented by SF, argued to be remnant VP/vP-movement to Spec,FinP. As a consequence, a third condition adding up to (292)a. and b. would be one as in (292)b.’ below:

- (292)b.’  $\dots \text{SF} - \text{pro} \rightarrow$  Pro-drop: SF-to-Spec,FinP allows syntactic recovery of (default) phi- features

The hypothesis illustrated in (292)b.’ above can explain why SF is attested in languages where pro-drop is still dependent of V-to-Fin (i.e. Old Italian, Modern Icelandic), in contrast to languages without pro-drop (i.e. Mainland Scandinavian), or to other languages where pro-drop no longer depends on V-to-Fin (Italian, Spanish, Catalan). The status of null expletives/semi-arguments in Icelandic is now compared to Swedish, where topic drop is also frequent, but postverbal expletive/quasi-argument drop is ruled out. Mörsjö (2002) identifies the conditions licensing topic drop in Swedish with the presence of a presupposition that the speaker estimates as belonging to the communicative common ground he/she shares with his/her interlocutor and, as such, he/she can drop. This pragmatic characterization of Swedish “V1” declaratives is substantially different from the syntactic properties licensing null *pro* subjects in Icelandic. Indeed, it has been shown above that Icelandic licenses null expletives and quasi-arguments (i) in preverbal position (*það*-drop), in which case they are identified pragmatically; (ii) in postverbal position (expletive/quasi argumental *pro*), licensed by



V-to-C. For ease of exposition, I refer to dropping of CP expletives/quasi-arguments as topic-drop (including *það*-drop, in the specific case of Icelandic). Instead, dropping of IP-expletives/quasi-arguments is referred to as pro-drop.

As a matter of fact, Swedish topic drop is impossible in embedded clauses. The sentences in (294) show that different kinds of arguments can be dropped in main clauses, whereas the same operation is ruled out in the embedded contexts in (295):

(Swedish)

(294) a. Han kom fram till huset. Ø stannade där och lyssnade. *subject drop*  
 he came up to house.DEF stopped there and listened  
 “He came up to the house; stopped there and listened.”

b. Här är pajen. Ø<sub>i</sub> kan du sätta in t<sub>i</sub> direkt i micron, om du vill. *object drop*  
 here is pie-the Ø can you put in directly in micro-the if you want (Ø= it)  
 “Here is the pie. You can put it directly in the micro if you want”

(295) a. \*Han kom fram till huset. Där stannade Ø och lyssnade. *subject drop*  
 he came up to house.DEF there stopped he and listened.  
 “He came up to the house; stopped there and listened.”

b. \*Han pekade på pajen och sa [att Ø kan du sätta in direct i micron.] *object drop*  
 He pointed on pie-the and said that Ø can you put it directly in micro-the  
 “He pointed at the pie and said that you can put it directly in the micro”

[Mörnsjö, 2002]

In (294) V1 is the result of topic drop: the subject in (294)a. and the object in (294)b. are topicalized to a specifier position in the high left periphery: the V2 configuration is thus created. Then the topic is “dropped” at the interface and becomes silent because it is presupposed from previous discourse (see Sigurðsson, to app., for a discussion of the “empty left edge condition”). This is possible with a fully available peripheral structure, as is found in root clauses, whereas either subject or object topic drop is ungrammatical in embedded clauses, as (295) shows. The reason for this ungrammaticality resides in the structural (and interpretive) properties of selected clauses in Mainland Scandinavian. Swedish does not allow pro-drop of IP expletives as shown in (295)a. and in (296) below:

(296) \*På lördag ska åka till Paris (Swedish)  
 on Saturday shall go to Paris  
 “One shall go to Paris on Saturday” [Mörnsjö, 2002, 12: (2:3)]

In (296) the first position is occupied by a topicalised adverbial, and no topic-drop takes place. Moreover, expletive pro-drop is ruled out. Whatever the interpretation of the omitted subject could be, the result is still ungrammatical, contrary to Icelandic where pro-drop of a non-referential subject is obligatory (i.e. no overt IP-expletives):

- (297) Svo byrjaði Ø að rigni og rigni (Icelandic)  
 then began to rain and rain  
 “Then it began to rain over and over” [Example from the web]

As shown in (297) null expletives/quasi-arguments are found in postverbal position in Icelandic, where overt *það* is ruled out.

#### 4.5.3. On expletives and SF in Icelandic

In the present perspective, SF functions as an alternative to overt preverbal subjects in specific syntactic constructions, such as expletive constructions (with impersonal and impersonal passive predicates, or (clausal) subject extrapositions); or subject extractions (relatives; interrogatives). Notice that in most of these constructions the phi-features usually encoded on Fin for interpretation of the “subject of predication” are default/not fully specified. Let us assume that at some point in the history of the language, merger of a lexical entry for the preverbal subject position of expletive constructions is adopted, i.e. expletive or quasi-argumental subjects required by these constructions are lexicalized (as *það*, in Icelandic). The expectation would be that, having the same distribution, merger of expletive/quasi-argumental subjects is in competition with the former strategy; i.e. SF. This explanation would also account for Rögnvaldsson’s (1984) observation that, whenever *það* is possible, SF is, but not viceversa<sup>122</sup>. Nonetheless, Rögnvaldsson (1994) observes that

“In Modern Icelandic, Stylistic Fronting is impossible unless the clause contains a ‘subject gap’ (cf. Maling 1990). This means that fronting of participles and infinitives is impossible if the clause has an overt definite subject. In Old Icelandic, however, we find several examples of fronted participles and infinitives in clauses with pronominal subjects. This shows that either the subject gap condition did not apply in Old Icelandic, or else the definition of subject gap has changed; in either case, the domain of Stylistic Fronting has been narrowed.” (fn. 20)

This remark is in line with the observation reported in Fischer (to app)a. (cf. p. 191 above). Rögnvaldsson’s observation seems to confirm the hypothesis that the function of SF underwent a reanalysis. In Old Icelandic SF was a mechanism contributing to the information structure by providing “emphasis” to the clause (cf. Fischer and Alexiadou 2001). As a consequence of other parametric changes, SF became a strategy allowing subject extractions and omissions. The non-OP status of stylistically fronted items is crucial for this reanalysis of SF. Differently from V2 topicalizations, the absence of an OP makes SF possible not only in expletive, but also in extraction contexts. A slightly different possibility is that the stylistically fronted item has lost its OP status in the reanalysis process.

Below are summed up the syntactic environments where null and overt expletive/quasi-argumental subjects are licensed in comparison with the distribution of SF. As has been proposed for Old Swedish, embedded contexts are privileged, under the assumption that fronting possibilities are more limited there than in main clauses.

<sup>122</sup> Moreover, Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.) argues that *það* is preferred to SF, at least in the spoken language, whenever *það*-insertion is an option.

(298) The man who (\*there/it) *t* talked to Mary is John

(299) a. ?þeir segja [að \_\_ verði dansað í brúðkaupinu] *declarative*  
 they say that will.be danced in wedding.the  
 b. þeir segja [að **dansað** verði í brúðkaupinu]  
 they say that danced will.be in wedding.the

c. þeir segja [að það verði dansað í bruðkaupinu]  
they say that there will.be danced in wedding.the  
“They say that there will be dancing at the wedding”

(300) a. þetta er mál sem \_\_ hefur verið rætt *relative*  
           this is issue that has been discussed  
       b. þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið  
           this is issue that discussed has been  
       c. \*þetta er mál sem **það** hefur verið rætt  
           this is issue that there has been discussed

[Thráinsson 2007, 353, 7.28-31]

(301) a. [decl]: [Matrix [ **XP/ pað** /(<sup>ok</sup>/? \_\_) **V (t<sub>XP</sub>)**]]  
 b. [rel/Wh-/compar./etc.]: [Matrix [ **XP/** /(\***pað**) **V (t<sub>XP</sub>)**]]

<sup>123</sup> Rögnavaldsson (1984) argues that defining *pað*-distribution as banned in “clauses containing gaps” (Maling 1990) is misleading. He provides evidence that *pað*-insertion is possible in some relative clauses and indirect Wh- clauses. Crucially, all the examples he gives are cases of adjunct/object extractions or impersonal passive constructions, hence very special cases, as, for instance, (i) below.

(i) þetta er maðurinn [sem það var talað við \_\_ í sjónvarpinu í gær]  
this is man.the that there was talked to on the TV yesterday

“This is the man that people talked to on the TV yesterday” [Rögnvaldsson 1984, 8, 19]

By contrast, *pad*-insertion is ruled out (at least) in simple subject relatives or indirect questions on the subject. Therefore I adopt Maling's definition for the latter set of sentences.

In (301) XP-  $t_{XP}$  is the chain created by stylistic fronting; \_\_ represents a subject gap, and *það* is the expletive.

In summary, a comparison of pro-drop and verb movement facts among Swedish; Icelandic and Italian is given in the schematic Table 15. below., where the highlighted parts show crosslinguistic similarities.

Table 15.

	agreement on V	V- to - Agr	referential pro-drop	quasi- argumental pro drop	expletive pro drop
<b>Old Swedish (pre 1500)</b>	yes	generalized	main clauses	yes	yes
<b>Old Swedish (1500-1600)</b>	no	no	no	uncommon	main clauses <sup>124</sup>
<b>Swedish (post 1600)</b>	no	no	no	no	no
<b>Old Icelandic (pre 1800)</b>	yes	generalized	main clauses	yes	yes
<b>Modern Icelandic</b>	yes	generalized	no	yes	yes
<b>Old Italian (1250-1300)</b>	yes	generalized	main clauses	yes	yes
<b>Modern Italian</b>	yes	generalized	yes	yes	yes

#### 4.6. The diachrony of SF (1): Old Swedish relative clauses

Given that the settings of the agreement and pro-drop parameters of Older Swedish (pre-1500, in Table 12. above) are almost identical to those of Old Italian, as shown by the highlights in Table 12., the investigation of SF in Old Swedish has to face the same ambiguities that were encountered in the previous section with regard to Old Italian. Namely, the possibility to have null subjects in main clauses makes it difficult to distinguish whether a preverbal item has moved by SF in presence of a subject gap, or rather is fronted by topicalization in a canonical V2 structure, with a postverbal null subject. Given this ambiguity, Delsing (2001) chooses to explore the distribution of SF

<sup>124</sup> As broadly discussed in Falk (1993) the loss of expletive pro-drop is not sudden in Swedish. This is an indication that the system is changing in 1500-1600 Swedish, and that pro-drop does depend on V-to-Fin in this language (thanks to Cecilia Poletto for bringing this fact to my attention).

in Old Swedish relative clauses only, where no V2 topicalization is expected (and the subject is extracted, in subject relatives).

Delsing (2001) investigates the occurrence of SF in relative clauses in Old Swedish from 1200 up to 1700. Early Old Swedish presents different possibilities for relative marking: *som*; *ær*; less frequently *ther*, or a null relative marker. Around 1350, *ær* is lost and replaced by a more consistent use of *ther*, literally “there”, and by *hvilkin*, translated as “which”, occurring both by itself or as a noun determiner. Delsing (2001) shows these mutations in a table, reported below as Table 16.

Table 16. Relative markers in Swedish (Delsing 2001, 159, fig. 1)

	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700
<b>word order</b>	OV	OV	OV/VO	VO	VO	VO
<b>Ø</b>						
<b>som</b>						
<b>ær</b>						
<b>ther</b>						
<b>hvilkin</b>						

Delsing observes that *hvilkin* can also cooccur with *som* and *ther* as illustrated in (302). Notice that around the same time as *hvilkin* appears in the grammar (1350), the word order pattern changes from consistently OV to into one in which OV and VO orders are in competition. This factor, together with the loss of the relative marker *ær*, indicates that a new system is being enforced as of 1375-1400.

- (302) a. brudhgöma. [*Hulkin som är äronna konungir*] (Old Swedish, 1375-1400)  
 Groom which SOM is honour king.GEN  
 “The groom who is the king’s honour”
- b. thu min dottir [*hulka ther iak vtwalde mik*]  
 you my daughter which there I chose to.me  
 “You, my daughter, who I chose for myself” [Delsing 2001, 159, 48, BU]

According to Delsing’s (2001) data, SF is obligatory in relative clauses both with *sum* and with *ær*, before 1350, with a few exceptions due to the fact that either there are no potential candidates to SF or they are “heavy” constituents which remain in a low position (recall that Old Swedish SF targets a wider range of items, in comparison to Modern Icelandic). Given the basic OV order of the language, SF can easily move (light) objects from their base position<sup>125</sup>, which explains the productivity of SF in this period. Recall from the previous analyses (cf. chapter 2) that Old Italian exhibits

<sup>125</sup>Of course SF of objects in non-periphrastic constructions is ambiguous with the base OV order. Nonetheless, Delsing (2001) provides many examples of object SF to a pre-modal or pre-auxiliary positions which unambiguously speaks in favor of object SF.

frequent OV order, derived by movement of objects to an agreement projection (Egerland 1996); to some focus/topic-marked position in the vP-left periphery or by quantifier movement (cf. Poletto 2005). The fact that Old Swedish and its contemporary Old Italian counterpart both exhibit OV order and SF supports Delsing's (2001) idea that preverbal objects are more local to the SF probe.

Delsing (2001) considers whether any differences in the distribution of SF occur as the Old Swedish system changes in 1375-1400. Even though all the relative markers available at that time may be found interchangeably in subject and in object relatives, there seems to be a preference for using *hvilkin som* in subject relatives, whereas *hvilkin* alone is most used in non subject relatives. This difference is illustrated in Table 17., referring to the data provided in Delsing (2001):

Table 17. Relative markers in subject and object relatives in Old Swedish (1375-1400)

Relative markers	Total	Relativized element		
		subject	non-subject	and % on total
<i>hvilkin</i>	1397	399	<b>998</b>	71%
<i>hvilkin som</i>	872	<b>767</b>	105	14%

On the one hand, Delsing observes that:

“SF seems almost obligatory with the single *hvilkin* (which), i.e. *hvilkin* without a noun” (p. 163).

The only exceptions consist of cases where a verbal particle is preposed to the inflected verb, to which they are prefixed in Delsing's analysis<sup>126</sup>. Compare the case of adverbs fronting in (303)a. to the underlined particle fronting in (303)b.:

(303)a. som grymasto diwr hulke **adrigh** kunna \_\_\_ mättas (Old Swedish, 1375-1400)  
like most.cruel anymals which never can be.satisfied  
“Like the most cruel animals which can never be satisfied”

b. Hulkin framgik til sanctum gregorium  
which forth.went to saint Gregory  
“Which went forth to saint Gregory”

[Delsing 2001, 163, 54, Greg]

On the other hand, Delsing notices that SF is not obligatory with *hvilkin som*: his data show that SF occurs in the 91% of the relative clauses introduced by single *hvilkin*, for a total of 363 clauses on 399. By contrast, SF is present only in the 36% of the relative clauses introduced by *hvilkin som*, for a total of 276 clauses on 767. Given that the function of *hvilkin* and *hvilkin som* are to a small extent interchangeable, a total absence of SF in *hvilkin som*-relatives is not expected, inasmuch as *hvilkin som* can marginally be used to introduce non-subject relatives. Following Delsing's (2001) results and analysis, the hypothesis is that *som* licenses subject gaps. As proposed above, this

<sup>126</sup> This is not a problem for the derivation of particle SF proposed in chapter 3. All of Delsing's (2001) cases of prefixed particles concern inflected lexical verbs, but no constructions with modal or auxiliaries. It is possible that the particle be prefixed to the verbal head in a position below AgrOP to which the potential object has been previously extracted (cf. Figure 7., p. 169). In the following step, the remnant VP consisting of the complex particle+verb moves to inflection and to FinP.

function is optionally covered by SF, which explains the complementary distribution between *som* and SF.<sup>127</sup>

To summarize and discuss the facts illustrated above, Old Swedish has been compared to Old Italian, following Delsing (2001). Around 1250-1300 (the period covered by the excerpted Old Italian corpora discussed in the previous chapters), both languages are OV, have pro-drop in main clauses and exhibit SF in subject relative clauses, which is optional, although very common, in Old Italian, and obligatory in Old Swedish (unless the potential candidate is a “heavy” constituent which is then left in situ). In this period, Old Swedish relative markers are *ær*, *som*, (less frequently) *ther* or a null head.

As from 1350, the Old Swedish system starts changing: the OV competes with a VO order and, around the same period the relative marker *ær* disappears, whereas *hvilkin* is adopted. Differently from the former generic relative markers, *hvilkin* requires that a distinction between subject and non-subject extractions is operated, perhaps in relation to its intrinsic features. As a consequence, when *hvilkin* introduces a subject relative, the head where the subject features are interpreted must be lexicalized. In the previous system, this operation was done by SF as proposed for Old Italian. Once the relative marker *hvilkin* is introduced, subject extractions are made possible by merger of the head *som*, as a syntactic realization of the head of FinP. Thus the *hvilkin som* construction becomes an alternative strategy of subject extraction in competition with SF. Basically, the SF strategy satisfy the feature checking requirement of FinP by (remnant) movement of an XP to/through Spec,FinP. Instead, the *hvilkin som* strategy carries out the same function by *hvilkin*-through-Spec, FinP and merger of *som* in Fin, which is specific for subject extractions. At this point, some remarks on the proposed analysis are in order.

The mechanism licensing subject drop/extraction by movement of rather unspecialized syntactic material, as is the case for SF, is accounted by a (tentative) analysis that can be summed up as follows:

(a) The phi-features of Fin are default and/or can be valued by means of OP-movement through Spec,FinP in extractions.

(b) When the “Subject of Predication” is not lexically realized in the IP-periphery, FinP encodes other features than the subject ones. Such features express what needs to be made discourse prominent, in line with Sigurðsson's (2008) proposal on the generic character of EPP. In presentational constructions (e.g. expletive-associate chains), the expletive introduces the real subject located in a lower position, but it is not itself the real “Subject of Predication”. Similarly, the phrase undergoing SF is not the “Subject of Predication”, but enables the interpretation of some syntactic material merged into a lower structural position. Such syntactic material provides information either on the event or on the event modal/temporal location, depending on whether it is part of the argument structure, or rather a phrasal (IP) adverb, respectively.

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<sup>127</sup> The cases where SF cooccurs with *som* are all non-subject relatives. The occurrence of *som* in non-subject relatives are significantly less than those in subject relatives. Nonetheless the presence of *som* in non-subject relatives, albeit limited, seems in contrast with Delsing's idea that it licenses a subject gap. This issue is solved if we assume that the lack of specialization of *som* is attested at an earlier stage of the language, given that *som* is already an unspecialized entry. Later *som* undergoes a reanalysis: it becomes specific for subject extractions, whereas the unspecialized entry is not excluded from the grammar. Since the reanalysis process is gradual, an overlap between specialized and unspecialized use of *som* is visible in the *hvilkin som* data.

(c)The explanation provided in (b) above is motivated as follows. A non-full-pro-drop language may require that some syntactic material related to the eventive content of the clause (or to its temporal/modal coordinates) be visible in the information structure and functionally realize the clausal theme, in absence of an overt Subject-of-Predication. This strategy, however, is licensed only in languages where (at least default) phi-features can be identified without merger of an overt pronoun (i.e. partial pro-drop languages).

It is worth remarking that SF was generalized to all relative clauses (and possibly had some pragmatic import) in the early Old Swedish period, since relative markers did not distinguish between subject and non-subject extractions. At a later stage, when the *hvilkin som* strategy becomes available, SF in subject relatives is no longer required, becoming more and more a residual phenomenon, limited to non-subject relatives. The disappearance of SF from Modern Swedish can thus be attributed to its loss of the competition against the *hvilkin som* construction as a strategy to extract the subject.

At this point the question is: why is SF in complementary distribution with *som* when the latter is selected by *hvilkin* in subject relative clauses, but not with the unspecific *som* which is found in Swedish throughout the analyzed period (cf. Table 16)? As mentioned above, a possibility is that the *som* required by *hvilkin* to specify subject relativizations occurs in a different, lower position than the generic *som*, i.e. Fin. Evidence in support of this hypothesis is provided by comparing Old Swedish to Modern Scandinavian languages, as is presented in section 4.9.

#### 4.7. The diachrony of SF (2): Old Icelandic relative clauses

As has been proposed for Old Swedish, an overview of relative clauses and relative complementizer forms in Old Icelandic is given in this subsection. The presented facts are compared in order to see which different evolution of complementation structures possibly led to present-day differences regarding preverbal subjects and SF in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic.

Relative clauses in Old Icelandic are typically introduced by the complementizers *er* or *sem*. The first one, *er*, is analogous to the most archaic form *ær* found in Early Old Swedish. According to Faarlund (2008), *sem* was originated as a comparative particle meaning “as” (lit. “same”) and became into use as a regular relative complementizer first in Norwegian, then in Icelandic. This later adoption of *sem* in Icelandic favors the hypothesis that this form is the counterpart of *som* in Old Swedish, given the influence that the East Old Norse variety had on Old Norwegian (a West Norse variety, cf. Figure 10., p. 186). Both forms are also found in comparative clauses.

Faarlund (2008) gives several example of relative clauses, most of which introduced by *er*. Although he doesn’t say anything about the frequency of SF in subject relative clauses, it can be easily observed that SF seems pretty much obligatory in this context. All cases of subject relativization reported in Faarlund (2008) display SF of some element, as illustrated in (304) below (all examples are from Faarlund (2008) unless differently specified):

- (304) a. í borginni var hofðingi sá, [*er* **Óðinn** var kallaðr] (Old Icelandic)  
           in castle.the was chieftain that that Odin was called  
           “In the castle was a chieftain who was called Odin” [Hkr I.11.1]



b. í þau kinungs herbergi [*er helzt* munu vera góðir siðir í hafðir]  
 in those king.GEN quarters that most may.3p be good customs in had  
 “In those king’s quarters where good customs must especially be observed”  
 [Kgs 42.22]

c. út um dyrr þær, [*er ganga* mátti upp á húsit]  
 out of doors.ACC those that go could up on house.the  
 “Out through the door which led upstairs”  
 [Eg 221.12]

With non-subject relatives, SF is not so frequent and a preverbal subject, either as a full DP or as a pronoun, is found instead, as illustrated in (305) (subjects are underlined). Notice that also quirky subjects are in complementary distribution with SF, in (305)c.

(305) a. at samtegja góða menn ok illa þeirri samtengingu  
 to join good men.ACC and bad that union.DAT  
 [*er illir menn* mætti batna af samvistu góðra]  
 that bad men.NOM might.SUBJ.3p improve from togetherness.DAT good  
 “To join good and bad people in a union by which bad people could improve by living with good people”  
 [Hóm 79.24]

b. er sú kona illa gift, [*er þú* átt]  
 is that woman badly married that you own.2s  
 “The woman who is your wife made a bad marriage”  
 [Nj 29.3]

c. þat [*er mér* þótti engi vón í vera]  
 that that me.DAT seemed no hope in be  
 “That in which I thought there was no hope”  
 [Barl 101.32]

It is worth remarking that, regardless the complementizer introducing the relative (or comparative) clause, virtually no case of subject pro-drop without SF in non-subject relatives is attested in the data reported by Faarlund (2008) (50 clauses, either cases of subject or non-subject extractions). The only exception is represented by the quasi-argument drop reported in (306), where the complementizer *er* is used as a temporal marker. Recall that Old Icelandic doesn’t have an overt form for expletive and quasi-argumental subjects, which explains why a null subject (of a meteorologic verb) is possible in this case, where there is no candidate to SF.

(306) Óláfr konungr fór, [*er* Ø váraði,] út til sævar  
 Olaf.N king went when became.spring out to sea  
 “Olaf the king left for the sea when spring came”  
 [Hkr II.145.15]

In light of these facts, we can conclude that in Old Icelandic SF is obligatory in subject relative clauses, but not in non-subject relative clauses, where the referential subject is obligatory. This pattern is strikingly reminiscent of the Old Italian one. In Old Italian, referential null subjects are in general excluded from embedded clauses, unless either subordinate V-to-Fin is possible or SF occurs (cf. Chapter 2). Notice that the

subject/non-subject asymmetry regarding the distribution of SF in Old Icelandic relative clauses introduced by *er/sem* is exactly opposite to the pattern found in the Early Modern Swedish relatives introduced by *hvilkin som*. Namely, Old Swedish *som* is in complementary distribution with SF in subject relatives, whereas Old Icelandic *er/sem* seems to require SF in the same type of relative clauses.

At this point, the relevant question is whether Old Icelandic SF is at all compatible with overt preverbal subjects in non-subject relatives, or rather in complementary distribution with them.

Interestingly, Faarlund (2008) observes that relativization of the subject could be done by means of a resumptive pronoun strategy, usually:

“when a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun is the antecedent of a relativized subject [...]but it may be also found in other contexts”. (p. 263)

Consider the extraposed relative in (307) below, where the resumptive pronoun is underlined and the base site of the extraposed clause is marked with an underscore:

- (307) þótti sá einn [ \_ ] með fullu mega heita sækonungr,  
 seemed that one with full may be.called sea.king  
 [*er hann* svaf aldregi undir sótkum ási]  
 that he slept never under sooty beam  
 “It seemed that only one who never slept under a sooty beam could be called a real sea king”  
 [Hkr I. 57.16]

Crucially, SF (in bold, in (308)) can cooccur with postverbal resumptive subject pronouns, which clearly indicates that the target position of the latter is higher than the IP subject position of the resumptive pronoun, namely, SF targets the CP.

- (308) ek em brauð [*er niðr* sté **ek** af himni]  
 I am bread that down stepped.1s I from heaven.DAT  
 “I am the living bread who descended from heaven”  
 [Hóm 39.10]

This resumptive pronoun strategy is neither available for Old nor for Modern Italian subject-relative clauses<sup>128</sup>. Nonetheless, the cooccurrence of a subject with SF is not problematic for the present analysis. Following Fischer and Alexiadou’s (2001) observations, it has been proposed that SF originated as a pragmatically marked phenomenon contributing to the information structure. Indeed, the interpretation of (308) reveals a certain discourse prominence of *niðr*. It is worth observing that the resumptive strategy in relative clauses is no longer productive in Icelandic. In the present perspective, then, the reanalysis of the SF function from a pragmatically marked phenomenon to a syntactic device to allow subject extraction is in accordance with the loss of the resumptive strategy in subject relatives. Other cases of cooccurrence of subjects with stylistically fronted items were observed for old varieties of Romance (cf. Chapter 2): the different orders attested so far in such varieties and Scandinavian are the following ones:

<sup>128</sup> However resumptive pronouns are sometimes found in non subject relatives in Old Italian and some Northern Italian Dialects (e.g. Venetian, see Chapter 5).

- |                                |                                    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (309) a. Subj – SF – V         | (Old Romance, NA in Old Icelandic) |
| b. SF? – V- Subj               | (Old Icelandic, NA in Old Romance) |
| c. <sup>NA</sup> SF – Subj – V |                                    |

Provided that cases in (309)b. are really cases of SF and not topicalizations, the interesting fact is that neither language of those indicated in (309) ever displays the order SF – Subj – V, which speaks in favor of a locality requirement between the stylistically fronted item and the verb, supporting the present analysis. Recall that Hrafnbjargarson (2004) claims that the order in (309)a. is grammatical in Modern Icelandic as well, but such possibility is attested only with fronted adverbs, which is why I do not consider it proper SF, in line with Falk's (1993) view.

Let us assume that SF underwent a reanalysis from a “stylistic” phenomenon to a strategy of subject extraction. The question is why this happened in Icelandic but not in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. Further investigations on the complementation system of relative clauses are needed at this point, since the CP properties are revealing about the loss of SF in Swedish, as shown in the previous section. By analogy with the Old Swedish facts discussed above, complementizer forms adopted at a later stage in the evolution of Old Icelandic were searched in the data presented in Faarlund (2008). Specifically, it was observed whether, in addition to *er* and *sem*, Wh- complementizers analogous to the Old Swedish *hvilkin* (cf. Section 4.6.) were also attested. Recall that Old Swedish *hvilkin* appears either alone or followed by *som*, and the latter combination is preferred in subject relatives.

With regard to Faarlund's (2008) data, no such construction is attested in Old Icelandic, where

“In some rare instances an interrogative word may precede the complementizer. *This clearly also has a foreign pattern*” (emphasis mine, p. 265)

An example of Wh- word+relative complementizer is given in (310) below:

- (310) tvau bref virðuligs herra Hákonar konungs [...] [*í hverjum er konungrin* býðr...]  
 two letters worthy lord Hakon.GEN king in which.pl.DAT that king.the orders  
 “Two letters from His Highness King Hakon, in which he orders...” [DN I.122]

Notice that the complementizer following the Wh- word in (310) is *er*, not *sem*. Moreover the clause that *í hverjum er* introduces is a non-subject relative, thus there is no reason to believe that there is any connection between the compound complementizer form in (310) and the *hvilkin som* complex introducing Early Modern Swedish subject relatives. The only case where

“a relative clause with *sem* may have an interrogative word or phrase in the topic position” (Faarlund (2008), p. 269), is with “unspecified relative clauses, with the meaning ‘whatever, whether (or not)’” (ibid.).

An example of non-subject free relative is given below (no subject relatives of this kind are given in Faarlund (2008)):

(311) vil ek þat festa yðr, at koma aldri í Orkneyjar,  
 want.1s I that promise you.DAT to come never in Orkneys  
 [hvæt sem konungr mælir um þat]  
 what that king says about it  
 “I will promise you never to go to the Orkneys, whatever the king says about it”  
 [Hkr II.212.3]

The structure of free relatives is clearly very different from that of Old Swedish subject relatives introduced by *hvilkin som*.<sup>129</sup> The fact that *sem* is found with a Wh- word only in free relatives indicated that this relative complementizer is located very high in the clause and it can be preceded only by a Wh- OP which needs to scope over the entire clause.

The hypothesis is that *sem* in Old Icelandic and, consequently, in Icelandic has a unique, high position in the CP domain, differently from *som* in Old Swedish which can lexicalize either a high or a lower head in the CP. Specifically, it has been claimed that *som* occurs in Fin, a lower position below the projection targeted by the WhP, in the *hvilkin som* construction. Before presenting further investigations which were carried out in order to prove the validity of this hypothesis (see Section 4.9.), the facts so far illustrated are presented in a comparative table below.

Table 16. Relative complementizers in Old Swedish and Old Icelandic

	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
<b>SWEDISH</b>	OV	OV	OV/VO	VO	VO	VO	VO	VO
<b>Ø</b>								
<b>som</b>								
<b>ær</b>								
<b>ther</b>								
<b>hvilkin (som)</b>								
<b>ICELANDIC</b>	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO	OV/VO
<b>sem</b>								
<b>er</b>								

Notice that Icelandic is very conservative: both *sem* and *er* are present during the whole historical period considered above. Specifically, the form *er*, whose equivalent one (*ær*) disappears from Swedish before the fifteenth century, is still attested in 1700 Icelandic, as the following piece of evidence from Hróarsdóttir (1996) seems to indicate:

(312) *er* aungvum auðnaðist upp að koma (18<sup>th</sup> century Icelandic)  
 that noone succeeded up to come  
 “that noone succeeded in coming up” [Próf, Hróarsdóttir (1996) 7, 12]

An interesting correlation between Old Swedish *ær* / Icelandic *er* and basic word order arises from Table 16. According to Sigurðsson (1988), Icelandic has coexisting OV and VO orders until the nineteenth century. Rögnvaldsson (1994) interprets the same

<sup>129</sup> Extraction strategies in subject free-relative constructions are currently being investigated in Norwegian dialects.

evidence attesting both OV and VO pattern of pre-1900 Icelandic as a result of the fact that the head-initial/head-final parameter is not set. He claims that:

“Free word order and many instances of empty categories make it seem a reasonable assumption that children would have had difficulties in fixing the value of the head parameter. When the frequency of Stylistic Fronting dropped, the expletive subject *það* was introduced, and pro-drop became ungrammatical, more and more sentences came to have surface VO-order. Around 1800, the VO-order had become so dominant that children could begin to set the head parameter to ‘initial’ and as a result, OV-sentences disappeared from the language in a relatively short time in the first half of the nineteenth century.” (p. 29)

Whatever the perspective on the setting of the head directionality parameter is, some important remarks regarding the facts in Table 18. can be made:

1. Interestingly, the complementizer *ær* in Old Swedish disappears when the OV order is no longer consistent and evidence for VO is introduced. The analogous Icelandic form *er* persists much longer, at least until the language becomes consistently VO, which seems to indicate that this complementizer is somehow related to the setting of the head directionality parameter.

2. According to Rögnvaldsson (1994) and Hróarsdóttir (1996) there is a correlation between loss of OV order and the decrease of SF. Rögnvaldsson reports that SF is much less used today than it used to be in the past century, although still productive. A decrease of SF in favor of *það* regards specifically the spoken language (Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.), whereas SF still represents the prescriptively correct option for the written language. These observations provide good support to the remnant XP analysis of SF illustrated in Chapter 3, according to which SF is more easily derived from a structure based on OV, rather than VO order.

#### 4.8. Non-standard Swedish: the loss of SF in Övdalian

Interestingly enough, the language that has better preserved SF is Icelandic, whose syntax is commonly considered the most similar to Proto and Old Norse among the Scandinavian languages. Faroese exhibits ongoing syntactic variation and is considered to be drifting away from the Old Norse pattern: crucially, SF is less productive in this language than in Icelandic. Other Scandinavian languages, whose system has lost many of the characteristics of the old varieties, do not have SF, as illustrated in (313) below:

- (313)a. \*den, som **först** är \_\_\_\_ att göra mål (Swedish)  
he who first is to score goal  
“he who is the first one to score a goal”
- b. \*Hvem tror du **stjålet** har \_\_\_\_ sykkelen? (Norwegian)  
Who think you stolen has bike.the  
“Who do you think has stolen the bike?”
- c. \*Kvinden som **hjem** gik \_\_\_\_ var hans søster (Danish)  
Woman.the who home went was his sister  
“The woman who went home was his sister” [Thráinsson 2007, 377, 7.86]

Studies on Övdalian, a dialect spoken in the southern part of the Älvdalen region, in the central-southern part of Sweden, are a relevant contribution to the investigation on the function, licensing conditions and (possible) disappearance of SF from a language. Övdalian behaves differently from Swedish as for verb movement and inflection, specifically:

“Övdalian and Swedish are mutually incomprehensible and, according to Dahl (2005), Övdalian is typologically closer to Icelandic and Faroese than to Swedish” (Rosenkvist, 2007, p. 2).

According to Levander’s (1909) data, Övdalian displays rich inflection, V-to-I and SF, which speaks in favor of a correlation between these three factors.

However, following recent studies of Rosenkvist (1994; 2007) and Garbacz (2004, 2009), there isn’t a straightforward connection between the presence and scope of verb movement and the morphological realization of rich verbal inflection. In his survey on the distribution of overt and null subjects in Övdalian, Rosenkvist observes that this language preserves only null 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pro, whereas all the other persons require an overt pronoun.<sup>130</sup>

Verbal agreement is differentiated for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, whereas it is indistinct in the three singular forms and identical to the infinitive form for the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural, as Rosenkvist shows in the paradigm reported in (314) where he compares Övdalian to Icelandic:

(314) Verb inflection in Övdalian and Icelandic (Rosenkvist 2007, p. 6)

		Oevdalian	Icelandic	
	infinitive	baita	bíta	(‘to bite’)
sg.	1.	ig bait	ég bít	
	2.	du bait	þú bítur	
	3.	an bait	hann bítur	
pl.	1.	(wið) baitum	við bítum	
	2.	(ið) baitið	þið bítíð	
	3.	dier baita	þeir bíta	

On a par with null-subject languages, the default choice for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural verbs is to drop the pronominal subject, regardless its relation to the context, in Övdalian. This means that *wið* and *ið* personal pronouns are regularly dropped even though they don’t encode given information, contrary to Old Swedish subjects which can be omitted only if they have been previously introduced in the discourse (Håkansson, 2008). Nonetheless, Övdalian pro-drop does exhibit different properties with respect to full pro-drop languages like Spanish or Italian: e.g. Övdalian displays that-t effects but no disjoint reference effects. Moreover, some tests show that V-to-I is optional and mostly favored not only with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural inflection, but also with singular inflection forms.

<sup>130</sup> An interesting correlation is found in the asymmetrical pro-drop of some Romance varieties, e.g. Northern Italian Dialects, cf. Poletto (2006).

With regard to the relation between verbal inflection, verb movement and SF, Garbacz (2009) observes:

“SF is claimed to be linked with verbal agreement (Falk 1993) or with V°-to-I° (Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Hrafnbjargarson 2004), in such way that SF should not appear without the presence of rich verbal agreement and/or without the presence of V°-to-I° movement. Given the fact that Övdalian displays both rich agreement and V°-to-I° movement, there are prerequisites for SF in the language. However, the data provided by Rosenkvist (1994) indicate that SF is absent in Övdalian.”

In his survey, Garbacz considers whether SF is possible to some extent in:

(i) clauses with a pro-subject, given that null subjects are possible in Övdalian, (as well as, for instance, in Old Italian, although with differences in the pro-drop parameter setting);

(ii) clauses with a subject gap, typically cases of subject extractions like relative clauses or indirect questions on the subject.

In contrast to the results presented by Levander (1909) on SF, Rosenkvist (1994) and Garbacz (2009, and p.c.) observe that SF has basically disappeared from Övdalian. Garbacz carried out an investigation on four older Övdalian speakers (born between 1930 and 1939), and found only residual cases of SF, all attested in relative clauses introduced by the complementizer *so* (cognate of the Swedish *som* and Icelandic *sem*) and only of a predicative adjective in superlative form (Piotr Garbacz, p.c.). Indeed, Garbacz (p.c.) observes:

“SF is only attested in relative clauses and not in clauses with a null subject gap (thus contrary to the situation observed in Icelandic, Italian and Old Swedish). The only element that is accepted as stylistically fronted was the superlative form of a predicative adjective, *gamblest* (=oldest). Interestingly, another stylistically fronted predicative adjective, *billin* (=cheap), was judged as ungrammatical, cf. (6) and (7)” reported below as (315) and (316) respectively:

(315) Ulum fel spyr an so **gamblest** ir. (Övdalian)  
shall.1.pl part ask he that oldest is  
“We will of course ask the one who is oldest”

(316) \*Ig will tjööp ien bil so **billin** ir.  
I want-to buy a car that cheap is  
“I want to buy a car that is cheap” [Garbacz, 2009]

Garbacz then concludes that:

“This means, most probably, that SF is not a possible syntactical pattern in Övdalian any longer.”

The contrast between Levander’s (1909) and Rosenkvist and Garbacz’s data can be explained with diachronic variation, influenced by various factors, among which (albeit not limited to) language contact with Modern Swedish. Ongoing variation in Övdalian seems confirmed by the partial nature of the pro-drop and of rich inflection (limited to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural), as well as by the optionality of verb movement, assuming that

“optionality” is a cover term for either synchronic or diachronic variation motivated by (so far) unknown factors. Given the characteristics of the variation between the older and the present varieties of Övdalian, the loss of SF seems partially independent from verb movement and pro-drop, at least at a first sight. The idea that SF correlates with verbal agreement, or V-to-I (Falk 1993; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Hrafnbjargarson 2003) is thus invalidated by the Övdalian facts discussed by Garbacz. Furthermore, the expectation that SF is licensed in absence of overt subjects (i.e. in sentences with null 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> plural pro) is also not met (Garbacz, p.c.). Whatever the reason for the almost total disappearance of SF from Övdalian is (cf. Garbacz, 2009), it does not contradict the analysis of SF proposed here. Indeed, I have claimed that SF may be a strategy to allow subject extraction, and, as such, a language may exhibit SF only if specific licensing conditions are met. However the presence of such favorable conditions does not entail that SF be productive, and this is confirmed not only by Övdalian facts, but also by Modern Italian, where SF is non-productive despite pro-drop and V-to-I.<sup>131</sup>

#### 4.9. The complementizer system of Modern Scandinavian

In Section 4.6. it has been proposed that the Old Swedish system underwent some significant changes in its complementation structure, contributing to the disappearance of SF from the grammar. Specifically, it has been argued that the Wh- element *hvilkin* in association with *som* forms a complex relative complementizer responding to the necessity of differentiating subject from non-subject relative clauses. This later strategy wins over the SF mechanism already present in the language. By contrast, the Old Icelandic system does not exhibit any asymmetry in the complementizer choice, thus SF remains favored in subject-extraction contexts throughout the historical period under examination.

Assuming that the subject/non-subject asymmetries reflected in the complementation structure depend on different feature-checking requirements on FinP, the checking mechanisms adopted by Old Icelandic (i.e. SF) and Early Modern Swedish (i.e. *hvilkin som*) reveal that the evolution of the latter has departed from the one shared with the Old Icelandic system. The expectation is that this different evolution is reflected in Modern Mainland Scandinavian vs. Icelandic. Facts presented in the remainder of the chapter show that this is borne out by facts.

It has been argued that Old Swedish relative *som* lexically realizes two distinct C-positions: a higher one, for the complementizers *som* introduced at an earlier diachronic stage, and a lower one, for *som* found in association with the Wh- item *hvilkin*. In a cartographic framework, the lower position has been identified with Fin, responding to the feature-checking requirements related to subject extractions. The higher position, targeted by the “older” unspecific *som*, can be identified with the head of a Subordinator phrase, labeled as SubP, which hosts the relative complementizer, in this case. SubP is responsible for marking the sentential force (i.e. the clause type); which is different from

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<sup>131</sup> Null subject licensing conditions in the grammar of Italian are independent from verb movement (to the CP). It is actually the (so to speak) completely positive setting of the pro-drop parameter that allegedly makes SF a deputy, unproductive strategy.



the illocutionary force of a sentence, marked in root contexts<sup>132</sup>. The basic clausal structure of the high left periphery given in (317) is assumed throughout the chapter:

(317) [<sub>CP</sub> SubP ForceP WhP (Subj2P) (ModP) FinP [<sub>IP</sub> SubjP]<sup>133</sup>

The unspecific type of *som* has an equivalent in the Icelandic *sem*<sup>134</sup>. The alleged positions of these complementizers are illustrated in Figure 11a. for the Early Old Swedish system and in Figure 11b. for the Old Swedish/Old Icelandic system.

<sup>132</sup> However, a precise picture of the difference between clause type and illocutionary force is hard to draw. Clause-type and illocutionary force are often confused as a result of the general lack of morphosyntactically visible marks or phenomena enabling a distinction. I assume that sentential force is indicated in the form, i.e. in the clause type, and is visible also in subordinate clauses. By contrast, illocutionary force is a property of root clauses, whereas subordinates inherits it from the matrix. Embedded root clauses, instead, have their own illocutionary force (cf. also Franco, forthcoming).

<sup>133</sup> Ur Shlonsky (p.c.) suggests that the CP-subject position is the result of an alternate A/A'-status of Spec,FinP, as is proposed in Haeberli (2002).

Scandinavian languages display a different position of subjects perhaps in relation to their featural endowment. The following examples from Platzack (to app.) show that preverbal expletives in main clauses (i.e. V2 clauses) must be adjacent to the verb, whereas a DP subject can be separated from it by a parenthetical.

- (i)a. Johan, **som du vet**, är en trevlig kille. (Swedish)  
 John as you know is a nice guy.  
 b. Johan **är som du vet** en trevlig kille.  
 John is as you know a nice guy  
 “Johan, as you know, is a nice guy”  
 (ii) a. ??Det **som du vet** regnade hela dagen.  
 it as you know rained whole day.DEF  
 b. Det regnade **som du vet** hela dagen.  
 it rained as you know whole day.DEF  
 “As you know, it has been raining the whole day” [Platzack, to app.]

In the present perspective, the preverbal parenthetical is analysed as occupying Spec,ModP in CP. Unless we assume that the DP subject *Johan* in (i)a. is dislocated in an (A')-Topic position (which calls for a plausible subject-extraction strategy), there must be a CP A-position higher than the one adjacent to the verb in Fin. The latter position may as well be Spec,FinP, as proposed by Shlonsky (p.c.) and Haeberli (2002), and it is where preverbal expletives, like *det*, merge. The higher CP subject position instead cannot host expletives, at least in Swedish. The issue is whether such position is A or A' (or both) and, in case it is A', what allows for subject dislocations, assuming that the Subject Criterion as formulated in Rizzi (2004) holds. See Cardinaletti (2004) for a cartographic analysis of subject positions (which is assumed to hold for most Romance languages, in this framework).

<sup>134</sup> There is reason to believe that it is the unspecific *som* that realizes the complementation structure of comparative clauses in Swedish and Norwegian. Cf. section 4.9.2. for facts.

Figure 11a. Early Modern Swedish

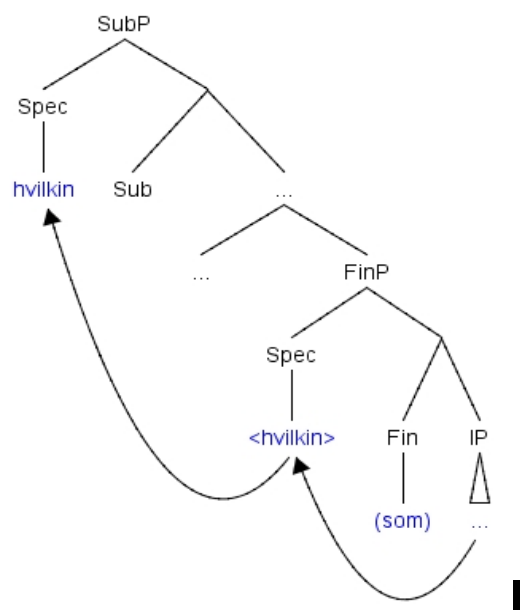
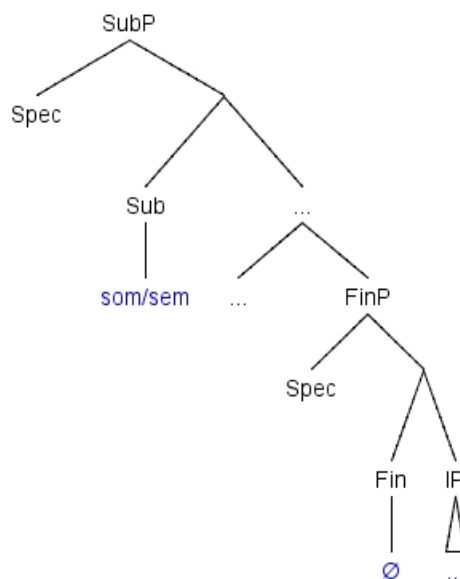


Figure 11b. Old Swedish/Old Icelandic



#### 4.9.1. Relative clauses

In present-day Mainland Scandinavian, subject relatives are no longer introduced by *hvilkin som*, but the subject/non-subject asymmetry is nonetheless respected as shown in (318)-(320) below:

- (318)a. Bilen \*(som) \_\_\_\_ står där er mycket vacker  
car.the that stands there is very beautiful  
“The car which stands there is very beautiful” (Modern Swedish)

- b. Bilen (som) **vi** mötte er mycket vacker  
car.the that we met is very beautiful  
“The car that we met is very beautiful”

- (319)a. Her er den boka \*(som) \_\_\_\_ handlar om Kongen  
Here is the book.the that is about king.the  
“Here is the book which is about the king” (Modern Norwegian)

- b. Her er den boka (som) eg kjøpte i går  
Here is the book.the that I bought yesterday  
“Here is the book that I bought yesterday”

- (320)a. Det er ham \*(som) \_\_\_\_ har set mig<sup>135</sup>  
it is him that have seen me  
“It is him who has seen me” (Modern Danish)

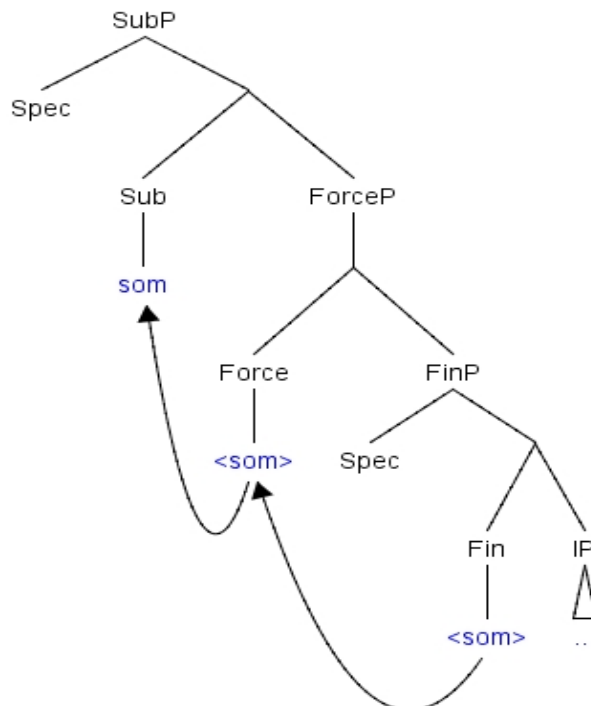
<sup>135</sup> This is a cleft construction.

- b. Det er ham (som) jeg har set  
 It is him that I have seen  
 “It is him that I have seen”

[Thráinsson 2007, 447, 8.130]

Restrictive relatives and clefts allow complementizer deletion only if the relativized element isn't a subject<sup>136</sup>. Therefore, Delsing's (2001) hypothesis that *som* licenses subject gaps in Early Modern Swedish is confirmed by the Modern Scandinavian system as well. In (318)a.; (319)a. and (320)a. the complementizer *som* is expected not only to act as a licenser for subject relativization, but also to type the clause as relative (or cleft), since a Wh- element analogous to the Early Modern Swedish *hvilkin* is no longer available as a relative marker. In my hypothesis relative clause-typing is possible by complementizer raising from Fin-to-Sub, as illustrated in Figure 12. below:

Figure 12. Modern Mainland Scandinavian relatives



Complementizer movement responds to the requirement that either the head or the specifier of a criterial projection be lexically realized (cf. Rizzi 2004 and ff.). In the present case, we can adapt this requirement and assume that it applies to all those CP projections encoding features that must be checked by (internal or external) merge in order to be interpretable. In this perspective, movement of *som* is triggered to check the clause-typing feature on SubP. Moreover, complementizer deletion is also subject to the restrictions imposed by interpretation. The impossibility to drop *som* in subject relatives and clefts is explained in terms of locality. Fin-to-Sub of *som* is possible on condition that no other minimal intervener occupies the high left periphery. In this case, the higher

<sup>136</sup> This is common in English as well:

- (i) The bicycle (that) I found along the river  
 (ii) The old guy \*(who) rides up there every day

C-head, Force, is not an intervener since it is not overtly marked. In other words, the illocutionary force of the subordinate clause is inherited from the matrix. We may assume that Force and Fin create a unique complex (cf. Rizzi 1997), immediately c-commanded by SubjP, if the Force-Fin adjacency is not broken by other preposed lexical material (e.g. in TopP, or FocP). Thus Sub and the Fin-Force complex result in local configuration after complementizer raising. The relative operator associated to the overt *som* values and checks the uninterpretable subject features on Fin renders them available to interpretation. This explains why *som* can be dropped if an overt subject is visible at the interface, as in non-subject relatives; but not if the subject is extracted from a lower position. In the latter case, the dropping of *som*, in a structure with a silent Fin, and an empty subject criterial position (SubjP) would make the subject features unavailable to interpretation, and the derivation would crash at LF.

By contrast, relative complementizer drop in Modern Icelandic is prohibited in any case: not only in subject, but also in non-subject relatives, as illustrated below:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(321) Baturinn *(sem) Jón á er stór<br/>         boat.the that John owns is big<br/>         “The boat that John owns is big”</p> | <p>(Modern Icelandic)<br/>         [Thráinsson 2007, 410, 8.45]</p> |
|--|---|

If we assume that Icelandic *sem* is an unspecific form, contrary to Mainland Scandinavian *som*, there is no reason to expect a subject/non-subject asymmetry in Icelandic relative clauses. Moreover, the little amount of syntactic change from Old to Modern Icelandic suggests that present-day *sem* is the same form found in Old Icelandic. Accordingly, Icelandic relative clauses would have the structure illustrated in Figure 9b. above, where *sem* is in Sub.

The question, then, is how subject features are recoverable in a subject relative where SubjP is obviously empty; Fin is not lexicalized and no complementizer raising from Fin-to-Rel takes place (*sem* is assumed to merge in Sub). My suggestion is based on the fact that Icelandic has rich verbal inflection: the verb, moves to a position in IP locally c-commanded by Fin. The rich verbal inflection makes the subject-phi-features interpretable on Fin<sup>137</sup>. Obviously, this possibility is precluded to Mainland Scandinavian, where inflection is not rich and no V-to-I is attested<sup>138</sup>. This hypothesis can also explain the “symmetric V2” nature of Icelandic (cf. Vikner 1995). A natural question at this point is: why is SF at all attested if the subject feature can be checked by V-to-C under c-command? The idea that SF enables subject extractions/drop is further refined as follows. The SF strategy is adopted only if the subject phi-features are not fully specified (or can be recovered by means of pro and V-to-C, as is the case for Old Italian), but what is missing is an overt Subject of Predication. The ideal scenario for SF, then, is a case with interpretable phi-features (on verbal inflection or as default 3<sup>rd</sup> person) but where the overt Subject-of-Predication is missing, as, for instance, in extraction contexts, impersonal or presentational constructions (where SF substitutes the expletive in an expletive-associate chain).

<sup>137</sup> On the relation between Agr and Fin see also Haeberli (2002).

<sup>138</sup> An interesting direction for future research would explore this possibility in non-standard varieties of Swedish and Norwegian where V-to-I seems to be possible.

A third case is represented by Faroese. The Faroese system is borderline between the Mainland Scandinavian and the Icelandic one in many respects. In the case of relative clauses, Faroese patterns like Mainland Scandinavian in allowing complementizer deletion in non-subject relatives as shown in (322) below. Given that Faroese inflection is considerably impoverished, this behavior is expected.

- (322)a. Baturin (sum) Jón eigur er stórur (Faroese)  
 boat.the that John owns is big  
 “The boat that John owns is big”
- b. Tær konurnar, \*(sum) \_\_\_\_ skulu vera heima, eru burtustaddar  
 They women.the who shall be home are away  
 “The women who shall be home are away” [Thránsson 2007, 448, 8.132]

Complementizer deletion in (322)b. would be ungrammatical for the same reasons illustrated for Mainland Scandinavian languages above. Crucially, dropping *sum* in a subject relative is possible if some item is stylistically fronted, given that SF is still productive in Faroese:

- (323) Tær konurnar, (sum) **heima** skulu vera \_\_\_\_, eru burtustaddar  
 They women.the who home shall be are away  
 “The women who shall be home are away”

The facts in (323) clearly support of the claim that SF has become a strategy of subject extraction in modern languages. Thránsson (2007) describes fronting of *heima* in (323) as a rescuing strategy in case *som* is dropped. This suggests that the problematic aspect of complementizer deletion in subject relatives is primarily related with a feature-checking requirement on Fin. According to the present proposal, SF allows a sentence like (323) to converge at LF because it targets a position in CP, i.e. in the specifier of Fin. Furthermore, SF licenses complementizers drop in a context where it would be otherwise prohibited, regardless of the type of relative clause. Indeed (323) is a non restrictive relative. As reported by Thránsson (2007), Mainland Scandinavian non-restrictive relatives never allow complementizer deletion:

- (324) Den här bilen, \*(som) jag aldrig har sett förut, er vacker (Swedish)  
 this here car, which I never have seen before, is beautiful  
 “This car, which I have never seen before, is beautiful”  
 [Thránsson 2007, 447, 8.131]

The fact that SF permits complementizer deletion in a non-restrictive relative as (323) is compatible with the idea that Fin/Force and Sub are in a local relation. In this perspective, SF above would substitute *sum* in its clause-typing function, given the locality between Sub and Spec,FinP. In section 4.9. it has been proposed that Mainland Scandinavian *som* has a double merger: a generic one in Sub and a subject specific one in Fin. This hypothesis is supported by the subject/object asymmetries encountered in facts regarding complementizer deletion in relative clauses (cf. above). Additional

evidence comes from the employ of unspecific *som* in other types of clauses, as is illustrated in next section.

#### 4.9.2. Embedded Wh- clauses

##### Norwegian and Swedish

The hypothesis that Mainland Scandinavian *som* has a double merger is confirmed by the structure of embedded Wh-clauses, like indirect questions and headless relatives, also exhibiting a subject/non-subject asymmetry as illustrated in the examples below:

- (325)a. Han spurte hvilken buss \*(som) \_\_ gikk til sentrum (Norwegian)  
 He asked which bus that goes to centre  
 “He asked which bus goes to the centre”
- b. Han spurte hvilken buss (\*som) **vi** ville ta \_\_  
 He asked which bus that we would take  
 “He asked which bus we would take”
- c. Det spelar ingen roll vem \*(som) \_\_ väckte uppmärksamhet (Swedish)  
 It plays no role who that aroused attention  
 “It doesn’t matter who caught people’s attention”
- d. Det spelar ingen roll vem (?\*som) **du** väckte \_\_  
 It plays no role who that you woke-up  
 “It doesn’t matter who you woke up” [Taraldsen 1986; Thráinsson 2007]

The idea that *som* in (325)a. and c. occurs in a lower position than its relative counterpart is confirmed by the fact that it linearly follows the Wh- element in embedded Wh- clauses. In a cartographic structure, the Wh- element checks its [Wh-] feature on WhP by moving to the Spec of a WhP in the Focus field, and reaches the Spec of SubP for clause-typing<sup>139</sup> as shown in (326) below:

(326) [<sub>SubP</sub> **vem**...<sub>WhP</sub> <vem> <sub>FinP</sub> <vem> <sub>Fin</sub> **som** [<sub>IP</sub>...

##### Danish

The situation is more complicated in Modern Spoken Danish. In Standard Danish, embedded subject Wh-clauses license subject extractions by means of *der*, instead of *som*. According to Mikkelsen (2002) *der* is the very same form of the expletive subject, with the same syntactic properties:

- (327) a. Jeg ved ikke, hvem \*(der) \_\_ har boet i det hus. (Standard Danish)  
 I know not who that has lived in that house  
 “I don’t know who has lived in that house”

<sup>139</sup> Movement from Spec,WhP to Spec,SubP does not violate criterial freezing (cf. Rizzi 2004), since the embedded WhP is non-criterial.

- b. Jeg ved ikke, hvem (\*der) **Jens** har truffet \_\_\_\_  
 I know not, who that Jens has met  
 “I don’t know who Jens has met”

The fact that an expletive (*der*) is commonly adopted instead of a complementizer in subject extractions does support the hypothesis that the Danish as well as the Norwegian/Swedish strategy consists of a mechanism checking the subject features on Fin. The Danish strategy uses merger of an expletive<sup>140</sup>, which Mikkelsen claims to be in Spec,IP. A tentative structure for Danish subject Wh- clauses is sketched in (328) below:

(328) [<sub>SubP</sub> **hvem**...<sub>WhP</sub> <hvem> <sub>FinP</sub> <hvem> <sub>Fin</sub> [<sub>SubjP</sub> **der**...

However, *der* is possible also in preverbal position in main clauses, thus, assuming that main V2 clauses are derived by V-to-Fin, the preverbal subject would arguably be in a subject position in CP. Independent evidence has been provided in the literature for the existence of such position (cf. Poletto 2000; Platzack 2009, a.o.), where preverbal expletives and other subjects are merged in main clauses of Germanic languages. From a theoretical standpoint the presence of a subject position in CP is not uncontroversial. Given that subject extractions are constrained by ECP effects, which Rizzi (2004) reformulates in terms of “Subject Criterion”, how is it possible that a subject moves to an A-position in CP –being it Subj2P or FinP, cf. (317) above- without being frozen in Spec,SubjP; i.e. the subject criterial position?

Intuitively, a possibility is that V-to-Fin licenses subject movement to a CP position. Specifically, the verb would satisfy the subject requirement by moving to Fin and checking the uninterpretable phi-features thereby expressed. This mechanism would allow the subject to move directly to a position in CP, by “inactivation” of the freezing properties of SubjP. The extent to which this mechanism enables subject extractions must vary crosslinguistically, perhaps depending on the feature specification on the verbal head.

Modern Spoken Danish has other options for introducing relative and embedded Wh-clauses: according to Mikkelsen (2002), more complementizers can cooccur provided that at least *som* or *der* are present<sup>141</sup>. The different possibilities are given in (329) below.

<sup>140</sup> Recall that the Icelandic expletive *það* is ungrammatical in subject extractions. The contrast between Danish and Icelandic embedded subject Wh-clauses can thus be attributed to a different feature specification on the two expletive elements. Danish *der* is a true expletive, in contrast to the quasi-argumental *det*. Since Icelandic has only the syncretic form *það* which, according to Falk (1993), is a quasi-argument, overt expletives are not found in extraction contexts.

<sup>141</sup> However *som* is ruled out in some cases where *der* is possible, as, for instance, in appositional subject relatives with clausal antecedents, see Mikkelsen (2002).

(329) Jeg ved ikke...

(Spoken Danish)

I know not

- a. hvem **som** har gjort det.  
who SOM has done it
- b. hvem **der** har gjort det.  
who THERE has done it
- c. hvem **som der** har gjort det.  
who SOM THERE has done it
- d. hvem **som at der** har gjort det.  
who SOM that THERE has done it
- e. hvem **som at** har gjort det.  
who SOM that has done it
- f. hvem **at der** har gjort det.  
who that THERE has done it  
“I don’t know who has done it”

Assuming that the expletive *der* is in Spec, IP, as argued by Mikkelsen (2002), and that *at* is the declarative head of Force<sup>142</sup>, it follows that *som*, in Danish, ends up in a high position. Given the diverse options of complementation for subordinate subject Wh-clauses in the spoken language, it is not easy to identify the exact position of *som* in (328)a., c., d., e. above. One possibility is that *som* merges in Fin and then moves to the head of SubP, in a similar fashion to the relative *som* undergoing Fin-to-Sub. In this view, Spoken Danish *som* would be specific for subject constructions, as well as *som* found in Swedish and Norwegian embedded Wh-clauses (cf. (325) above). However, this hypothesis is problematic for the following reasons. First of all, the locality of head movement would be violated unless we assume that *som* incorporates into the head of Force, *at*, on its way to SubP. Secondly, it is not clear why such low occurrence of *som* must move to Sub and cannot remain in Fin, instead, given that the clause is typed by the Wh- element. In fact, this linear order would be ungrammatical:

- (330) \*hvem **at som der** har gjort det.  
who SOM that THERE has done it  
“Who has done it”

The puzzling facts in (328)-(329) above could be reinterpreted in terms of multiple available strategies of complementation. Basically, Spoken Danish would have the following possibilities for extracting subjects in embedded Wh- clauses:

1. *Der*-insertion
2. *Som*-insertion (like Swedish and Norwegian, cf. (325) above)

The facts are complicated by the possibility of spelling out *som* in a high position, in addition to the low occurrence indicated in strategy 2. above. Basically, a relative-type of *som* is possible not only as a complementizer to relative clauses (cf. (319) and figure 10. above) but also in subject embedded Wh- clauses. Thus strategies 1. and 2. above are not mutually exclusive in Spoken Danish. According to Mikkelsen (2002), Danish

<sup>142</sup> The complementizer forms *at/att/að* are assumed to merge in Force, not in Fin (contrary to German *dass*) because they cooccur with V-to-Fin in some embedded clauses (see Vikner 1995, a.o.)



*som* is an invariant operator, given its unspecialized distribution both in subject and non-subject extractions. However, the fact that *som* can substitute *der* in subject extractions does not exclude the possibility that also a specialized use of *som* is enforced in Danish, as well as in Swedish and Norwegian. These two conditions provide support to the hypothesis that the same complementizer form may be spelled out in different positions. The degree of acceptability of the options presented in (329) is subject to variations depending on “EPP effects”, according to Mikkelsen (2002) (cf. (331) below). In other words, it seems that the productivity of different complementizer forms and combinations is subject to variations related to the syntactic context. Consider, for instance, the different options enabling subject relativization:

- (331) a. Vi kender de lingvister **der** vil læse denne bog  
 b. Vi kender de lingvister **som** vil læse denne bog  
 c. ?Vi kender de lingvister **som der** vil læse denne bog  
 d. ?Vi kender de lingvister **at der** vil læse denne bog  
 e. ? Vi kender de lingvister **som at der** vil læse denne bog  
 f. ??Vi kender de lingvister **som at** vil læse denne bog  
 We know the linguists that will read this book  
 “We know the linguists that will read this book” [Mikkelsen 2002, 80, 30]

Notice that the most degraded option is (331)f.: interestingly, *som at* is worse than *som at der*. Following the present proposal, the lower acceptability of *som at* is expected because in such a construction the head *at* intervenes in Fin-to-Sub movement of *som*. In (331)e., instead, unspecialized *som* could directly merge in Sub, and subject relativization be enabled by *der*, locally c-commanded by Fin. By contrast, the only possibility for checking Fin- and clause-type features in (331)f. is to move a subject-specific lower *som* (analogous to the Swedish/Norwegian one) to Sub. Notice that this option is fine if no intervener is present, as in (331)b., but bad if *at* is merged in Force, in (331)f. Further support to this analysis comes from crosslinguistic evidence. According to my Swedish and Norwegian informants<sup>143</sup> the presence of *at/att* linearly following *som* to introduce a relative clause is ungrammatical<sup>144</sup>. The structural

<sup>143</sup>Johan Brandtler; Björn Lundquist; Johanna Prytz for Swedish; Pål Kristian Eriksen; Odd Egil Johnsen for Norwegian.

<sup>144</sup>One case when Swedish *att* can follow *som* is in comparatives and other kind of subordinate clauses, whose complementation structure is different from that of a subject relative. The comparative/subordinating *som* is of the higher type, given its unspecificity, i.e. given that it doesn't need to “fill in” a subject gap. See for instance an “as if” clause:

(i) Det är som att han inte vill veta! (Swedish)  
 it is as that he not want know  
 "It's as if he does not want to know!" [Johan Brandtler, p.c.]

An analogous possibility is found in Norwegian, where *som at* introduces complements to the impersonal predicate *det virker* (it seems, lit. it works). Notice that in this case the complement clause can also be introduced by *som om* (lit. as if), with a different interpretation: *som at* complements are more certain; whereas *som om* complements are more uncertain to the speaker's knowledge. Given the interpretive properties of *om/at* we can assume that they are related to the illocutionary force of the sentence (ForceP), which entails that *som*, in those cases, is directly merged in the high, SubP position:

(ii)a. Det virker som at hun skal ikke komme (Norwegian)  
 It works as that she shall not come  
 “It seems that she will not come”

representation of the sentences in (329) is schematized in (332) below, and can be adopted for subject relatives as well, with the appropriate modifications:

(332) [SubP **hvem** Sub (**som**) Force (**at**) WhP <hvem> FinP <hvem> Fin (<som>)] [SubjP **der**...

It is worth observing that the subject/non-subject asymmetry must depend on merger of a specific element licensing subject extractions, i.e. lower *som* for Norwegian and Swedish, or *der*, for Danish. This function is not carried out by a generic declarative complementizer like *at*.

### Faroese and Icelandic

In Faroese, embedded Wh- clauses may be introduced by multiple complementizers, but no subject/non-subject asymmetry is attested:

(333) a. Eg veit ikki hvør (ið) \_\_\_\_ kemur (Faroese)  
I know not who.NOM that comes  
“I don’t know who will come”

b. Eg veit ikki hvønn (ið) hann hevur sæð \_\_\_\_  
I know not who.ACC that he has seen  
“I don’t know who he has seen” [Thránsson 2007, 449, 8.134]

The complementizer *ið* is declarative and analogous to Mainland Scandinavian *at/att* and Icelandic *að*. The declarative complementizer seems to have a different function from Mainland Scandinavian *som*. Indeed Thránsson et al. (2004) observe that

“the relative complementizer *sum* is not used after an interrogative pronoun in Faroese” (p. 449, fn. 32),

confirming the intuition that the complementation system of Icelandic and Faroese differs from the Mainland Scandinavian one.

It has been argued that Old Icelandic has only an unspecific relative complementizer, spelled out in a high position, namely SubP. The same situation is reflected in Modern Icelandic, which lacks a lower, subject-specific copy of *sem* spelled out in Fin in cases of subject extractions. This is visible in the embedded Wh- clauses in (334) below.

(334)a. Ég veit ekki hver (\*sem) \_\_\_\_ kemur (Icelandic)  
I know not who.NOM that comes  
“I don’t know who will come”

b. Ég veit ekki hvern (\*sem) han hefur séð \_\_\_\_  
I know not who.ACC that he has seen  
“I don’t know who he has seen”

---

b. Det virker som om hun skal ikke komme  
It works as if she shall not come  
“It seems that she might not come”

[Odd Egil Johnsen, p.c.]

Contrary to Swedish and Norwegian *som*, Icelandic *sem* cannot be present in embedded subject-Wh- clauses, as shown in (334)a. Moreover, (334)b. together with the analogous Swedish and Norwegian cases in (325)b. and c. above, repeated below for convenience, contrasts with the Faroese facts in (333)b.

(335)a. Han spurte hvilken buss (\*som) **vi** ville ta \_\_\_\_ (Norwegian)  
 He asked which bus that we would take  
 “He asked which bus we would take”

b. Det spelar ingen roll vem (?\*som) **du** väckte \_\_\_\_ (Swedish)  
 It plays no role who that you woke-up  
 “It doesn’t matter who you woke up”

The subject/non-subject asymmetry characterizing the distribution of *som* indicates its subject-specific nature, in contrast to the non-specific character of declarative complementizers, such as Faroese *ið*.

Further support to this hypothesis comes from the fact that in Icelandic many types of subordinate clauses are optionally introduced by a complementizer followed by the declarative head *að*. This is the case for indirect yes/no questions; conditionals; adverbial and also relative clauses, suggesting that *sem* is spelled out in a position higher than *að*, i.e. than Force:

(336) þetta er bókin sem (að) ég keypti \_\_\_\_ (Icelandic)  
 this is book.the that that I bought  
 “This is the book that I bought” [Thránsson (2007), 450, 8.135]

Recall that relative clauses cannot be introduced by *som* *at/att* either in Norwegian or in Swedish (cf. p. 184, and fn. 144).

#### 4.9.3. Diachronic evolution

According to Thránsson (1980; 2007), Old Icelandic had the possibility to introduce relative clauses by means of Wh- clauses:

(337) a. gete þier þann kalek druckit *Huern at* eg mun drecka \_\_\_\_ (Old Icelandic)  
 can you that chalice drink which.ACC that I will drink  
 “Can you drink the chalice that I will drink?”  
 b. hökull *hvør eð* var gefinn...  
 cloak which.NOM that was given  
 “The cloak which was given...” [Thránsson (2007), 449, fn. 31]

The facts in (337) do not contradict the analysis proposed in Section 4.7. for Old Icelandic, where it has been shown that a strategy analogous to the Early Modern Swedish *hvilkin som* was not available. Notice that the complementizer following the Wh- element in (337) is an unspecific declarative, and not a subject-specific equivalent of Swedish *som*. Moreover, the sentences in (337) don’t exhibit any subject/non-subject

asymmetry in the merger of *at/eð*, thus their structure can simply be analyzed as an “ancestor” of the Faroese one presented in (333) above, with the difference that the latter introduces an embedded Wh-, rather than a relative clause.

A similar shift in the function of the embedded structure is attested in the diachrony of Mainland Scandinavian. In section 4.9.2. it has been shown that Norwegian and Swedish (and also Danish, although with some differences) embedded Wh- clauses exhibit a subject/non-subject asymmetry similar to the one attested in the Early Modern Swedish *hvilkin som* construction. The latter type of complementation was used to introduce relative clauses. Instead, in Modern Mainland Scandinavian, relative clauses are introduced by *som* alone, but still exhibit a subject/non-subject asymmetry in the complementizer deletion possibilities. The hypothesis is that in Modern Scandinavian the *hvilkin som* strategy was reanalyzed and adopted as a complementation structure for embedded Wh- clauses, whereas relative clauses started being introduced by *som* alone. This idea is supported by the facts illustrated above and in section 4.7. and summarized in Table 17. below, where Wh- words from the examples above are inserted:

Table 17. Complementation system reanalysis in Mainland Scandinavian

	SubP		ForceP	WhP	FinP		SubjP
	Spec	Sub	Force	Spec	Spec	Fin	Spec
<b>O. Sw.</b> relative		<i>som</i> <i>/ær</i>			<i>SF</i>		Ø
<b>E. M. Sw.</b> Subj- relative	<i>hvilkin</i>			< <i>hvilkin</i> >	< <i>hvilkin</i> >	<i>som</i>	Ø
<b>Sw./No.</b> Subject- Wh-clause	<i>hvem</i>			< <i>hvem</i> >	< <i>hvem</i> >	<i>som</i>	Ø
<b>Da.</b> Subject- Wh-clause	<i>hvem</i>	( <i>som</i> )	( <i>at</i> )	< <i>hvem</i> >	< <i>hvem</i> >	( <i>som</i> )	( <i>der</i> )
<b>Sw/No/Da</b> Subj- relative		*( <i>som</i> )	< <i>som</i> >			< <i>som</i> >	Ø

**O. Sw.**= Old Swedish

**E. M. Sw.**= Early Modern Swedish

**Sw.**= Modern Swedish

**No.**= Modern Norwegian

**Da.** = Modern Danish

(...) = optional<sup>145</sup> / \*(...) = obligatory

<...> = intermediate copy

By contrast, it has been argued that in Icelandic and Faroese a lower copy of *sem/sum* was never introduced as a device to check the feature of Fin and allow subject extractions, thus SF remained productive. This is shown in Table 18. below:

<sup>145</sup>Recall that in Spoken Danish embedded subject Wh- clauses either *der* or *som* must be present: this constraint could not be expressed in Table 17.

	SubP		ForceP	WhP	FinP		SubjP
	Spec	Sub	Force	Spec	Spec	Fin	Spec
<b>Old Icelandic</b> relative (1)		<i>som</i> <i>/er</i>			<i>SF</i>		$\emptyset$
<b>Icelandic</b> relative		<i>sem</i>			<i>(SF)</i>		$\emptyset$
<b>Old Icelandic</b> relative (2)	<i>hvör</i>		<i>at</i>		<i>(SF)</i>		$\emptyset$
<b>Faroese</b> Subject-Wh-clause	<i>hvör</i>		<i>(ið)</i>	< <i>hvör</i> >	<i>(SF)</i>		$\emptyset$
<b>Old Icelandic</b> Subject-Wh-clause	<i>hverr</i>			< <i>hverr</i> >	<i>SF</i>		$\emptyset$
<b>Icelandic</b> Subject-Wh-clause	<i>hver</i>			< <i>hver</i> >	<i>(SF)</i>		$\emptyset$

(338) a. hvat ætlar þú, hvern **tí** hafi gefit (Old Icelandic)  
 what think you, whom to have given  
 “Who do you think gave (this)?”

b. “Hvat sýnist þér, Björn” segir hann, “hversu **með** skal fara?”  
 What mean you Björn says he how PL shall go  
 “He says: How do you think we should treat this, Björn?”  
 [Falk & Torp 1990: 251; Håkansson 2004: 28]

Table 18. reveals that alternative strategies of the *hvilkin som* type (Early Modern Swedish) are never introduced in the Icelandic grammar. As a consequence, SF continues to be productive in present-day spoken language. As argued in the previous sections, the decreased productivity of SF in Modern Icelandic depends on the possibility of *það* insertion primarily in non-extraction, subjectless contexts (cf. Rögvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Rögvaldsson 1984). In the present framework,

*það* would merge in a CP-subject position between WhP and FinP, as illustrated in (316) above, and repeated below for convenience. The CP subject position is in bold.<sup>146</sup>

(339) [<sub>CP</sub> SubP ForceP WhP (**Subj2P**) (ModP) FinP [<sub>IP</sub> SubjP

In sum, the facts presented Sections 4.9.1-3 confirm the hypothesis of a different evolution of the complementation system between Old Swedish and Old Icelandic. In light of diachronic facts, the present-day differences between Modern Mainland Scandinavian, on the one hand, and Modern Icelandic and Faroese<sup>147</sup>, on the other, have been accounted. The presence of SF in Icelandic and Faroese vs. its absence in Mainland Scandinavian has been related to the adoption of different strategies satisfying the interface requirements encoded in the CP properties.

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<sup>146</sup> A second possibility is that *það* is merged in the spec of Fin, but then it becomes problematic to account for extraction contexts like those mentioned by Rögnvaldsson (1984), where *það*-insertion is actually possible.

<sup>147</sup> Although Faroese differs from Icelandic in many significant respects.

## Chapter 5.

### The Complementizer System: comparison with Old and Non-Standard Italian

#### 5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4, it has been argued that different copies of the same complementizer form can be spelled out in different positions. This claim is based on diachronic facts concerning the evolution of Old Scandinavian languages into two separate complementation systems. As a result, this split in the complementation mechanisms is visible in present-day Scandinavian: on the one hand, in Icelandic; and, on the other, in Mainland Scandinavian languages; whereas Faroese oscillates between the two systems. Specifically, it has been argued that the Icelandic complementizer *sem* is aspecific and occupies a higher position in the CP structure, identified with SubP. The fact that *sem* is merged in a high position is compatible with the possibility that it may be followed by the declarative Force-head *að* also in subject relative-clauses. By contrast, Mainland Scandinavian *som* can also occur in a lower position of the CP domain, allegedly Fin, as a result of an innovation introduced in the grammar of Early Modern Swedish. The function of the lower *som* is specific, as is confirmed by the fact that its distribution displays subject/non-subject asymmetries.

The present chapter explores some properties of the Romance complementizer system for a comparison with the Scandinavian picture presented in Chapter 4. Given the different options for introducing subordinate clauses available in Icelandic vs. Mainland Scandinavian, the forthcoming sections focus on the morphosyntactic properties of subordinating particles and complementizers, as well as of other elements found in preposed positions. Again, subordinate clauses are the privileged context under examination, given that their structure is more easily recognizable.

The languages discussed in this chapter are chosen because they exhibit a special subordinate construction formed by two analogous complementizer forms linearly separated by a phrase.<sup>148</sup> The complementizers occurring in this construction are typically two occurrences of the declarative complementizer (e.g. *che*=that), labeled *che1* and *che2*, and the resulting surface string looks like in (340) below:

(340) [Che1...XP...Che2...

The data presented in this chapter are from Paoli (2003); Damonte (2008 and references therein); Cocchi and Poletto (2000); as well as from the 3 Old Italian corpora whose analysis has been presented in Chapter 2. The construction in (340), which Paoli (2003) labels Double Che Constrsuction (DCC; so do I henceforth), is subject to different restrictions depending on the specific grammar. The languages that exhibit DCC are some Non-standard Italian varieties: for the present purposes I consider Turinese and Ligurian (two Northern Italian Dialects, cf. Paoli 2003), and Southern Calabrian and Salentino (two Southern Italian Dialects, cf. Ledgeway 2003; Damonte 2008; a.o.). Moreover, DCC is attested in Old Romance languages like Castillian, French, and Italian. The discussion will concentrate on the latter variety.

<sup>148</sup> Similar constructions are also found in Dutch and Dutch dialects. See <http://www.dialectsyntax.org/index.php/edisyn-othertextmenu-51> for facts.

The chapter is structured as follows.

- The distribution of Italian *che* is briefly illustrated, in order to show its polivalency.
- Paoli's (2003) facts on Old Italian are presented together with facts from the 3 Old Italian corpora FF; FR; and N (cf. Chapter 2). Then Paoli's analysis is briefly illustrated and discussed.
- Facts from Non-standard varieties are taken into consideration, in as much as they contribute to the definition of the CP properties under analysis. Specifically, modal complementizers in Salentino and Southern Calabrian (cf. Damonte 2008) and complementizer deletion (CD) in Florentine (cf. Cocchi and Poletto 2000) are compared and discussed.
- Following the cartographic perspective adopted in the previous chapters, an overall picture of the Italian complementation structure is drawn in consideration of diachronic and regional variation facts.
- These results are briefly compared to some relevant aspects of Scandinavian complementation systems presented in Chapter 4. Then a tentative, unifying analysis is proposed.

## 5.2. Distribution of *che*

The Italian complementizer *che* has a wide and diverse employ and introduces different clause-types. It is found in Old Italian and in Modern Standard Italian, as well as in many Non-standard Italian varieties. *Che* is used to introduce declarative complements, relative clauses, embedded Wh- clauses in association with a functional Wh- element, some adverbial and some comparative clauses. Furthermore, it introduces exclamatives and clausal subjects. In general, the use of *che* seems more restricted in Modern than in Old Italian. The distribution of *che* and the changes between Old and Modern Italian, as well as regional substandard variations, are briefly sketched below. Notice that sometimes the form *che* is abbreviated into *ch'* when the following word begins by vowel.

### Finite declarative complements

- |  |                  |              |
|--|------------------|--------------|
| (341) a. rispuose <i>ch'era</i> filosofo | (Old Italian)    |              |
| answered.3s that was philosopher         |                  | [FF, 104, 6] |
| b. rispose <i>che</i> era filosofo       | (Modern Italian) |              |
| answered.3s that was philosopher         |                  |              |
| “He answerd that he was a philosopher”   |                  |              |

In declarative complements *che* is more frequent in Old than in Modern Italian. This difference is due to a more massive presence of finite complements in Old Italian. Since pro-drop is asymmetric in Old Italian (i.e. possible in main, but not in subordinate clauses), overt subjects in subordinate clauses do not trigger disjoint reference effects. Instead, disjoint reference effects are triggered by (non-contrastive) pronominal subject in the Modern Italian embedded clause, due to full pro-drop. In order to obviate this problem, infinitival constructions are adopted, unless a specific mark of mood/aspect requires the subordinate clause to be finite:



- (342)a. \*Maria<sub>i</sub> dice *che* pro<sub>i</sub>/\*lei<sub>i</sub> è stata premiata (Modern Italian)  
 Mary says that pro/she(=Mary) is been awarded  
 b. Maria dice *di* essere stata premiata  
 Mary says of be.INF been awarded  
 “Mary says that she has been awarded”  
 c. Maria dice *che* pro<sub>i</sub>/\*lei<sub>i</sub> sarà premiata  
 Mary says that be.3s.FUT awarded  
 “Mary says that she will be awarded”

This restriction is not active in Old Italian: because of the partial character of the pro-drop parameter, no disjoint reference effect is triggered with null or overt personal pronouns (cf. Chapter 2).

(Old Italian)

- (343) il sanato di Roma il<sub>i</sub> pregava ch'elli<sub>i</sub> facesse il figliuolo suo...  
 the senate of Rome 3s.ACC.cl begged that he made.COND the son his  
 “The senate of Rome begged him to make his son...” [FF, 106,6]

### Relative clauses

*Che* is more used in Old than in Modern Italian for different kinds of relative clauses. In Modern Italian, *che* cannot introduce oblique or adjunct relatives, and a specific form is needed.

- (344)a. el cavallo suo era uno bastone con *che* s'apogiava (Old Italian)  
 the horse his was a stick with that REFL point [FF, 126, 4]  
 b. il suo cavallo era un bastone con *cui/ il quale/\*che* si sosteneva (Modern Italian)  
 the his horse was a stick with which /the which/that REFL sustain  
 “His horse was a stick with which he helped himself”

The higher degree of specificity of the relative complementizer in Modern Italian results from a diachronic evolution, reflected also in acquisition facts as well as in Non-standard varieties. On the one hand, the acquisition of complex forms like *a cui – al/alla quale, per cui – per il/la quale, con cui – con il/la quale, di cui – del/della quale*, etc. (respectively to-; for-; with-; of-which) is later than the acquisition of bare *che*.

On the other hand, Northern Italian Dialects and some substandard Italian lack these forms and adopt *che* in association with a specific subordinating particle/adverbial, not only in relative clauses but also for introducing adverbial clauses. Marginally, this subordinator can be dropped, and only *che* surfaces, as shown in the example below, from Venetian:

- (345) El posto ?(dove) che semo ‘ndai st’altra volta (Venetian)  
 the place where that are.1s gone that-other time  
 “The place where we went that time”

Interestingly, Venetian adopts a resumptive-pronoun strategy, instead of specific relative complementizers. The resumptive pronoun is underlined below:

- (346) G'ho visto ea fia *che* ti ghe g'avevi imprestà el libro (Venetian)  
 GHE have.1s seen the girl that 3s.DAT.cl GHE had.2s lent the book  
 "I have seen the girl to whom you had lent the book"

Another difference between Old and Modern Italian is that the latter does not admit extraposed relatives. Especially in the FF corpus extraposed relatives are very common:

- (347) a. Neuna cosa \_\_ è da piacere [*che* non si conviene] (Old Italian)  
 No thing is to be.pleasantINF that not IMP be.convenient [FF, 197, 4]  
 b. \*Nessuna cosa \_\_ deve piacere [*che* non sia conveniente] (Modern Italian)  
 No thing must be.pleasantINF that not SUBJ.be convenient  
 "One must not like anything that is not convenient"
- (348)a. quella \_\_ fosse persona che avesse vita, [*che* istesse nell'acqua] (Old Italian)  
 That were person that had.3sSUBJ life that were.3sSUBJ in.the water [N 229,5]  
 b. \*quella fosse una persona viva, [*che* stava nell'acqua] (Modern Italian)  
 that were a person alive that were.3s in.the water  
 "The one that was in the water were a living person"

#### (Embedded) Wh-clauses

As for Wh- questions and embedded Wh- clauses, Old Italian displays a regular use of bare *che*, whereas Modern Italian has a lot of regional variation in this respect. In my variety (North-Eastern Italian), I don't have bare *che*-clauses, and prefer to use *che* associated to the functional element *cosa* (=what) or just *cosa*. However, bare *che* is much used in other varieties, especially in Central and Southern Italy. Below I present two pairs consisting of an Old Italian example and its translation in my Modern Italian variety, where bare *che* is bad.

- (349) a. E la madre il domandò un die *che* nel consiglio fosse fatto (Old Italian)  
 E the mother 3s.DAT.cl asked a day that in.the council were.3s.SUBJ made  
 "One day the mother asked him what they had done at the council"  
 [FF 136, 6]

(Northern Italian)

- b. Un giorno la madre gli domandò *che* \*(*cosa*) fosse stato fatto al consiglio  
 the mother 3s.DAT.cl asked that what were.3sSUBJ been made at.the council  
 "One day the mother asked him what they had done at the council"

- (350) a. «*Che* è sonno?» «Sonno è imagine de la morte... (Old Italian)  
 What is sleep/ Sleep is image of the death [FF 218, 6]  
 b. *Che* \*(*cos* 'è il sonno? Il sonno è l'immagine della morte (Northern Italian)  
 What what is the sleep/ the sleep is the image of the death  
 "What is sleep?" "Sleep is the image of death"

In Old Italian *che* is sometimes found also in main yes/no questions, in which case it is void of the semantics it bears in Wh- questions (cf. (351) below). In this case, *che* does not seem to function as a Wh-OP but rather as a sort of CP-expletive (cf. Chapter 2).

- (351)a. “*Che* ricorrerà elli alla bontà del suo padre?” (Old Italian)  
 That resort.3s.FUT he to.the goodness of his father?  
 “Certo, e' fu uno biscaziere ubriaco...”  
 Sure, he was a gambler drunk  
 “Will he resort to his father’s goodness? Sure, he was a drunk gambler...”  
 [FR 17, 19,11]

#### Adverbial and comparative clauses

In Old Italian, *che* is used as a subordinator both in adverbial and comparative clauses (cf. Belletti 2001). In adverbial clauses, *che* usually follows a subordinating adverb as shown in (352)a. (352)b. is an analogous example from Modern Italian where the subordinating word is a compound of *che* and adverb/particle.

- (352) a. da *che* pure vi piace, ubidiroe lo vostro comandamento (Old Italian)  
 from that also 2p.DAT.cl like obey.1s.FUT the your command [N, 280, 9]  
 b. dacchè è comunque Sua volontà, obbedirò al Suo ordine (Modern Italian)  
 since is however your will obey.1s.FUT to.the your order  
 “Since you like it anyway, I’ll obey your order”

Other compound forms resulting from *che*+subordinating adverbs/particles surfacing as two separate words in Old Italian are, for instance, *sicchè* (*si*+*che*; thus); *poichè/perchè* (*poi/per*+*che*; because); *finchè* ((*in*) *fino* (a *tanto*) + *che*; until).

Other forms are changed. For instance *che* has become *quanto* in (353):

- (353) a. secondo *che* si legge in libro (Old Italian)  
 according that IMP read in book [N, 215, 2]  
 b. secondo *quanto*/\**che* si legge nel libro (Modern Italian)  
 according how/that IMP read in.the book  
 “According to what one can read in the book”

Other adverbial clauses, instead, do not take *che* in standard Italian, but they do in Non-standard varieties, i.e. Northern Italian Dialects:

- (354) a. Sebbene (\**che*) volesse andarci, poi ha rinunciato (Standard Italian)  
 Although wanted.3s.SUBJ go.thereINF, has must renounce.INF  
 b. Se-ben \*?(*che*) ‘l voesse ‘ndarghe, po’ el g’à fato de manco (Venetian)  
 Although that SCL wantedSUBJ go.thereINF then SCL GHE-has made of less  
 “Although he wanted to go there, he had to renounce”

A very common construction in Old Italian is one with *che* introducing an extent clause as in so...that constructions.

- (355) E messere Cante li ne rendeo tal guiderdone, *che* si giacea con la moglie  
 E sir Cante 3s.DAT.cl of.it returned such payment, that REFL lie with the wife  
 “Sir Cante returned him the “favor” by sleeping with his wife” [N, 338, 8]

*Che* is also very frequent in Old Italian comparatives, whereas Modern Italian more often prescribes that *di* introduces the term of comparison:

- (356) a. non è vero che meno l'ami tu morto *che* quando era vivo (Old Italian)  
 not is true that less 3s.ACC.cl love.2s you dead that when was alive [N, 291, 5]  
 b. non è vero che l'ami meno da morto *di* quando era vivo (Modern Italian)  
 not is true tha 3s.ACC.cl love.2s less as dead of when was alive  
 “It is not true that you love him less as dead than when he was alive”

### Clausal arguments

As for English that, *che* introduces clausal arguments and preposed clauses:

(Old Italian)

- (357)a. l'utilità della cosa sopra la qual si piglia consiglio è [*che* sia più sicura]  
 the utility of.the thing above the what IMP take advice is that be.SUBJ more sure  
 “The usefulness of what one gets informed about is that it is more certain”  
 b. [*Che* Aristarco abbia morto Ruffino], di questo siamo noi  
 That Aristarco has.SUBJ killed Ruffino of this are we  
 bene coll'altra parte in concordia  
 well with.the other part in agreement  
 “We do agree with the other party (on the fact) that Aristarco killed Ruffino”  
 [FR 69,7; 94, 14]

Notice that Old Italian exhibits also what Falk (1993) identifies as clause-anticipating constructions in Old Swedish. Instead of an expletive, though, Old Italian uses a demonstrative to refer to the whole clause in square brackets in (358). which is not so different from Old Scandinavian, where the expletive seems to derive from a demonstrative. Basically, (358) shows the inverse form of (357)b. where the preposed clause is resumed by the demonstrative *di questo*.

- (358) E di questo sia sempre scaltrito colui che favella:  
 E of this be.SUBJ always aware who that speaks  
 [*che* [quando e' fa la fine del detto suo per via di misericordia],  
 that when he makes the end of.the speech his by way of sympathy  
*che* dica il detto suo brevemente e in poche parole]  
 that tell.SUBJ the speech his briefly and in few words  
 “The speaker shall always be aware of this: that when he ends up his speech in a  
 sympathetic way, he shall speak briefly and use few words” [FR 75, 19]

A most important fact of (358) is that, in addition to be an instance of clause-anticipating construction, the (bigger) clausal complement in brackets exhibit a DCC, as

shown by the complementizers in italics. This construction is no longer found in Standard Italian. The properties of DCC are discussed in the next section.

### Exclamatives

Another type of sentence where two occurrences of *che* appear simultaneously and non-adjacent is that of exclamatives (see Zanuttini and Portner 2003). This construction is productive also in Modern Italian:

- (359) a. deh, *che* doglia m'è *che* tu muori senza colpa! (Old Italian)  
 Deh that pain 1s.DAT.cl is that you die without fault  
 “Oh, how painful it is that you die without being guilty!” [N, 291,21]
- b. *Che* bella casa *che* hai! (Modern Italian)  
 That nice house that have.2s  
 “What a nice house you have!”

### Clause initial *che*

There is a special use of *che* in Old and Modern Italian, which is not properly that of a subordinating particle. In this case, *che* appears sentence intially. Consider the cases in (360):

- (360) a. fui incorato di recare pesche: *che* s'io l'avesse recate, (Old Italian)  
 was.1s willing of bring.INF peaches that if I 3p.ACC.cl had.COND brought  
 io sarei ora cieco  
 I would.be now blind  
 “I was going to bring peaches. Had I brough them, I would be blind now”  
 [N, 298, 7]
- b. non piangere, *che* ti cola il trucco (Modern Italian)  
 not cry that 2s.DAT.cl drips the make.up  
 “don’t cry, or your make up would drip”
- c. dàì, *che* ce la fai!  
 Give.2s that there 3s.ACC.cl make.2s  
 “Come on, you can make it!”

This type of *che* doesn’t introduce a subordinate clause, nonetheless it needs a previous context specifying the circumstances in which the clause it introduces can be uttered. Clauses of this type can be understood as the peripheral clauses identified in Haegeman (to app). I leave a further discussion of this topic to future research.

## **5.3. Double Complementizer Constructions (DCC)**

As mentioned in Section 5.1., DCC, no longer found in Standard Italian, is still present in various Italian dialects as well as in Old Romance languages. This section focuses first on the characteristics of DCC in Old Italian, by considering data from the FF; FR and N corpora and Paoli’s (2003) discussion of DCC in Old Romance. Secondly, DCC

facts from the Non-standard Italian varieties of Turinese and Ligurian (as a Northern Italian Dialect, cf. Paoli 2003) and Salentino and Southern Calabrian (as Southern Italian Dialects; cf. Damonte 2008, and references therein) are compared and discussed. Finally some complementizer deletion facts from Standard Italian and Florentine (cf. Cocchi and Poletto 2000) are brought about as additional evidence. The main claim supported by the facts illustrated here is that the feature-checking requirement on *Fin* may depend also on the presence/absence of a mood feature on *Fin*. Following Damonte (2008); and Cocchi and Poletto (2000), it is argued that [Mood] on *Fin* can be either checked by local *c*-command on *Fin* onto the lower Mood head, or by internal/external Merge of a lexical item in *Fin*. The type of lexical realization of *Fin* is subject to crosslinguistic variation, namely specific grammars exhibit different strategies to satisfy the Mood-checking requirement on *Fin*.

### 5.3.1. DCC in Old Italian

In Old Italian, DCC surfaces as a linear string where a first occurrence of *che* is followed by some XP and a lower occurrence of *che* introducing the subordinate clause, as illustrated in (340), repeated here for convenience:

(361) [Che1...XP...Che2...

According to Paoli (2003), Old Italian DCC is slightly different from the same phenomenon attested in other Old Romance varieties. For instance, Paoli observes that:

“the majority of the examples of DCC have a hypothetical [...]; a temporal [...]; or a causal clause [...] intervening between the two QUE (= *che*; *n.d.*)”  
p. 263.

Some instances from Paoli 2003 are given in (362) below:

- (362) a. ....giurovi *che*, [poichè io così la veggio disposta], *che* mai (Old Italian)  
 swear.1s-2p.ACC.cl that since I so 3s.ACC.cl see.1s disposed, that never  
 di questo voi non sentirete più parola  
 of this you.p not hear.2s.FUT more word  
 “I swear to you that you will never hear another word about this, since I see her  
 under this light” [Dec, 3, 3]
- b. però vi priegho in lealtade e fede *che*, [sse ttue vuoi del mio avere],  
 but 2p.ACC.cl pray in loyalty and faith that if you want.2s of.the my have  
*che* ttu ne tolghi, e di ciò che mestiere ti sia  
 that you of.it take.2s.SUBJ and of it that necessary 2s.DAT.cl be.SUBJ  
 “But I pray you with loyalty and faith that, if you want my things, you take of  
 them how much you need” [Distr Tr; XDIV 1; 155, 26-28]

- c. ... a lui era tutta via viso *che* [quando persona neuna  
to him was all way shown that when person no one  
la guardasse], *che* inmantenente iglile togliesse  
her looked.SUBJ that immediately 3s.DAT+ACC.cj took.SUBJ  
“It was shown to him that, when nobody was watching her, he would  
immediately take them off her” [Tr Ricc 149, 25-28]

By contrast, Early Castillian presents also subjects; objects; and PPs between the two complementizers.

(Early Castillian)

- (363) Onde dize Josepho *que* [en casa de so padre] *que* le llamaron primera mientre Ciro  
Where says Joseph that in house of his father that 3s.ACC.cl called.3p first Ciro  
“Where Joseph says that in his father’s house they first called him Ciro”  
[Gen Est 177r2.6; in Paoli 2003]

Both the Old Italian and the Early Castillian corpora excerpted by Paoli are from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Despite Paoli’s observation (cf. quote above), DCC in the N corpus also involves different types of XP. Examples (364)-(367) illustrate that the element between *che1* and *che2* is an adverbial clause; examples (368)-(370) that it is a subject; an indirect object or a prepositional phrase, respectively:

- (364) convenia *che*, [s'elli si voleva affibbiare da mano],  
decided that if he REFL wanted buckle.up from hand  
*ch'elli* medesimo mettesse lo filo nella cruna  
that he self put.SUBJ the yarn in.the eye.of.the.needle  
“She decided that if he wanted to buckle up again, he himself had to put the yarn  
into the eye of the needle” [N 62, 265, 6]
- (365) Dirai [...] *che*, [se tuo padre fu loro aspro],  
Say.2s.FUT that if your father was to.them harsh  
*che* tu sarai loro umile e benigno  
that you be.2s.FUT to.them humble and good  
“You will say that if your father was harsh to them, you’ll be humble and good”  
[N 6,140,10]
- (366) i savi strolagi providero *che*, [s'elli non stessee anni dieci  
the wise astrologists foresaw that if he not stood.SUBJ years ten  
*che* non vedesse il sole], *che* perderebbe il vedere.  
that not saw.SUBJ the sun, that lose.3s.COND the see  
“The wise astrologists foresaw that if he spent ten years without seeing the sun,  
he would lose the sight” [N 13, 158, 2]

(367) comandò *che*, [quando sua anima fosse partita dal corpo],  
 ordered that when her soul were.SUBJ departed from.the body  
*che* fosse arredata una ricca navicella  
 that were.SUBJ equipped a rich vessel  
 “She ordered that when her soul is departed from the body, a rich vessel were  
 equipped” [N 82, 317, 5]

(368) trovò *che*, [chi continuo mangiasse nove dì  
 Found that who continuously ate.SUBJ nine days  
 di petronciani], *che* diverrebbe matto  
 of eggplants that become.COND crazy  
 “He found out that whoever ate eggplants for nine days in a row would become  
 crazy” [N, 35, 208, 2]

(369) Lo 'mperadore donò una grazia a un suo barone:  
 The emperor gave a favor to a his baron  
*che*, [qualunque uomo passasse per sua terra], *che* lli togliesse  
 that any man passed.SUBJ through his land that 3s.DAT.cl took.SUBJ  
 d'ogni magagna evidente uno danaro di passaggio.  
 of any phisical.fault visibile a coin of toll  
 “The emperor gave a favor to one of his barons (such) that he could toll one coin  
 to any man who crossed his land for each one of his visible physical faults”  
 [N 53, 241, 1]

(370) Farai così: *che*, [nella tua giovinezza], *che* tu usarai  
 do.2s.FUT so that in.the your youth that you use.2s.FUT  
 tutte le belle et oneste cose  
 all the nice and honest things  
 “You shall do so: that in your youth you’ll do all nice and honest things”  
 [N 68, 285,1]

It is my impression that the choice of the XP type in the DCC construction depends to some extent on the “register” of the text under examination. Indeed, cases of DCC are totally absent from the FF corpus: on 428 occurrences of *che* introducing different types of clauses (cf. the overview given in section 5.2.) there are no instances of DCC. Even in the contexts where DCC could be expected, *che*<sub>2</sub> is silent. Indeed the subordinate clause has most often a basic *che*<sub>1</sub>- SVO order, without any preposed element. Even where preposed elements do occur, DCC is not attested as is shown in the paradigmatic examples in (371) below.

(371)a. Anche diceva Iscipio *che* [neuna otta] Ø era meno ozioso  
 also said Scipio that no time was less otious  
 “Scipio also said that never was he less otious” [FF 141, 9]



- b. Pensate co li animi vostri *che* [se per fatica farete alcuna cosa  
 Think with the soul yours that if for effort do.2p.FUT any thing  
 di bene], Ø quella fatica tosto anderà via  
 of good that effort soon go.3s.FUT away  
 “You shall think yourselves that if you make an effort to do anything good, that  
 effort will soon be relieved” [FF 147, 4]

The idea that DCC depends on the literary style characterizing a text is also shared by Paoli (2003) who argues that DCC in Old Italian is a stylistic phenomenon with the specific purpose of giving prominence to a fronted element. In contrast to the lack of DCC in the FF corpus, and differently from the variety of fronting options displayed by the N corpus, the FR corpus exhibits few DCC, most of which involving fronting of heavy constituents, as illustrated in the clause-anticipating construction in (358) repeated below as (372):

- (372) E di questo sia sempre scaltrito colui che favella:  
 E of this be.SUBJ always aware who that speaks  
 [*che* [quando e' fa la fine del detto suo per via di misericordia],  
 that when he makes the end of.the speech his by way of sympathy  
*che* dica il detto suo brevemente e in poche parole]  
 that tell.SUBJ the speech his briefly and in few words  
 “The speaker shall always be aware of this: that when he ends up his speech in a  
 sympathetic way, he shall speak briefly and use few words” [FR 75, 19]

Paoli (2003) argues that DCC in Old Italian is a stylistic phenomenon because neither does it strictly depend on the type of the main predicate, nor does it show restrictions on the mood of the subordinate clause it introduces (contrary to Ligurian and Turinese DCC, see Section 5.3.2.). She argues that the XP occurring between *che1* and *che2* is a left dislocated topic, by observing that, when the XP is an object, it is resumed by a clitic in the subordinate clause (cf. (369) above). Paoli hypothesizes that, in a split CP structure, *che1* is the head of Force, and *che2* is an overt topic-marker in Top°.

If Paoli (2003) is correct, the prediction is that other, lower preverbal elements can be found linearly following *che2*, whereas *che2* would be in complementary distribution with other topic markers. Recall from Poletto (2005) that Old Italian had the expletive topic marker *e* merged in Top°. However, expletive *e* occurs only in main contexts, thus it is not possible to test whether there is a real complementary distribution between *che2* and *e* (i.e. they are always in complementary distribution).

Another type of CP-expletive is *sì* which, according to Poletto (2005), moves to Spec,FocP and can be found in main and in embedded clauses. Since dislocations may occur above *sì* (cf. Chapter 2.), DCC followed by *sì* would in principle be possible, under Paoli's hypothesis. The expected structure would be as in (373):

- (373) <sub>Force</sub> Che1 ... <sub>TopP</sub> [XP] <sub>Top</sub> che2 ... <sub>Spec,FocP</sub> Sì ... V ...

In the FF; FR; and N corpora no cases with the structure in (373) were found. By contrast, structure like (374) are common and even more frequent than DCC:

(374) <sub>Force</sub> *Che*1...<sub>TopP</sub>[XP]...<sub>Spec,FocP</sub> *sì*...V...

Some examples are given below; Ø indicates the absence of *che*2.

(375) E fue *sì* benigno *che* [quelli cui elli sugiugava con arme], Ø  
 E was so good that those who he subdued with weapons  
*sì* vinceva con clemenzia e con benignità  
 SI won with indulgence and goodness  
 “He was so good that he overcame in indulgence and goodness those whom he  
 subdued by means of weapons” [FF, 150, 3]

(376) Costuma era per lo reame di Francia *che* [l'uomo  
 Custom was through the kingdom of France that the man  
 ch'era degno d'essere disonorato e giustiziato] Ø *sì* andava ...  
 who was worth to be dishonored and executed SI went  
 “In the kingdom of France it was customary that the man worth being dishonored  
 and executed went...” [N 27,192, 1]

(377) Al tempo del re Giovanni d'Acri fue in Acri ordinata  
 At.the time of.the king John of Acri was in Acri ordered  
 una campana *che*, [chiunque ricevea un gran torto], *sì* l'andava a sonare  
 a bell that anyone received a big offense SI 3s.ACC.cl went to ring  
 “At the time of King John of Acri, in Acri it was ordered a bell that anyone who  
 had been offended went and rang” [N 52, 239, 2]

The examples in (375)-(377) all show a dislocated argument, not an adverbial clause: either the object, in (375), or the subject, as in (376)-(377). Recall, however, that DCC is possible also with argument XPs in Old Italian, as illustrated in (368)-(369). Moreover, notice that the dislocated object in (375) above is not resumed by a clitic in the embedded clause, which suggests that it occupies a different position with respect to the XP identified by Paoli in DCCs. According to Benincà and Poletto (2002), the elements that can occupy the high left periphery without being resumed by a clitic are either Foci or Hanging Topics (HT), in Romance. Given that in *che*1-*sì* constructions the Focus position is already taken by *sì*, the object [quelli cui elli sugiugava con arme] in (375) must be a HT, which would entail that *che*2 is in a position higher than Force. I am not willing to make the hasty generalization that all XP appearing in pre-*sì* position must be HTs, but only remark that (375) cannot have the structure proposed in (374). The possibility that *che*1 is located higher than Force is discussed also by Damonte (2008) and left open for the moment<sup>149</sup>.

The absence of *che*2 in *che*1-*sì* constructions is also attested with fronting of adverbial clauses, as exemplified below:

<sup>149</sup> Damonte (2008) argues that *che*, in the *che*...*ca* DCC of Old Salentino, occupies a position above Force, whereas *ca* is in Force.

- (378) Leggesi del re Currado, del padre di Curradino, *che*, [quando era garzone],  
 Read.IMP of.the king Corrado, of.the father of Corradino, that when was boy  
 Ø *sì* avea in compagnia dodici garzoni  
 SI had in company twelve boys  
 “It is told that king Corrado, father of Corradino, had a group of twelve friends,  
 when he was a boy” [48, 232, 1]

Neither does the complementary distribution between DCC and *sì* entail that *sì* and *che2* occupy the same position, nor does it reveal where else *che2* can be located, if not in Top°. For the majority of DCCs attested in the N and FR corpora, and reported by Paoli (2003), *che2* is followed by a full or pronominal subject, unless the embedded clause is impersonal or the subject is itself extracted to the position between *che1* and *che2* (cf. (368)-(370) above)<sup>150</sup>.

In all cases of DCC found in the FR and N corpora, the verb of the clause introduced by *che2* is never in the present indicative form. Most frequently, the embedded verb is in the subjunctive or in the conditional mood and, when indicative, it displays future or imperfect inflection. Paoli's (2003) data pattern alike: the verb comes in the simple past indicative only in 2 out of 24 cases of DCC, otherwise the verb is either in the subjunctive/conditional or future/imperfect form. The relevant samples of clauses introduced by *che2* in DCC of Old Italian are all reported in Table 19. below, where subjects have been marked in italics.

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<sup>150</sup> The situation is different in Early Castilian, where pro-drop is symmetric, so the subject is dropped after *che*, see Wanner (1995) and Paoli (2003) for data.

Table 19.

<b><i>che2</i>-clauses</b>	<b>tags</b>	<b>corpus</b>
1. che mai non tornerebbe	never not come.back.3s.COND	From Paoli (2003)
2. che <i>ttu</i> ne tolghi	you of.it take.2s.SUBJ	
3. ch'ora èlla vecchiezza sua li volesse	now in.the old.age his 3p.ACC.cl wanted.SUBJ	
4. che inmantenente togliesse	immediately take.off.3s.SUBJ	
5. ch'esso tornaria	he come.3s.COND	
6. che mai di questo <i>voi</i> non sentirete	never of this you not hear.2p.FUT	
7. che <i>'l mio corpo</i> col suo palese stea	the my body with.the his openly stay.SUBJ	
8. che <i>le mie cose ed ella</i> ti sieno raccomandate	the my things and her 2s.DAT.cl be.3p.SUBJ recommended	
9. che <i>egli</i> vi fosse ricevuto	he there were.SUBJ accepted	
10. che <i>ella</i> mai a così fatte novelle non intenderebbe	she never to so made news not hear.3s.COND	
11. che <i>io</i> gliele mandassi	I 3s.DAT+3pACC.cl sended.SUBJ	
12. che <i>ella</i> faccia	she makes.SUBJ	
13. che <i>egli</i> l'avrebbe	he 3s.ACC.cl have.3s.COND	
14. che <i>tu</i> [...] faresti	you make.2s.COND	
15. che <i>la coda</i> sia verde	the tail be.SUBJ green	
16. che <i>egli</i> le potrebbe uscir di mente	he 3s.DAT.cl can.COND go.out of mind	
17. che <i>ella</i> fosse contenta	she were.SUBJ happy	
18. che <i>io</i> falsamente vedessi	I falsely saw.SUBJ	
19. che <i>voi</i> facciate	you.p make.2p.SUBJ	
20. che vi ricordi di me	2p.DAT.cl remind.SUBJ of me	
21. ch' <i>egli</i> s'avvacciasse	he REFL got.closer.SUBJ	
22. che XXVIII reami se soctomise	28 kingdoms REFL subdued.IND	
23. che le piaceva	3s.DAT.cl liked.IND	
24. che <i>l'uno dei fratelli</i> le disse	the one of.the brothers 3s.DAT.cl said.IND	
25. che <i>tu</i> sarai loro umile	you be.2s.FUT to.them humble	N
26. che perderebbe il vedere	lose.COND the sight	
27. che diverrebbe matto	become.COND crazy	
28. che lli togliesse	3s.DAT.cl took.SUBJ	
29. ch' <i>elli</i> medesimo mettesse	he himself put.SUBJ	
30. che <i>tu</i> usrai	you use.2s.FUT	
31. che fosse ardata	were.SUBJ equipped	
32. che dica	say.SUBJ	FR

Sometimes the subject is not immediately followed by the verb in the cases reported in Table 19., cf. 7; 10; 14; 18; some other times the subject is not adjacent to *che2* and

some XP or adverb follows the latter, cf. 6. Finally, another attested option is that of an empty subject position, sometimes combined with some preverbal material. All the possibilities reported in Table 19. are shown in (379) below.

- (379) a. *che2* – Subj – V (16 occurrences)  
       b. *che2* – Subj – XP- V (4 occurrences)  
       c. *che2* – XP – Subj – V (1 occurrence)  
       d. *che2* – XP – V (4 occurrences)  
       e. *che2*- V (7 occurrences)

Assuming that Paoli's hypothesis for *che2* position is correct, the order in (379)b. is ambiguous. On the one hand, the XP and, consequently, the preceding subject, could be dislocated somewhere in the left periphery, below TopP, whose head is realized by *che2*. This hypothesis entails that for a sentence like 10., “[che *ella* [mai] [a così fatte novelle] non intenderebbe]”, there are 3 available slots below TopP in the CP, which seems hardly possible. On the other hand, the preverbal elements following *che2* do not need to reach the CP, given that embedded clauses are generally not V2 in Old Italian, i.e. there is no V-to-Fin. In this case, it seems possible that the subject be in its criterial position, whereas other preverbal material is placed in the low left periphery, giving rise to an OV order (cf. Poletto 2003, Egerland 1996).<sup>151</sup> As already pointed out by Paoli (2003), DCC is not preferred with specific matrix predicates, i.e. it is equally found under “bridge” or “non-bridge” verbs. Accordingly, the different orders reported in (379) may depend on the presence of a more or less available periphery, since embedding under bridge verbs allows more options. For instance, a sentence like 6. in Table 19. is likely to receive a root interpretation, and display a fully available periphery (it is embedded under the verb “to swear”, which might as well take a root complement). Clauses selected by non-bridge predicates may still exhibit some “scrambling” in relation to the available position in the vP periphery, given that Old Italian has OV order (see also fn. 152).

The idea that a complementizer like *che* (which is also spelled out in Force, cf. *che1*) occupies the head position of TopP, whereas FinP remains empty may sound a little counterintuitive. In the previous chapters, it has been shown that FinP crosslinguistically requires an overt realization in many syntactic environments. This is the case for some extraction contexts, but also for contexts where mood is marked, as we will see later. Paoli (2003) explains the high frequency of subjunctive mood in the complement of DCC constructions as related to

“the high frequency of hypothetical clauses that intervene between the two QUE (= *che*). The verb in the subjunctive mood is thus triggered by the preceding if-clause” (p. 268). Paoli distinguishes Old Italian DCC from Non-Standard Italian DCC and identifies the latter as a syntactic phenomenon, strictly dependent on the mood of the embedded clause, which has to be subjunctive. The facts above show that Old Italian DCC is not strictly dependent on subjunctive mood. Nonetheless we may hypothesize that, when the

<sup>151</sup> The presence of embedded V-to-I in Old Italian creates a difficulty to this analysis. If the inflected verb reaches a T or an Agr head in IP but the preverbal elements are assumed not to be in the CP, the only possible solution is that they are scrambled to some IP position, similarly to what happens in the German *mittlefeld* (cf. Grewendorf 2004).

mood of the subordinate clause expresses a non-factual context and needs to be checked on Fin in order to be interpretable, when it is non-indicative. In absence of additional evidence, Paoli's hypothesis that *che2* be in Top° may be kept, with the further assumption that DCC constructions are *also* related to a [Mood] feature in Fin. One possibility is that the TopP and FinP heads are related either locally or by Fin-to-Top movement. Complementizer movement is no new idea. It has been proposed by Ledgeway (2003) in order to account for Southern Italian Dialect facts. Moreover, instances of the Fin-Top relation are attested crosslinguistically. For instance, Willis (2007) proposes a reanalysis of the Topic-marker *a* of Middle Welsh into the Modern Welsh complementizer located in Fin.

Along these lines, the hypothesis for a reanalysis of Old Italian *che2* is that it simply disappeared from the lexicon (cf. Paoli 2003) because its function was taken over by other devices. Nonetheless, *che2* (or its translation) is still present in Modern Non-standard Italian varieties: the intuition is that the existent *che2* has similar properties to Old Italian *che2* (contra Paoli 2003) inasmuch as the latter depends on Mood-checking requirements in the embedded clause. Next section explores the characteristics of DCC in different Non-Standard Italian varieties.

### 5.3.2. DCC and modal complementizers in Non-Standard Italian

Paoli (2003) reports different cases of DCC in Ligurian and Turinese dialects. She observes that DCC is licensed only if an XP separates *che1* from *che2* and the verb in the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood. These conditions hold equally for both varieties:

- (380)a. \*Gioanin a chërde **che** Ø **ch'**a sio pentiss-ne (Turinese)  
 John SCL believe.3s that that SCL be.3p.SUBJ repent.PPART-PRT  
 "John thinks that they have repented of it"
- b. Majo a pensa **che** Franchin (\***ch'**) as n'ancorzeria  
 Mario SCL thinks that Frank that SCL of.it realize.3s.**COND**  
 "Mario thinks that Frank would realize it"
- c. Majo a pensa **che** Franchin **ch'** as n'ancorza  
 Mario SCL thinks that Frank that SCL of.it realize.3s.**SUBJ**  
 "Mario thinks that Frank will realize it"
- (381) a. U Mariu u pensa **che** Ø **ch'**i se ne sciggian acorti (Ligurian)  
 The Mario SCL think.3s that that SCL REFL of.it be.3p.SUBJ realize.PPART  
 "Mario thinks that they have realized it"
- b. U Giani u disa **che** a Maria (\***ch'**) a nu mangia de rainocce  
 The John SCL say.3s that the Mary that SCL not eat.3s.PRES.**IND** of frogs  
 "John says that Mary doesn't eat frogs"

- c. A Teeja a credda **che** a Maria **ch**'a parta duman  
 The Teresa SCL believe.3s that the Mary that SCL leave.3s.SUBJ tomorrow  
 "Teresa thinks that Mary will leave tomorrow" [Paoli 2003, 102-107, 1-3]

Both in Turinese and Ligurian, DCC introduces different types of clauses: *che2* is realized in various adverbial clauses; in relative clauses; in exhortative/optative clauses.

- (382)a. I veno volontà, basta mach **che** Gioann **ch**'a staga nen solo (Turinese)  
 SCL come.1s willingly as long as that John that SCL stay.3s.SUBJ not alone  
 "I will come willingly as long as John is not left on his own"

- b. March a serca na fomna **che**, ëd coste robe, **ch**'as  
 Marco SCL search.3s a woman who of these things that SCL.REFL  
 n'ambrigna  
 of.it not.care.3s.SUBJ  
 "Marco is looking for a woman who doesn't care about these things"

- c. **Che** 'l cé! **ch**'am giuta!  
 That the sky that SCL+1s.ACC.cl help.3s.SUBJ  
 "Heavens help me!" [Paoli 2003, 110, 5]

Notice that all different clause types introduced by DCC always come in the subjunctive. Doing away with the semantic aspects of mood, which feature a vast literature and an ongoing debate, I follow Paoli's (2003) account of the syntactic properties of DCC. As from Stowell (1982) a close connection between tense and the complementizer domain has been observed. Basically, tense is realized in the CP field in order to be interpreted in relation to the speech time. In a cartographic approach, the T-to-C relation is encoded on FinP as [finiteness]<sup>152</sup>. In subordinate clauses, [finiteness] is dependent on the main clause. This dependence is realized in different modes. In addition to a [ $\pm$  tense] specification, embedded clauses express the modality through which they are related to the speech event by means of a [mood] feature which is generated in the inflectional field. The [mood] feature, in association with [tense], may need a realization in the CP, in order to be available to interpretation. Assuming the principle of Full Interpretation, the prediction is that the [mood] feature will be valued on FinP, if it is not checked at an earlier point of the derivation, i.e. in MoodP. This view can in principle account for the different ways to check Mood attested crosslinguistically (cf. Damonte (2008) for mood in Southern Italian Dialects, and Eide (2008)b. for Mood in Norwegian).

Paoli (2003) shows that Turinese and Ligurian subjunctive inflection is deficient, and, assuming a correlation between richness of inflection and verb movement, she argues that the subjunctive verb is unable to raise into the mood position. She proposes that *che2* is a "support" for the deficiency of the subjunctive and is able to check the [mood] feature on Fin by way of anchoring the subordinate clause to the speech event. Syntactically, Paoli justifies her proposal with the assumption that *che2* is generated in

<sup>152</sup> See Eide (2008)a. For an analysis of V2 as V-to-Fin triggered by the [+finiteness] feature expressed in the Scandinavian verbal morphology, in contrast to English.

the head of vP and reaches Fin by v-to-Fin, predicting that a verb with strong features would alternatively undergo the same raising of *che2*. Evidence that *che2* is adjoined to the head of Fin comes from the rigid order it keeps with respect to the clitic cluster: *che2* –subject clitic (SCL)- reflexive (REFL)-dative- partitive, to which it must be adjacent (cf. Paoli 2003, p. 139 and ff.).

Along these lines, I suggest that nothing actually prevents that Old Italian DCC be derived in the same way of Turinese and Ligurian DCC, at least in those clauses where non-indicative mood needs to be checked on Fin. The compatibility of Old Italian DCC with different modalities (i.e. conditional and indicative) might result, on the one hand, from the different use of conditional (partially covering the function of subjunctive in Old Italian). On the other hand, DCC with indicative can be explained with the non-factual use of indicative forms, i.e. indicative forms are suppletives to describe an event/state in a possible world. This use of the indicative is also very common in children to describe an imaginary situation when they play, for instance:

(Italian)

(383) **CH**: “mamma, facciamo che ‘l che loro non *trovavano* ‘nie che te non mom, do.1s that L that they not find.3p.IMPERF.IND nothing that you not *trovavi* niente e io gli *portavo* tutti via”  
find.2s.IMPERF.IND nothing and I 3p.ACC.cl take.1s. IMPERF.IND all away  
“Mom, let’s do that they didn’t find anything, that you didn’t find anything and I took them all away” [CHILDES, Antelmi, Camilla corpus, 3;4.09]

**Target**: Immaginiamo che loro non *trovino* niente, che tu non *trovi* niente  
Let’s imagine that they not find.3p.SUBJ nothing that you not find.SUBJ  
e che io li *porti* tutti via.  
and that I 3p.ACC.cl take.SUBJ all away  
“Let’s imagine that they don’t find anything, that you don’t find anything  
and that I take them all away”

If modality features can be valued and checked on Fin, the expectation is that other languages, where modality cannot be interpreted directly on the inflected verb, adopt an analogous strategy<sup>153</sup> to that of DCC in Turinese and Ligurian in order to check [mood]. Damonte carried out a comparative analysis of Salentino and Southern Calabrian dialects whose outcome is exposed in his (2008) paper. Damonte’s data shows that subjunctive mood requires the activation of two functional heads, which he identifies with Mood°, in IP, and Fin°, in CP. Salentino and Southern Calabrian have different complementizer forms to check subjunctive mood. Assuming that in both varieties the declarative complementizer *ca* undergoes Fin-to-Force movement, Damonte (2008) explains the complementary distribution of the latter with the Salentino modal complementizer *cu* by proposing that *cu* is merged in Fin. By contrast, Southern Calabrian marks mood by means of another particle, i.e. *mu*, which can cooccur with the complementizers *ca* and with Wh- items. Accordingly, Damonte argues that *mu* is merged in IP, specifically in Mood°. This idea is also supported by the relative order of the modal complementizer and the negation, as shown in (386)-(387). Damonte’s (2008) cartography is given in a nutshell in (384) below, with relevant examples in (385):

<sup>153</sup> Or further, alternative ones (cf. Eide 2008b).



- (384)a. Lu Carlu ole [FinP **cu** ...[MoodP +mood ... bbene crai ... (Salentino)  
 b. Vuogghiu [FinP +mood [MoodP **mu** ... lu viju ... (Southern Calabrian)

- (385) a. Ojju **cu** bbene lu Mariu crai. (Salentino)  
 want *cu* comes the Mario tomorrow  
 “I want Mario to come tomorrow.” [from Calabrese 1993, 35, 28]

- b. Vuogghiu **mu** lu viju. (Southern Calabrian)  
 want *mu* him see  
 “I want to see him” [from Manzini and Savoia 2005, 663]

- (386)a. Ojju **cu** nnu bbene iddu.  
 want *cu* not comes that  
 “I do not want that one to come.” (Carmiano, Salentino)  
 b. \* Ojju nu **cu** bbene iddu

- (387)a. Speru nom**mu** veni chijju.  
 hope not-*mu* comes that  
 “I hope that one does not come” (Locri, Southern Calabrian)  
 b. \*Speru **mu** non veni chijju. [Damonte 2008, 8, 9, 12-13]

The complementizer *mu* of Southern Calabrian is called a “prepositional complementizer” because it incorporates into prepositions as well as into negation (cf. (387)a.). In (388) below, it is shown that *mu* combines with the preposition *pe* (for):

- (388) Vogghiu pem**mu** chiovi. (Southern Calabrian)  
 want for-*mu* rains  
 “I want it to rain.” [Damonte 2008, 33, 48]

Since the compound form *pemmu* is incompatible with the complementizer *ca* (on a par with Salentino *cu*), Damonte concludes that *pe* occupies Fin. Moreover, *mu* can occur in different positions: some local varieties allow for a double occurrence of *mu*, in a similar fashion to the DCC attested in Ligurian and Turinese:

- (389) Sugnu cuntentu **mu** frati-tta (**mu**) um vena. (Conflenti, Southern Calabrian)  
 am happy *mu* brother-your *mu* not comes  
 “I am happy that your brother is not coming.”  
 [from Manzini and Savoia 2005, 663]

Notice that *mu* precedes the negation in (389), thus it must be higher than *mu* in (388) and (387)a. above. Damonte’s (2008) proposal can be summed up as follows. Salentino *cu* and Southern Calabrian *mu* are complementizers checking modality. This idea is supported by the fact that the [mood] feature cannot be interpreted directly on the verb in these varieties, since the verb bears indicative morphology even in subjunctive complements. The modal complementizers *mu* and *cu* are adopted in support of the poor subjunctive morphology and enable interpretation of Mood. Actually, the Salentino

spoken in Lecce has marked subjunctive forms: in this case the verb can itself raise to Mood, whereas *cu* is located higher, in Fin. By contrast, no specific subjunctive morphology is found in any variety of Southern Calabrian, where the modal complementizer *mu* occupies itself the head of the Mood phrase.

Assuming that [mood] needs to be interpreted on Fin (cf. discussion at p. 259), Southern Calabrian and Salentino modal complementizers enter different feature-checking mechanisms: Southern Calabrian *mu* is base-generated in Mood (whereby it binds the verb) and may either adjoin a particle in Fin (i.e. *pe*) or move itself to Fin, as in DCC constructions, see (389) above<sup>154</sup>. Instead, Salentino *cu* is located in Fin and the verb raises to Mood if its subjunctive morphology is overt. Alternatively, *cu* checks [Mood] on MoodP either through c-command of FinP onto MoodP or because *cu* raises from a lower position, on a par with what has been proposed by Paoli (2003) for *che2* in Ligurian and Turinese.

To summarize what has been discussed so far, certain Non-Standard Italian varieties have different complementation options. It has been shown that the same complementizer form can appear in different positions in Old and Non-standard Italian, on a par with what has been argued for Scandinavian *som*. Differently from Scandinavian, Old and Non-Standard Italian identical C-forms can cooccur in the same clause, but in different, non-adjacent position, giving rise to the so called DCC. DCCs are adopted in subjunctive contexts as a mechanism for checking the [mood] feature on Fin, in absence of a fully specified morphology on the verbal head. Another option available in Non-Standard Italian is that of modal complementizers that can check [mood] on Fin in compliance with other particles. The different possibilities for Mood-checking explored so far are summed up in (390) below.

#### (390) Mood-checking mechanisms in Non-Standard Italian:

- a. Turinese/Ligurian: ...[FinP *che2*<sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP <*che2*><sub>[+mood]</sub> ...
- b. Salentino (Carmiano): ...[FinP *cu*<sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP <*cu*><sub>[+mood]</sub> ...
- c. Salentino (Lecce): ...[FinP *cu*<sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP <Vsubj><sub>[+mood]</sub> ...
- d. Southern Calabrian: ...[FinP *pe-mmu*<sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP <*mu*><sub>[+mood]</sub> ...
- e. Southern Calabrian: [ForceP *ca* ...FinP <*ca*><sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP *mu*<sub>[+mood]</sub> ...
- f. Southern Calabrian (Conflenti): [ForceP *mu* ...FinP *mu*<sub>[U: mood]</sub> ...[MoodP <*mu*><sub>[+mood]</sub> ...

The natural question coming to mind at this point is what are the alternative [mood]-checking mechanisms in languages where DCC is not an option or where low complementizers are not available. Some suggestions and speculations are given in the next section.

#### 5.4. Interpreting Mood in Standard Italian

Standard Italian has neither modal complementizers, nor DCC constructions as those found in Turinese, Ligurian or some Southern Calabrian varieties. Following the proposals of Paoli (2003) and Damonte (2008) that these are all mechanisms that make Mood interpretable on Fin, the question is how Standard Italian carries out this task. The

<sup>154</sup> Whereby it moves to the head of the projection hosting the dislocated element in DCCs, according to Damonte (2008) and analogously to what proposed by Paoli (2003).

answer is trivial: in Standard Italian (henceforth just Italian) subjunctive morphology is expressed on the verbal head, so the verb is able to raise and check its features in MoodP. Nonetheless, Italian subjunctive morphology is not as reach as for the indicative mood: the first three persons are identical, which is why subjunctive 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun *tu* is weak and cannot be dropped:

- (391) Spero che \*(tu) venga presto (Italian)  
 Hope.1s that you come.s.SUBJ soon  
 “I hope that you will come soon”

Assuming that, in any case, a subjunctive verb can raise at least to Mood, how is modality interpreted on Fin? Notice that Italian subjunctive clauses are introduced by the complementizers *che*. According to Rizzi (1997), *che* occurs in Force, whereas the non-finite marker *di* is located in Fin. However, evidence provided in section 5.2. clearly shows that Italian *che* can appear at least in both these positions (although both copies cannot be spelled out simultaneously). Accordingly, the hypothesis for Italian is that [mood] on Fin is checked by the lower copy of *che* which is then spelled out in Force. This is illustrated in the structure in (390) below.

- (392) [...Fin [+mood <che>] [IP [I° **Vsubj**]... [VP]]]

Notice that complementizer movement does not prevent fronting of constituents to the left periphery in subjunctive clauses (<che> is the lower silent copy):

- (393) Credo che *il compito* <che> debbano finirlo in due ore  
 think.1s that the assignment must.3p.SUBJ finish.3s.ACC.cl. in two hours  
 “I think that they will have to complete the assignment in two hours”

Another option put forward by Cocchi and Poletto (2000) concerns complementizer deletion facts, illustrated in (394) below:

- (394) a. Credo (che) Maria/*pro* ti voglia parlare  
 think.1s that Mary/pro 2s.DAT.cl want.s.SUBJ talk.INF  
 “I think Mary/she wants to talk to you”  
 b. Credo (che) tu sia stato accettato  
 think.1s that you be.s.SUBJ been accepted  
 “I think you were accepted”

Given that in (394) *che* is dropped, [mood] on Fin needs to be checked in some other way than by merger of a complementizer. Cocchi and Poletto (2000) propose that the [-realis] feature of the subjunctive triggers movement of a morphologically rich verb to Fin, where it checks [mood]. Doing away with the speculations on the feature which better characterizes subjunctive semantically, the possibilities for checking [mood] in Italian with or without complementizer deletion are illustrated in (395):

- (395) a. [...Fin[+mood <che>] [IP [I° **Vsubj**]... [VP]]]  
 b. [...Fin[+mood **Vsubj**] [IP [I° <Vsubj>]... [VP]]]

(based on Cocchi and Poletto 2000)

Cocchi and Poletto (2000) discuss another type of complementizer deletion found in Florentine, but impossible in Italian. This type of C-deletion does not regard exclusively [-realis] clauses, as is the case for Italian C-deletion with subjunctive<sup>155</sup>. Specifically, Florentine allows complementizer drop when the latter is the declarative *che*:

- (396) a. Dice lo porta (Florentine)  
 Say.3s 3s.ACC.cl brings  
 “She says she will bring it”  
 b. Dice \*(che) lo porta (Italian)  
 Say.3s that 3s.ACC.cl brings  
 “She says that she will bring it”

Cocchi and Poletto (2000) account for this type of complementizer deletion in Florentine by showing that it is licensed only if specific elements occur preverbally, i.e. inflectional elements such as preverbal clitic pronouns (subject, object, locative, partitive, or reflexive clitics); preverbal negative morphemes and auxiliaries (cf. Poletto and Cocchi 2000, pp. 4-5). In their view, these elements provide an alternative checking of the Force feature, which is always present in the contexts where Florentine allows complementizer deletion but Italian doesn't<sup>156</sup>.

## 5. 5. Identification of CP features and some speculations on Icelandic

What emerges from the analysis of Standard and Non-standard Italian facts presented in this section and the previous one is that the complementation structure depends on the strategy adopted to satisfy a set of interface requirements. According to the clause type, the complementizer forms available in the grammar may occupy different positions and solve different functions. In line with economy principles, the same complementizer form can be realized onto different positions and be involved in different feature-checking mechanisms. As a result of the investigations on the CP properties carried out in this chapter, some features specified in the complementizer domain have been identified. Because Full Interpretation requires checking of those features, internal or external merge of proper goals takes place according to the parameter setting and properties of each language.

<sup>155</sup> Cocchi and Poletto argue that complementizer deletion in Italian is possible only with a [-realis] subjunctive whereas it is not possible with a [+realis] subjunctive:

(i) \*Mi rammarico lo faccia  
 Refl regret 3s.ACC.cl do.s.SUBJ  
 “I regret that he does it”

However, complementizer deletion is marginally possible in some other [+realis] clauses

(ii) ?Mi spiace non venga  
 Refl be.sorry.1s not come.s.SUBJ  
 “I am sorry he cannot come”

<sup>156</sup> This is not the case for subjunctive complements since they lack illocutionary force.

To summarize which features have been identified in the CP, I propose a simplified embedded clause structure in (397) below, where relevant projections are associated to the features in square brackets.

(397) SubP [clause-type] ForceP [illocution] FinP [fin/tense/mood/phi-/“event”<sup>157</sup>]

A major problem that Cartography has to face consists of the fact that FinP seems to encode a bundle of features, rather than a single one. In Chapter 3, it has been given an account of SF in terms of feature-checking requirements on FinP, see chapters 3 and 4. In addition, Non-standard and Old Italian facts on DCC or modal complementizers show that Fin is also endowed with a mood feature.

This is not in contradiction with the analysis of SF in Old Italian, because SF is very often attested in contexts where the inflected verb is a modal (cf. Appendix for data) or the sentence has a modal interpretation, in the sense of deontic; prescriptive; etc. (see Chapter 2.). Moreover, agreement features as well as tense are present on Fin, if the first are not default or the latter isn’t anaphoric. This multitude of properties depends on the fact that FinP represents the “gateway” to the edge of the higher phase, where the derivation must converge and, as a consequence, last resort mechanisms may take place. This picture is in line with the observation that some sort of bottle-neck restriction on FinP is active in V2-languages (cf. Rizzi 2005), in contrast to the greater availability of the CP to fronting operations in Romance languages. Given that V2 is the result of an XP-V sequence and that V is arguably in Fin, the unavailability of the left periphery to further frontings in Germanic may depend on the nature of fronted constituents. In line with Eythórsson (1996), an explanation consists of the fact that West and North Germanic topics are always associated to an operator, thus topic-fronting will be impossible in clauses where another OP-movement has taken place (e.g. in extraction contexts, see Franco, forthcoming, for a derivation of Scandinavian subordinate clauses). Moreover, other kinds of topicalizations such as Romance CLLD are simply not available in Germanic. Another characteristic that distinguishes Germanic from Romance languages is the scope of verb movement. Since the verb reaches the complementizer domain in V2 clauses, it is plausible that many of the uninterpretable features on FinP (cf. (397) above) are checked thanks to the feature-specification on the verbal head: in the worst case scenario, i.e. in languages with poor morphology, the verb will only be able to check [Fin] among other FinP features (but also tense, in many cases, cf. Eide (2008)a. and b.).

Verb movement to the CP is also attested in a number of contexts in Modern Romance languages, in addition to Old Romance languages, which in fact have V-to-Fin. For instance, verb-subject inversion is attested in main questions in French, as well as in some Northern Italian Dialects (cf. Poletto 1993; 2000), or in clauses with a specific illocution (e.g. imperatives; conditionals; etc.). In Section 5.4. it has been argued that V-to-Fin is also triggered in cases of complementizer deletion. Due to its featural

<sup>157</sup> I tentatively label “event” the feature that allows the interpretation of the event structure verified in a lower structural position, allegedly at the end of the lower phase. This idea is also compatible with the split resulting in the distribution of SF types in Old Italian. Recall from Chapter 2. that VP modifiers such as predicative adjectives front more easily in V2 contexts, and it is claimed that they target ModP, rather than Spec,FinP. By contrast, past participles or infinitivals occur more frequently in subordinate contexts, allegedly targeting Spec,FinP.

endowment, the subjunctive verb is able to reach the CP, where it checks the specific [mood] feature in place of an overt complementizer. Other contexts of complementizer deletion, as those attested in Florentine, trigger movement of “inflectional” elements (cf. Cocchi and Poletto 2000) among which are clitics. Therefore we can conclude that languages have at least two alternative option to merger of overt complementizers:

- (i) V<sub>fin</sub>-to-Fin, where V<sub>fin</sub> may also refer to an auxiliary
- (ii) X-to-Fin(-to-Force), where X may be a clitic/a clitic cluster/a negation/a particle

If V-to-Fin is indeed related to a feature-checking mechanism on FinP, we should expect that, at least in principle, V-to-Fin is an option when no lower complementizer forms are available and the verb morphology is sufficiently rich to allow V-to-Fin, i.e. [finiteness] is expressed in the morphology. Icelandic seems to visibly meet these conditions at least in some cases. Icelandic is called a “symmetric-V2 language” by Vikner (1995), because the verb is in second position in all types of subordinate clauses, even in relative and embedded Wh-clauses. This property must be distinguished from the possibility of embedded non-subject topicalization, which is instead restricted (cf. Wiklund et al. (to app.) and Thráinsson (2007) a.o.). The dilemma represented by Icelandic embedded V2 is summarized as follows:

a) if the verb does not reach the CP in some subject-initial subordinates, why does the restriction that only one element precede the verb still hold (i.e. the verb must precede clausal adverbials)?

b) if the verb raises to Fin, why is this movement possible in Icelandic but not, say, in Mainland Scandinavian in the same types of clauses?

I would like to sketch a tentative solution to this dilemma, following an intuition, but a deeper investigation of this issue is left to future research (see also Franco, forthcoming, for a more detailed account).

Why would the verb move to a higher position in Icelandic than in Mainland Scandinavian? This is an old question that has been repeatedly addressed in the literature. An interesting and punctual analysis of Icelandic verb movement is given in Thráinsson (to app.). Given that the difference between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian cannot lie on the preverbal element (a subject, i.e. an A-element, in both cases), verb raising in Icelandic would have to be triggered by some feature-checking mechanism which is not active in Mainland Scandinavian. It is no new idea that Icelandic V-fronting can be related to the full specification of tense and agreement features on the verbal head, given all the necessary precautions against a hasty generalization concerning the relation between richness of inflection and verb movement. Nevertheless, independent V-to-I does not suffice to explain why V3 orders are usually unattested or marginal, in embedded clauses. Specifically why are Adv-V orders (even with high sentential adverbs) so infrequent in Icelandic embedded clauses, contrary to Mainland Scandinavian ones? If the verb were fronted to a high position in the IP, why can't a higher phrasal adverb follow or precede the preverbal subject *and* the verb? As pointed out in Thráinsson (to app.) with reference to a study conducted on embedded V3 orders resulting from Adv – V ordering (Angatýsson 2007), some subordinate clauses allow V3 provided that the subject is not indefinite. In fact, indefinite subjects cannot occupy an IP-peripheral position (like Spec,AgrSP) in Icelandic (see Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998). As a consequence, when the negation

*ekki* is exceptionally adjoined to Spec,TP, as in (398)b. below, a V3 order would be possible only with a definite subject.

(398)a. Það var Hrafinkelssaga [ sem hann/Haraldur/einhver **hafði ekki** lesið].

it was Hrafinkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody had not read

b. Það var Hrafinkelssaga [sem hann/Haraldur/?\*einhver *ekki* **hafði** lesið].

it was Hrafinkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody not had read

"It was Hrafinkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody hadn't read"

[Thráinsson 2003, 183]

In Thráinsson's (to app.) analysis, a sentence like (398)a. is evidence that the verb moves to T, rather than to C. According to Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), V3 orders are made possible by "exceptional adverb placement", thus, following Thráinsson's (to app.) analysis, one should expect that "the kind of modification produced by a high adverb might not be equally compatible with all types of embedded clauses". He further observes that:

"This type of V3 order is indeed mostly found in certain types of embedded clauses, namely relative clauses, interrogative clauses and certain types of adverbial clauses, such as temporal clauses and concessive clauses. [...] These are the clauses that are *least main-clause like and where it is most difficult to get embedded topicalization* (see especially Magnússon, 1990). Hence we would not expect to get V-to-C in Icelandic in these clauses. Thus the fact that the Vfin-Adv order is nevertheless the default order in these "non-V2" (i.e., non-V-to-C) clauses in Icelandic is a strong argument against a general V-to-C-type analysis of Icelandic Vfin-Adv order, such as the one proposed by Bentzen (2007) and her colleagues." (pp. 22-23, italics mine).

According to Thráinsson, then, embedded V2 in Icelandic is the result of verb movement to some inflectional position in the IP field related to the richness of agreement. Further support to this hypothesis actually comes from the following facts, which contrast with Hróarsdóttir et al.'s (2007) observation that the Icelandic verb must precede the entire adverb cluster if more than one phrasal adverb is present in a clause, and cannot be in an intermediate position<sup>158</sup>:

(399)a. Hún fór ekki heim, sem hún *sennilega* **hefði** átt að gera.

she went not home which she probably had should to do

"She didn't go home, which she probably should have done."

<sup>158</sup> Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007) base their observation on the following evidence, which Thráinsson (to app.) claims to be misleading because the complement introduced by *að* is not one where V3 is possible anyway. Cf. (55) above.

(i) a. \*Hann segir að María **ekki oft hafi** sungið falskt. (Ic)

he says that Mary not often has sung out-of-tune

b. \*Hann segir að María **ekki hafi oft** sungið falskt

not has often

c. Hann segir að María **hafi ekki oft** sungið falskt.

has not often

"He says that Mary has not often sung out of tune."

- b. Hún fór heim, sem hún *sennilega* **hefði ekki** átt að gera.  
 she went home which she probably had not should to do  
 “She went home, which she probably should not have done.”

Example (399)b. shows that the verb *can* appears between two adverbs if the clause allows V3 (a relative clause in this case), *contra* Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007).

Let us assume that Thráinsson is right, and that V-Adv order is just the result of verb movement to an IP-peripheral position, rather than V-to-C, for Icelandic clauses corresponding to non-V2 contexts in Mainland Scandinavian. Notice that Icelandic is the only Scandinavian language that preserves subjunctive morphology on the verb. Consider for instance the following examples:

- (400)a. Hún spurði [hvort tunglið **væri** úr osti] (Icelandic)  
 she asked if moon.the was(subj) from cheese  
 “She asked if the moon was made of cheese”
- b. Hún verður ekki ánægð [nema tunglið **sé** úr osti]  
 She will.be not happy unless moon.the be(subj) from cheese  
 “She will not be happy unless the moon is made of cheese”  
 [Thráinsson 2007]

The subordinate clauses in (400), an indirect question and an adverbial clause, are considered non-V2 contexts, however the fact that the verb is in the subjunctive form guarantees V-fronting to a quite high position in the IP, where subjunctive mood is checked. Following Cinque (1999), the indicative/subjunctive mood distinction is operated by the unmarked vs. marked status of an *irrealis* feature on a Mood head just below T:

- (401) [IP Mood<sub>speech-act</sub> Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> Mood<sub>evidential</sub> Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> T(past) T(future) **Mood**<sub>irrealis</sub>

Whether we agree with the specific proposal of Cinque (1999) for subjunctive or not, we can still imagine that Icelandic subjunctive verbs move to a dedicated higher structural position than their Mainland Scandinavian (default indicative) counterparts, where subjunctive morphology is absent. In other words, we can analyze the different behavior of Icelandic with respect to embedded V2 possibilities as the consequence of different morphosyntactic properties allowing mood feature-checking.

Whether verb movement in Icelandic subjunctive clauses targets a high IP head, such as Mood, or actually reaches the complementizer domain (perhaps in order to make [mood] interpretable on FinP) is an open issue.

Nonetheless, the verb might have a suppletive function due to the absence of a low complementizer even in absence of subjunctive morphology. It would be the case of relative clauses, where verb movement is required in the hypothesis that the relative complementizer, *sem*, is directly merged in Force and cannot check the uninterpretable features of Fin (contrary to Italian *che*, cf. Section 4.4., and Mainland Scandinavian *som*, cf. Chapter 4. undergoing Fin-to-Force). Hrafnbjargarson argues that, whenever



*sem* precedes *að* (whence the alleged evidence that *sem* is higher than Force), V-to-Fin is obligatory:

- (402) Ég veit um eina bók *sem að* Jón **hefur** ekki / \*ekki **hefur** lesið  
 I know about a book that that Jón has not read  
 “I know about a book that John hasn’t read.” [Vangsnes 2006; 4: (12)]

According to Hrafnbjargarson, if *að*, which is in fact optional in cases like (398), is not present, it is marginally possible that the verb follows the negation or another phrasal adverb (cf. also Angantýsson 2007). However, Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.) does not share this judgment and further remarks that no kind of support for a contrast as the one just illustrated emerged in the extensive survey of variation in Icelandic carried out during the IceDiaSyn project (subproject of the ScandiaSyn project, <http://uit.no/scandiasyn/scandiasyn/>). On the one hand, the hypothesis that the verb moves to FinP in the relative clause is not empirically motivated, if facts do not confirm such a relation between *að*-insertion and V-to-Fin. On the other hand, Eide (2008)b. observes that Old Norse restrictive relative clauses are expressed with a preterite (often modal) subjunctive verb, which signals the presence of active mood features plausibly requiring a local relation with the inflected verb in this type of clauses.<sup>159</sup>

Even without the contrast perceived by Hrafnbjargarson with regard to the presence of *að* and obligatory V-to-Fin, the hypothesis that the Icelandic relative complementizer *sem* is merged in SubP can be envisaged. As part of the analysis of the feature-checking requirements on Fin, the hypothesis that *sem* is located in a high CP position, i.e. SubP as proposed in Chapter 4., is supported by additional evidence derived from (i) *það* distribution, and (ii) SF.

Assuming that *það* never occurs in the IP in Icelandic (with Falk, 1993, and *contra* Sigurðsson, to app.), all *það*-initial clauses have V-to-Fin. Accordingly, clefts of the type illustrated in (403) can be considered unproblematically V-to-Fin, although there is no unambiguous signpost for the targeted verb position available in the lexicon. Under the hypothesis that in a cleft like the one in (403) the verb moves to FinP and that the merger of *það* is in CP, the position of the complementizer introducing the cleft must be located higher in the left periphery. Specifically, *sem* cannot have moved from Fin, which is the target position of the verb<sup>160</sup>:

- (403) *það* var þá *sem það* voru einhvejjir kettir reknir út (Icelandic)  
 it was there that there were some cats driven out  
 “It was there that some cats were driven out” [Thráinsson 2007, 311, 6.51]

<sup>159</sup>The exact scope of verb movement in relative clause is not yet clear, but see Franco (forthcoming) for a proposal based on Eide’s (2008)b. observations, a.o.

<sup>160</sup>Facts reported by Angantýsson (2007) and resulting from a survey that I carried out on seven Icelandic native speakers confirm that breaking *það*-verb adjacency is very degraded. This suggests that *það* and the verb must be in a local configuration, and provides further support to the claim that the verb reaches Fin also in subordinate clauses. Unfortunately, I cannot discuss the results of the survey in more detail here, for reasons of time and space.

It is worth remembering that expletive *það* cannot occupy a subject gap in a relative clause (or an indirect Wh- question) on the subject (whereas *það* insertion is possible in some oblique/adjunct extraction context, cf. §4.5.3.).

Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.) also remarks that:

“the overt expletive is out in relative clauses and in interrogative clauses with fronted Wh- pronouns, but it is OK in examples like “*hvort það hefðu verið mýs í baðkerinu*” (whether there have been mice in the bathtub)”.

The requirement/possibility of expletive insertion patterns together with the more or less restricted fronting possibilities in subordinate clauses. In this regard, Thráinsson (p.c.) claims that:

“There is a clear difference between the “frontability” in indirect questions depending on the content of their CP: if the CP contains a fronted Wh- pronoun, then no fronting (topicalization) is possible, whereas if it contains just a Wh- complementizer like *hvort* (whether), then fronting tends to be possible”.

This observation is also confirmed by the findings of Angantýsson (2007) on embedded V3 in Icelandic, as well as by an extension of the same survey which I have personally carried out<sup>161</sup>. In both investigations, V3 orders are constructed with a preverbal subject (either pronominal or an NP); a (higher or lower) phrasal adverb, whose choice is based on Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, and the verb. Facts basically show that embedded V3 orders (S-Adv-V) are less or not acceptable in clauses where either *það*-insertion or topicalization is possible, e.g. in declarative complements (see fn. 130 above). This seems compelling evidence for analyzing *það*-clauses as having V-to-Fin, whereas it may as well be the case that the verb targets a lower position in the IP (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998) in other types of embedded clauses where V3 is to some extent possible, for instance in subject relative clauses (see Franco (forthcoming) for an analysis of Icelandic subject initial embedded clauses).

Because the gap left by subject extraction cannot be filled by merger of *það* in relative clauses, it seems plausible that SF is adopted as a strategy for subject extraction in a grammar where the pro-drop parameter has only a partially positive setting<sup>162</sup>. In terms of acquisition, this analysis predicts that SF is adopted as an alternative to expletive-insertion in languages where null subjects have a limited distribution in the input context. The high frequency of SF in *sem*-clauses and other extraction contexts lacking a low complementizer copy fits the picture given by this analysis. Höskuldur Thráinsson (p.c.) points out that SF “seems truly optional” in the latter case (i.e. in relative clauses, “where it is fine to leave a gap but an overt expletive is out”). This is explained with the fact that SF is the residue of recent diachronic change in the grammar of Icelandic, probably connected to the positive setting of a V-to-Fin as well as of an OV parameter in older Icelandic (up to 1850), in the sense of Rögnvaldsson (1996). In modern spoken Icelandic, when *það*-insertion is possible and a gap or a null expletive is strongly dispreferred, “an overt expletive is much more natural than SF”:

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<sup>161</sup>The work presenting the results of such survey is in preparation.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. C-drop facts concerning *som* in Swedish and Norwegian, above, and in Thráinsson 2007.

- (404) a. ?Ég veit að \_\_\_\_ hafa verið mýs í baðkerinu (Modern Spoken Icelandic)  
 I know that have been mice in bathtub.the  
 b. ?Ég veit að **verið** hafa mýs í baðkerinu  
 I know that been have mice in bathtub.the  
 c. Ég veit að **það** hafa verið mýs í baðkerinu  
 I know that there have been mice in bathtub.the  
 “I know that there have been mice in the bathtub” [Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.]

The facts illustrated in (404) are explained under the hypothesis that SF functions like a last resort strategy for subject extraction and is a residue of diachronic change: SF in a sense “loses the match” with overt expletive merger<sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup>This idea is also supported by the fact that SF is judged more as a stylistic convention by native speakers of Modern Icelandic, and “does not really feel or sound like colloquial spoken Modern Icelandic, as Thráinsson (p.c.) points out. He further observes that “there is quite a bit of pretty fixed and common examples of it, e.g. “sem talið er að..” (which is believed that), but even here the non-SF variant sounds more colloquial.” These remarks suggest that the current status of Icelandic SF is becoming closer to that of Modern Italian SF.

## Final remarks

The work presented aims at shedding some light on the properties of the CP system, through the comparative synchronic and diachronic analysis of languages sharing similar parameter settings. By exploring the nature and distribution of SF in a diachronic perspective, it turned out that this phenomenon has very much likely undergone a reanalysis of function. Specifically, it has been shown that SF originated as a phenomenon contributing to the information structure (in line with Fischer and Alexiadou 2001) in different languages (Old Scandinavian and Old Romance ones). Due to related parametric changes, SF either disappeared completely (e.g. in Mainland Scandinavian), or it lost its productivity (e.g. Modern Standard Italian and other Romance languages). It has been argued that SF was reanalyzed as a strategy to extract/drop the subject in the languages where it survived (i.e. Icelandic and Faroese). This reanalysis was enabled by a specific parameter setting (late loss of OV, with residual OV orders; V2; partial pro-drop), worth further investigations. The identification of the reanalyzed function of SF was possible in connection to other syntactic facts and phenomena determined by the structural properties of the left periphery. The results of the analysis conducted on Old Italian corpora, and by comparison with Old and Modern Icelandic facts fully support the hypothesis that SF targets a CP position. In addition, further CP properties have been explored through a diachronic and synchronic analysis of the complementation systems of some Romance and Scandinavian varieties. The purpose of this investigation was to identify some of the features present on the Fin-Force system representing the complementation structure as is conceived in a cartographic framework (cf. Rizzi 1997 and ff., a.o.).

The results of the analyses which have been illustrated in the previous chapters are the outcome of a fine-grained syntactic analysis. As often happens, the initial project was much more ambitious, but for “economy reasons” of time and space I had to reduce it considerably. Following the suggestions of my supervisors, I preferred to focus on an in-depth analysis of the phenomena which are accounted for here. Still, some aspects such as the virtually simultaneous loss of OV; SF and null subject in Scandinavian, as well as V2, in Romance, deserve further research. The interest of further work in this direction wouldn’t be simply historical. One thing that I have learned, as I was working at this dissertation, is that diachronic syntax (on a par with acquisition studies) can offer a more appropriate perspective in dealing with problems related to the parameter organization of a grammar. The evolution of a language is, in a sense, part of the evolution of a biological system, if we agree that UG is the genetic endowment of the faculty of language (Chomsky 2005). An extension of this study to other languages exhibiting some correlation in the parameter setting to the varieties analyzed here would significantly contribute to understand further how structural properties encode information. Moreover, such a follow up could help to identify what kind of relations determine changes in the parameter setting, namely to which extent parameters are independent from each other or hierarchically organized.

## Appendix

### A. Stylistic fronting

Elements preceding stylistically fronted items are in italics; stylistically fronted items in bold.

#### SF of past participles/infinitives/full VPs

1. non volse parlare ne per paura ne per minacce ne per consa che  
not wanted talk.INF neither for fear nor for threats not for thing that  
**fatta** li fosse  
made 3sDATcl were  
“He didn’t want to talk either for fear, or under threat or for anything that was made to him”  
[FF, XXVIII-Ri, 44]
2. **Nunziata** m’hai cosa ch’io l’aspettava  
Announced to.meCL have2s thing that I itCL was.waiting  
“You have announced me (some)thing that I was waiting for”  
[FF, II, 18]
3. *Dei nostri nemici* **cercare e prendere vendetta** dovemo dentro a nostra magione  
Of our.pl enemies find.INF and take.INF revenge must.1p inside to our mansion  
“We must find and take revenge of our enemies inside our mansion”  
[FF, X, 26]
4. ché **ingannato** serai leggiermente  
that deceived will.be2s lightly  
“Because you would be easily deceived”  
[FF, XX, 34]
5. e quisto volendo provare quello che **odito** avia legere  
and this willing try.INF what that heard had3s read.INF  
“and this one being willing to try what he had heard reading”  
[FF, XXVIII-Rg, 9]
6. ma colui che **saziare** non si puote  
but who that fill.INF not IMP can3s  
“but who one cannot satisfy”  
[FR, 13, 9]
7. **Mangiar** conviene all’uomo acciò che viva  
Eat.INF is.convenient.3sIMP to.the man in.order.to that live3s.Subj  
“It is men’s convenience to eat in order for them to live”  
[FR, 26, 3]
8. Se **fare** si puote  
If do.INF IMP can3s.  
“If one can do it”  
[FR, 61, 11]
9. e in che modo **trovare** si debbiano  
and in what way find.INF IMP must3p  
“and in which way one must find them”  
[FR, 82, 21]
10. quello che **vedere** si conviene  
which that see.INF IMP is.convenient  
“What is convenient to see”  
[FR, 82, 46]
11. La natura dunque medesima c’insegna che **fare** ci conviene  
The nature thus same 1pCL.ACC teaches that do.INF 1pCL.DAT is.convenient  
“Thus nature itself teaches us that it is convenient to do (something)”  
[FR, 82, 88]

12. posso dire che allotta desti opera che *il lor padre, dopo la giustizia fatta*,  
 can.1s say that then gave.1s work that the their father, after the justice done,  
**sotterrato** non fosse  
 buried not were  
 “I can say that you then obtained that their father, after justice being done, was not buried.”  
 [FR, 17, 31]
13. se **profetato** era che *Troia* **disfar** non si potea senza  
 if foretold was that Troy destroyed not PASS could3s without  
 le saette d’Aloteta  
 the lightnings of Aloteta  
 “If it were foretold that Troy couldn’t be destroyed without Aloteta’s lightnings” [FR, 31, 3]
14. che *dalle genti quella cosa* **lodata** non sia  
 that from people that thing praised not be.3s.Subj  
 “That that thing is not praised by people” [FR, 80, 4]
15. acciò che *per l’ordine neuna volta* **impedimentiti** siamo  
 so that for the order no thing impeded are.1s  
 “so that we are never impeded by the order” [FR, 82, 27]
16. E acciò che *nel novero de’ luoghi* **ingannati** non siamo  
 And so that in.the count of places deceived not are.1p  
 “So that we are not misled in counting the places” [FR, 82, 33]
17. *In questo modo tutte le parole* **dette** saranno  
 In this way all the words said will.be.3p  
 “All the words will be said in this way” [FR, 82, 77]
18. o per alcuna buona e onesta persona che **stata** vi sia  
 or by any good and honest person who been there.CL be.3s.Subj  
 “Or by any good and honest person who has been there” [FR, 61, 12]
19. tutto ciò che **fatto** è  
 all which that done is  
 “all that is done” [FR, 66, 45]
20. 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, 72, 25]
21. a colui che **offendere** lo vuole  
 to who that offend.INF 3s.CL.ACC wants  
 “to who wants to offend him” [FR, 81, 33]
22. acciò che coloro che **apparare** le volessono  
 so that that those that learn.INF 3pCL.ACC want.3p.Subj  
 “So that those who wanted to learn them” [FR, 82, 116]
23. traditor del paese, *dinanzi a costor* **venire** ài ardimento  
 betrayer of.the country, before to those come.INF have2s impudence  
 “Betrayer of the country, before them you dare come” [FR, 24, 5]

24. *Da me avuta* non l'ài [...] *mio erede esser* non puoi  
From me had not 3s.CL.ACC have.2s [...] my heir be.INF not can.2s  
“You didn’t have it from me[...] you cannot be my heir” [FR, 28, 5-6]
25. perchè **fuggir da sezzo** nol puote  
because escape.INF from self not.3sCL can.3s  
“because, escaping from himself, he cannot do it” [FR, 39, 14]
26. nè ti vo dir poco, acciò che *bene intender* non possi  
neither 2s.CL.DAT go 1s say.INF little, so that well understand.INF not can2s.Subj  
“neither am I going to tell you little, so that you cannot understand well” [FR, 43, 11]
27. E se **fare proemio** non vuole  
and if do.INF preamble not wants  
“And if he doesn’t want to make a preamble” [FR, 54, 3]
28. ...il fatto veramente come è stato, o come è verisimile che **stato** sia  
the fact truly how is been, or how is likely that been is  
“...the fact truly how it has been, or how it is likely to have been” [FR, 60, 1]
29. quello che **scritto** ànno [...] quello che **udito** ànno  
which that written have3p which that heard have3p  
what they have written [...] what they have heard [FR, 82, 22-23]
30. **ammonir** ti voglio  
blame.INF 2s.CL.ACC want.1s  
“I want to blame you” [FR, 82, 133]
31. *Per più parole* **ammonire** pro non ti voglio  
for more words blame.INF pro not 2s.CL.ACC want.1s  
“I don’t want to blame you with more words” [FR, 82, 145]
32. **Uccider** mi puoi tu  
Kill.INF 1s.CL.ACC can.2s you  
“You can kill me” [FR, 47, 21]
33. noi medesimi diciamo che noi possiamo dire, o che l'altra parte **dire** non puote  
we same say1p that we can1p say.INF, or that the other part say.INF not can.3s  
“We ourselves say that we can tell, or that the other part cannot” [FR, 17, 6]
34. *Il saver dell'arme color di Cartagine* **difender** non potè  
The know.INF of.the weapon those of Carthage defend.INF not could.3s  
“The knowledge of warcraft could not defend the people of Carthage” [FR, 23, 5]
35. Facciassi con più onestade e con più cortesia che **fare** si puote  
Do.subj-IMP.cl with more honesty and with more courtesy than do.INF IMP can.3s  
“Shall one do it as honestly and kindly as one can” [N, 1, 14]
36. “Ben può essere” disse lo ‘mperadore: “Dacchè egli è vestito di vergato,  
Well can.3s be.INF said the emperor Since he is dressed of striped.fabric  
**esser** può: ch’egli è uno matto”.  
Be.INF can.3s that he is one crazy  
“Indeed it may be” said the emperor: “Since he is dressed in stripes, it can be: as he is crazy”  
[N, 22, 28-29]

37. “Iscrivete” disse il maestro “che **provato** è...”  
 write.2p.Imper. said the teacher that is  
 “write down” said the teacher “that it is ...” [N, XXXV, 11]
38. Onde per Dio, maestro, metteteci consiglio, se **esser** può  
 Whence for God, master, put.2p.LOCcl advice, if be.INF can.3s  
 “Therefore, for God’s sake, master, give (me) advice if it is possible” [N, LXVIII, 9-10]
39. Col guadagno che **far** se ne dovea  
 with.the gain that do.INF IMP of.it must.3sPAST  
 “With the gain that one should make of it” [N, XCVII, 16-17]
40. Fu lli contato come **nodrito** era stato  
 was 3s.CL.DAT told how nourished was been  
 “It was told him how he had been nourished” [N, 5, 28]
41. Per una grande pioggia che **venuta** era  
 For a big rain that come was  
 “Because of a lot of rain that had come” [N, 31, 11]
42. Malvolentieri ci sono venuto, per molte parole che **dette** sono di voi e di me.  
 Reluctantly LOC am come for many words that said are.3p of you.2p and of me  
 “I came here reluctantly because of all the words that are said about you and me” [N, LXV, B, 22-23]
43. Credendo che non fosse di Tristano e d’Ysotta quello che **detto** era.  
 Believing that not were of Tristan and of Isolde what that said was  
 “Believing that it was not about Tristan and Isolde what had been said” [N, LXV, B, 52-53]
45. quelli che **consumato** era in villa, non trovava luogo  
 who that worn.down was in countryside, not found place  
 “the one who was wearing down in the countryside was restless” [N, XCIX, 25]
46. Quattro giorni lo cerconno cavalieri e sergenti per monti e per valli,  
 Four days 3s:CL.ACC searched knights and sergeants for mounts and for valleys,  
 ma **trovare** non pottono.  
 but find.INF not can.3p  
 “Knights and sergeants looked for him all over mountains and valley for four days, but they couldn’t find (him).” [N, 18, A, 22-23]
47. **Morto** è secondo natura  
 Died is by nature  
 “He has died naturally” [N, LXXI, 23-24]
48. ...e mostrò loro l’asempro che **detto** avea  
 and showed them the example that told had  
 “and showed them the example that he had talked about” [N, LXXXIII, 33]
49. Alza questa spada: e **fedito** l’avrebbe, se non fosse uno che  
 Lift.3s. this sword and wounded 3s.CL.ACC would.have if not were one that  
 ‘I tenne per lo braccio  
 3s.CL.ACC hold by the arm  
 “He lifted this sword and would have wounded him, if (it occurred that) one didn’t hold him by the arm” [N, XCVI, 47-49]



50. “Io il presi pur colle due dita”. Allora monna Agnesina rispuose e disse:  
 I 3s.CL.ACC took.1s also with.the two fingers then lady Agnesina replied and said  
 “Deh, **cagiù** ti foss’ello!”  
 Deh fallen 2s.CL.DAT would.be it  
 “I also took it with two fingers”. Then lady Agnesina replied: “Well, it would have fallen (from your hand)!” [N, LVII, 13-15]
51. io obbligo l’anima mia a perpetua prigione infino a tanto che **voi pagati** siate  
 I force the soul my to everlasting prison until to much that you.s paid are.2p.SUBJ  
 “I force my soul to everlasting imprisonment until you will get paid” [N, 19, 98-100]

52. Messere, **io lavato** l’ho  
 Sir, I washed 3s.CL.ACC have  
 “Sir, I did wash it” [N, XLIII, 10]

#### SF of verbal particles (phrasal verb constructions)

53. quando le parole della diceria che **insieme** sono poste suonano bene  
 when the words of.the saying that together are put sound.3p well  
 “When the words of the saying that are put together sound well” [FR, 6, 3]
54. e niuno era ardito che **su** vi sedesse  
 and no-one was brave who on LOC would.sit  
 “and there was no one who dared to sit on it” [N, XLI, 8-9]

#### SF of predicative adjectives/nominal predicates

55. **Legieri cosa** è partirsi dal senno e **malagevole cosa** è trovarlo  
 Light thing is leave.INF.REFL from sense and difficult thing is findINF.itCL  
 “To lose sense is easy and to find it is difficult” [FF, X, 13]
56. **Mistieri** fa d’amare li amici provati e li no amati provare  
 Need do to loveINF the friends and the not loved proveINF  
 “To love friends and to prove the non-loved ones is necessary” [FF, XII, 10]
57. Ma **pegio** fa star pigro che l’esercizio ne l’uomo  
 But worse does stay.INF lazy than the exercise in the man  
 “But to be lazy is worse than exercise for men” [FF, XVII, 7]
58. **Molto** è meglio d’aliquanti averli iscoperti nemici  
 Much is better to many(TOP) have.INF.CL3pACC found enemies  
 “To find out many enemies is much better” [FF, XVII, 23]
59. **Nobile e bella cosa** è le magioni delli alti baroni istare aperte  
 Noble and nice thing is the mansions of.the high barons stay.INF open  
 per accogliere i gentili viandanti  
 to welcome the gentle wayfarers  
 “That the mansions of high barons be open to welcome gentle wayfarers is a nice and noble thing” [FF, XX, 64]

60. **Diritta cosa** è l'uomo essere prima buono e amare sé per sé medesimo  
 Right thing is the man be.INF before good and love.INF self for self same  
 e poscia trovare un altro simigliante di se  
 and then find.INF an other similar of self  
 "That men first be good and love themselves (for what they are) and then find another like themselves  
 is a right thing" [FF, XX, 103]
61. **ché schernia** è, da che la via viene meno, amassare vivanda per camminare  
 that joke is, since that the way comes less, accumulate.INF food to walk  
 "since to accumulate food for walking is ridiculous, as the way becomes shorter" [FF, XX, 124]
62. **Natura** è di folle guardare li vizii altrui e non ricordarsi de' suoi  
 nature is of foul look.at.INF the vices other.GEN and not remember.INF of his  
 "Looking at others' vices and not remembering one's own is foul's nature" [FF, XX, 157]
63. **Maggiore disonore** è perdere o male spendere quello che l'uomo ha guadagnato  
 Greater dishonour is lose.INF or badly spend.INF what that the man has earned  
 "To lose or to badly spend what men have earned is a greater dishonour" [FF, XXI, 28]
64. **Più legier** è al pover fugire le schernie...  
 More light is to.the poor escape.INF the mockeries  
 "To avoid mockeries is easier for the poor..." [FF, XXIV, 44]
65. **Propia cosa** è del savio esaminare i consigli e non  
 Proper thing is of.the wise examine.INF the suggestions and not  
 per leggere credenza discorrere...  
 for light belief talk.INF  
 "To examine advice and to talk not under unproved belief is proper of the wise man" [FF, XXIV, 47]
66. **Proprietà** è dell'alto animo essere piano e tranquillo e spregiare  
 Property is of.the high soul be.INF still and quiet and despise  
 le 'ngiurie e l'offesioni  
 the insults and the offenses  
 "To be still and quiet and despise insults and offenses is a property of the noble soul" [FF, XXIV, 88]
67. **Femminile cosa** è liticare e contendere e mostrare l'ira sua in costume  
 Feminine thing is fight.INF and quarrel.INF and show.INF the rage his in habit  
 "Fighting, quarreling and showing one's rage in the habits is an effeminate thing" [FF, XXIV, 89]
68. **Crudeltà di fiere** è allegrarsi del sangue e de le fedite  
 Cruelty of wild beasts is rejoice.INF.SELF of.the blood and of the wounds  
 e de le occisioni de la gente  
 and of the killing.pl of the people  
 "To rejoice of blood, wounds and people's killing is a cruelty (proper) of wild beasts" [FF, XXIV, 92]
69. **propri** è di colui che fa volentieri fare avacciatamente  
 proper is of whom that does willingly do.INF in advance  
 "To do (something) in advance is proper of whom does (something) willingly" [FF, XXIV, 106]
70. **Più grave** è aver mal dato...  
 More serious is have.INF badly given  
 "To give (something) badly is worse..." [FF, XXIV, 111]

71. **Più santa cosa** è far prode ai rei per li buoni...  
More holy thing is make.INF value to.the guilty.pl for the good.pl  
“To forgive the guilty in favor of the good is a holier thing...” [FF, XXIV, 112]
72. **Follia** è di temere quello che non si può cessare  
Folly is to fear.INF what that not IMP can stop  
“To fear what one cannot stop is stupid” [FF, XXIV, 120]
73. **Prode e gran cosa** è essere issuto picciolo  
Valuable and great thing is be.INF been little  
“To have been child is a great and valuable thing” [FF, XXIV, 135]
74. **Più crudele** è che morire sempre temer la morte  
More cruel is than die.INF always fear.INF the death  
“To always fear the death is more cruel than to die” [FF, XXIV, 154]
75. **Laida cosa** è una cosa parlare e altro sentire e **più laida cosa** è  
Indecent thing is one thing talk.INF and other hear.INF and more indecent thing is  
uno scrivere e altro sentire  
one write.INF and other hear.INF  
“To say one thing and hear another is indecent and to write one (thing) and hear other is more  
indecent” [FF, XXIV, 205]
76. **Gran parte di bontad’** è volere essere fatto buono  
Great part of bounty is want.INF be.INF made good  
“Willing to be made good is great part of bounty” [FF, XXIV, 219]
77. **Natural vizio** è che ciascuno desidera maggiormente che li altrui vizii siano ripresi  
Natural vice is that each one desire3s more that the other.GEN vices are blamed  
che i suoi  
than the his.pl  
“That one desires that others’ vices are blamed more than his own ones is a natural vice”  
[FF, XXV, 15]
78. **Mistiere** è di perdonare a molte  
Need is to forgive.INF to many  
“To forgive many (things) is necessary” [FF, XXV, 28]
79. **Generazione di riverenza** è non volere sapere le cose che son da tacere  
Generation of reverence is not want.INF know.INF the things that are to silence  
“Not wanting to know things that are to silence is generation of reverence” [FF, XXV, 51]
80. **Da schifare** è la cupiditate de l’avere  
To despise is the cupidity of the have.INF  
“One should despise the desire to have” [FF, XX, 19]
81. **Da guardar** è non solamente di peccare, ma del sospetto del peccato  
To beware is not only of sin.INF, but of.the suspect of.the sin  
“One should beware not only of committing sin, but of the suspect of sin” [FF, XXV, 13]
82. **Pesante e odiosa cosa** è quando dai trapassanti si dice...  
Heavy and hateful thing is when by passers-by IMP say.3s  
“It is a heavy and hateful thing when it is said by passers-by...” [FF, XX, 48]

83. **Malagevole** è a trovare la virtude  
 Uneasy is to find the virtue  
 “The virtue is uneasy to find” [FF, XXIV, 143]
84. **Mistiere** è che si fornisca di molte virtudi quelli che non si vuole aguagliare  
 Need is that IMP provide.SUBJ of many virtues those that not IMP want3s make.equal.INF  
 a neuno  
 to no-one  
 “That one ascribes many virtues to those who one doesn’t want to make equal is necessary”  
 [FF, XXV, 5]
85. **Forte e costante** è l’animo che non si turba ne le cose aspre  
 Strong and steady is the soul that not REFL get.upset in the things harsh  
 “The soul who doesn’t get upset for the harsh things is strong and steady” [FF, XX, 24]
86. **Di grande ingegno e di sottil senno** è l’uomo che col pensiero prende  
 Of great intelligence and of sharp sense is the man who with thought takes the  
 le cose che sono a venire...  
 things which are to come...  
 “The man who thinks in advance about what is yet to come [...] is of great intelligence and sharp sense”  
 [FF, XX, 25]
87. **Ottima cosa** è la mediocrità nel vestire  
 Best thing is the moderation in.the dressing  
 “The moderation in the dressing style is the best thing” [FF, XX, 39]
88. **Molte** sono le brighe del secolo, le quali i savi compensano  
 Many are the issue.of.the century, which the wise.pl compensate  
 coi beni della vita  
 with.the goods of.the life  
 “The issues of the century, which the wise men compensate for with life’s goods, are many”  
 [FF, XX, 161]
89. **Graziosi** sono li beneficii che stanno aprestati  
 Pretty are the benefits that stay lent  
 “The benefits that are lent are nice” [FF, XXIV, 103]
90. **Picciola cosa** è la vita dell’uomo, ma **grande cosa** è il dispregiamento della vita  
 Little thing is the life.of.the man, but big thing is the scorn.of.the life  
 “Men’s life is a little thing, but the scorn of life is a big thing” [FF, XXIV, 129]
91. **Povero** è non chi poco ha ma chi più desidera  
 Poor is not who little has but who more desires  
 “Not who has little but who desires more is poor” [FF, XXIV, 174]
92. **Quanto maggiore** è il popolo a cui ci mescoliamo, tanto è più di pericolo  
 How bigger is the people to which us.REFL mix, so.much is more of danger  
 “The bigger the people to which we mix is, the greater the danger is” [FF, XXIV, 189]
93. **Molto** m’è dolce e soave il pensiero de li amici  
 Much 1sCL.DAT is sweet and gentle the thought of the friends  
 passati dal secolo  
 past.pl from.the century  
 “The thought of passed-away friends is sweet and gentle to me” [FF, XXIV, 233]

94. **Ingrato** è chi rende beneficio senza usura  
 Unthankful is who renders benefit without use  
 “Who pays back a favor without having taken advantage of it is unthankful” [FF, XXIV, 256]
95. **Troppo** è folle chi contende di passare là ove pro vede che l’altro sia caduto e  
 Too is crazy who competes to pass there where pro sees that the other is fallen and  
**via** è più folle chi non ha paura...  
 way is more crazy who not has fear...  
 “Who competes in order to pass where he sees that the other has fallen is too crazy and who doesn’t  
 have fear [...] is way crazier” [FF, XXIX, 6]
96. tante li diedero che **per morto** il lasciaro  
 so.many 3sCL.DAT gave3p that as dead 3sCL.DAT left3p  
 “They bet him so hard that they left him as dead” [FF, VII, 16]
97. Quanto **più savio** è l’uomo, tanto muore più apagato nell’animo  
 As more wise is the man, so dies more satisfied in.the soul  
 “The wiser one is, the more satisfied in the soul he dies” [FF, XX, 133]
98. **Peggior** è la paura della battaglia che la battaglia medesima  
 Worse is the fear of.the battle than the battle same  
 “The fear of battles is worse than the battle itself” [FF, XXIV, 163]
99. Empedocles filosafo disse che *ne le cose del secolo tre* sono  
 Empedocles philosopher said that in the things of.the century three are  
 le più speciali  
 the most special  
 “The philosopher Empedocles said that three things are the most special among the secular ones”  
 [FF, IV, 1]
100. Ai lusinghieri non dare orecchi; **artefici** sono a prender i loro maggiori  
 To.the flatterers not give.INF ears; craftsmen are3p to take.INF the their advantages  
 “Do not listen to flatterers; they are able to take their own advantages [FF, XXIV, 145]
101. **Dilettevole cosa** sarebbe amare...  
 Delightful thing would.be love.INF  
 “To love would be delightful...” [FR, 8, 47]
102. **Malagevole cosa** è che sia bontadoso colui a cui sempre è  
 Difficult thing is that be.3s.Subj charitable who to whom always is  
 ita diritta la ventura  
 gone straight the fortune  
 “That those who have always had good luck be charitable is difficult” [FR, 13, 7]
103. Certo, **vie più sicuro** fue di far salve le persone per patto  
 Sure, way more safe was to make.INF safe the people for agreement  
 “Sure, to save people by agreement was way safer” [FR, 17, 41]
104. **Manifesta cosa** è che questa cosa fu mia  
 Manifest thing is that this thing was mine  
 “That this thing was mine is manifest” [FR, 28, 3]
105. **Maggior malificio** è di corrompere e di sforzare una femina  
 Greater evil.deed is to corrupt and to violate a female  
 “To corrupt and violate a woman is more evil” [FR, 66, 41]

106. – Quando vedeano la femina lussuriosa, sì l’aveano per venefica incontanente  
 When saw3p the female lustful, SI 3sCL.ACC had3p for poisonous right.after  
 - Per che cagione?  
 For what cause  
 - Perché *la femina che corrompe il corpo suo di lussuria*, **bisogno** fa  
 Because the female that corrupts the body her of lust, need makes3s.IMP  
 che tema molte persone.  
 that fear3sSUBJ many people  
 “When they saw the lustful woman, they considered her poisonous right away./For which  
 reason?/Because it is necessary that the woman who corrupts her body with lust fears many  
 people.” [FR, 12, 7-9]
107. Dunque, *qual femina è colpevole c’abbia avelenato alcuna persona*,  
 Hence, which female is guilty that have3sSubj poisoned any person,  
**bisogno** fa che sia lussuriosa  
 need makes3s.IMP that be3Subj lustful  
 “So, that woman who is guilty of poisoning someone is necessarily lustful” [FR, 12, 17]
108. perchè **poco tempo** è che l’avesti  
 because little time is that 3sCL.ACC had.2s  
 “Because you have had it for a short time” [FR, 28, 7]
109. **Officio** è di colui ch’adomanda di dare la sua petizione  
 Duty is of whom that questions to give.INF the his petition  
 “It is duty of who asks to provide his petition” [FR, 33, 9]
110. **Vero** è che con costui avea io grande amistade  
 True is that with this.one had I great friendship  
 “It is true that I had a great friendship with this one” [FR, 34, 30]
111. **Bisogno** fa che noi lo ritroviamo  
 Need makes that we 3s.CL.ACC. find  
 “It is necessary that we find him” [FR, 47, 13]
112. **Sicuro** è che mai dimisso non gli fia  
 Sure is that never subdued not 3s.CL.DAT become.1s.Subj  
 “It is sure that I would never become subdued to him” [FR, 47, 27]
113. **più atteso** si può fare...  
 more expected IMP can.3s make.INF  
 “One can make it more expected...” [FR, 57, 3]
114. *La quale insegnare grave* non ci sarebbe  
 the which teach.INF heavy not 1s.CL.DAT would.be.3s  
 “Which thing would not be heavy for us to teach” [FR, 82, 83]
115. **Dimostrativa** è favella per la quale si dice bene o male d’alcuna persona  
 Demonstrative is word for the which IMP says good or bad of any person  
 “The talk by which one says good or bad things of some person is demonstrative” [FR, 3, 12]
116. **Buona** è detta quella favella che à in sè quattro cose.  
 Good is said that word that word that has in self four things  
 “The talk which has four things in itself is called good” [FR, 5, 1]

117. **D'una medesima natura** è quello ornamento, quando addomandiamo  
of a same nature is that ornament when ask.1p  
da noi medesimi...  
by us same  
"The ornament in which we ask by ourselves [...] is of the same nature" [FR, 17, 34]
118. **Savi** debbono essere tenuti coloro che, per far salva la città loro,  
Wise must.3p be.INF hold who that for make.INF safe the city their  
non ischifano fatica...  
not despise labour  
"Those who don't despise labour in order to rescue their hometown must be considered wise"  
[FR, 39, 27]
119. **Più atteso** si può colui che favella rendere l'uditore..  
More expected REFL can who that talks make.INF the hearer  
"The one who talks can make the hearer keener towards himself..." [FR, 55, 1]
120. **Più benivolo** si fa colui che favella l'uditore...  
More benevolent REFL makes who that talks the hearer  
"The one who talks makes the hearer more benevolent towards him..." [FR, 56, 1]
121. **Più ammaestrato** in sul fatto può colui che favella rendere l'uditore  
More learned in on.the fact can.3s who that talks make.INF the hearer  
"The one who talks can make the hearer more learned about the fact" [FR, 57, 1]
122. E se **verità** non fosse quel che si dice  
And if truth not were what that IMP says  
"If it were not true what one says" [FR, 61, 10]
123. **Conclusione** è la sesta parte della diceria, la quale si può fare  
Conclusion is the sixth part of.the saying, the which IMP can make.INF  
in tre modi  
in three ways  
"The sixth part of the talk, which one can make in three ways, is the conclusion" [FR, 65, 1]
124. **Tre** sono le generazioni delle voci  
Three are the generations of.the voices  
"The ways speech generates are three" [FR, 69, 1]
125. secondo che **sei** sono le virtù che nascono di lei  
according that six are.3p the virtues that are.born.3p of her  
"According to the fact that the virtues which are born from her are six" [FR, 77, 4]
126. secondo che **quattro** sono le virtù che nascono di lei  
according that four are.3p the virtues that are.born.3p of her  
"According to the fact that the virtues which are born from her are four" [FR, 78, 6]
127. secondo che **tre** sono le virtù che nascono di lei  
according that three are.3p the virtues that are.born.3p of her  
"According to the fact that the virtues which are born from her are three" [FR, 79, 5]
128. che **ventisette** sono le cose generali  
that twenty-seven are the things general  
"That the general things are twenty-seven" [FR, 81, 50]

129. **Artificiale** è quella che sotto certi ammaestramenti è posta  
artificial is which that under certain teachings is put  
“The one which is subject to certain teachings is artificial” [FR, 82, 11]
130. *La favella* **perfetta** si rende  
The word perfect PASS make.3s  
“The word is made perfect” [FR, 82, 5]
131. **Due cose** sono per le quali si muove l’uomo a torre l’altrui  
Two things are for the which REFL moves the man to take.INF the other.GEN  
“There are two things by which men are moved to take others’ property” [FR, 37, 3]
132. acciò che non dica cosa che **necessaria** non sia  
so that not say.1s thing that necessary not be.3s.Subj  
“So that I wouldn’t say anything that is unnecessary” [FR, 62, 13]
133. almen coloro che **così buona** non l’anno  
at least who that so good not 3s.CL.ACC have.3p  
“At least those who don’t have it so good” [FR, 82, 14]
134. nel decimo uno nostro conto che **Decimo** si chiami ADJ  
in.the tenth a our count that Decimo REFL call.3s.Subj  
“In the tenth our counting that is called Decimo” [FR, 82, 34]
135. **Pacifico** ti mostri ai nemici  
Peaceful REFL.2s show2s to.the enemies  
“You show yourself peaceful to the enemies” [FR, 9, 4]
136. *che fosse punito* **vie più sollecito** fosti  
that were.3s punished way more encouraging were.2s  
“You were way more encouraging that he were punished” [FR, 17, 29]
137. Voi vi lamentate del male del comune e **crucioso**  
You.p REFL.2p complain.2p of.the misfortune of.the community and worried  
ne sete  
of.it are.2p  
“You complain about the misfortune of the community and are worried about it” [FR, 41, 5]
138. Ora, *ne per la ventura la memoria delle parole* **o troppo malagevoli**  
Now, neither for the chance the memory of.the words either too difficult  
**o poco utili** pensi  
or little useful think.2s  
“Now, don’t you either consider too difficult or not enough useful the memory of words because of chance” [FR, 82, 131]
139. e **contento** sia di quella memoria..  
and happy be.2s.Subj of that memory  
“And be happy of that memory” [FR, 82, 132]
140. ma **vivo** non m’arrenderò io a te  
but alive not REFL.1s will.surrender.1s I to you  
“But I won’t surrender alive to you” [FR, 47, 21]



141. *Corniglio* **uomo nuovo** era, **ingegnoso** era, *degl'ingegnosi e buoni uomini*  
 C. man new was, ingenious was, of.the ingenious and good men  
**amico** era, però *nella città nostra il maggiore* era  
 friend was but in.the city our the greater was  
 “Corniglio was a new man, was ingenious, was friend of ingenious, good men, but was the greater in our city” [FR, 8, 21]
142. **Ragionevole cosa** è bamboleggiare in giovinezza  
 Reasonable thing is play.INF in youth  
 “To play is reasonable in youth” [N, 5, 32]
143. **Meglio** è tagliare che sviare  
 Better is cut.INF than go.astray.INF  
 “Cutting is better than going astray” [N, 13, 16]
144. Tutti diceano che **cortesìa** era a rimandarlo  
 All said that courtesy was to send.back.INF.3s.CL.ACC more  
 “Everybody said that it would have been kinder to send him back” [N, 22, 7]
145. **Costuma** era per lo reame di Francia che...  
 Habit was by the kingdom of France that  
 “In the French kingdom it was customary that...” [N, 28, 3]
146. ..e più **convenevole** era che l'uomo abbia due moglie  
 and more convenient was that the man had two wives  
 “...and it would be more convenient that the man had two wives” [N, LXVII, 15]
147. **Meglio** m'è che io moia senza colpa che con colpa  
 Better 1s.CL.DAT is that I die.Subj without fault than with fault  
 “It is better that I die without fault than (being) guilty” [N, LXXI, 39]
148. **Matto** è colui ch'è sì ardito che la mente metta di fuori dal tondo  
 Crazy is who that is so brave that the mind put.Subj of out from.the circe  
 “The one who “put the mind outside the hood” is crazy” [N, 29, 18]
149. Que' domandò chi **lle femine** fossero  
 That asked who the female were  
 “That one asked who were the women” [N, 14, P, S, 14]
150. il quale non avea reda nulla che **suo figliolo** fosse  
 the which not had heir none that his son were  
 “who didn't have any heir who was his son” [N, 30, 5]
151. non perch'io rifiuti di fare cosa che **onore** vi sia  
 not because I refuse.Subj to do.INF thing that honour 2p.CL.DAT be.Subj  
 “Not because I refused to do something that would be honorable to you” [N, LXV, B, 25]
152. nè mai non dissi cosa che **disinore** fosse di mio zio...  
 Neither never not said.1s thing that dishonor were of my uncle  
 “Neither have I ever said anything dishonorable for my uncle...” [N, LXV, B, 40]
153. Messere, io sono d'Italia, e **mercatante** sono molto ricco  
 Sir I am of Italy and merchant am very rich  
 “Sir, I am from Italy, and I am a very rich merchant” [N, 8, 26-27]

154. **Cara** la comperai!  
Expensive 3s.CL.ACC will.buy.2s  
“You will pay (the earth) for it!” [N, XLII, 21]
155. e **così ritto** l'appoggiaro alle sponde  
and so straight 3s.CL.ACC leaned.3p to.the shores  
“and they leaned him so straight upon the shore” [N, XLVI, 16]
156. **signore** t'ho fatto di molte dilizie  
lord 2s.CL.ACC have.1s made of many delicacies  
“I have made you lord of many delicacies” [N, LXXII, 10]
157. **aparechiato** sarete all'uscio  
ready will.be.2p at.the door  
“You'll be ready at the door” [N, XCIX, 14]
158. **Vil cosa** è la luxuria  
Vile thing is the lust  
“Lust is a vile thing” [N, 13,11]
159. Ben si può vedere che **tiranna cosa** è bellore di femine  
well IMP can.3s see.INF that tyrannical thing is beauty of female  
“One can see well that women's beauty is a tyrannical thing” [N, 14, 23]

## B. *Se*-clauses

Text/ <i>Se</i> - clause type	Total <i>Se</i> - clauses	non- subject fronting	preV subjects only	pro subj+ no fronting of candidate	pro subj (no candidate)
<b>FF</b>	39	2	19	11	7
<b>FR</b>	141	55	33	38	15
<b>N</b>	60	8	39	7	6
<b>total</b>	240	65	91	56	28

### *Se*-clauses (tagged and translated)

#### *Se*-clauses with fronting of non-subjects

1. **se per fatica** farete alcuna cosa di bene, quella fatica tosto anderà via [...]
 

If for fatigue will.do.2p any thing of good that fatigue soon will.go away  
 “If you make an effort to do anything good, that fatigue will soon go away” [FF, XVII, 10-13]
2. **se per volontà carnale alcuna cosa malvagia** farete, la volontà si partirà
 

if for will carnal any thing evil will.do.2p, the will REFL leave.FUT  
 “If you do anything evil for carnal desire, (good) will will depart (from you)” [FF, XVII, 10-13]
3. non perché fosse mia credenza che sola la bella favella per sé avesse alcuna bontà,  
 not because were my belief that only the good word for itself had any bounty  
*se colui che sa ben favellare in sé non avesse senno e giustizia*  
 if that who can well speak in himself not had sense and justice  
 “I didn't believe that a nice speech only had in itself any good quality, if that who can speak well didn't have sense and justive in himself” [FR, 1, 9]
4. **se lle virtù** vorrai colle ricchezze aguagliare,  
 if the virtues want.2s.FUT with.the wealth compare,  
 apena parranno le ricchezze alcuna cosa,  
 hardly will.seem wealth any thing  
 “If you want to compare virtues with wealth, wealth will hardly seem of any value” [FR, 8, 43]
5. Dunque **se per le vie ch'ò poste di sopra** noll'à avute,  
 Hence if for the ways that have.1s put of above not.3p.ACC.CL has had  
 o nasce l'oro in casa a costui, o onde non è lecito sono venute.  
 either is.born the gold in house to this.one or whence not is allowed are come  
 “Hence, if he hasn't received them in the ways I have listed above, either gold springs in his house, or they come from illegal trafficking” [FR, 17, 7, 14]
6. **Se per li detti modi** non l'ài, rimane che come non  
 If for the said ways not 3s.ACC.CL have.2s remains that how not  
 dee sia apo te  
 must be.SUBJ in.possess you  
 “If you don't get it in the mentioned ways, it follows that it became of your possession in a wrong way” [FR, 28, 8]

7. Se **profetato** era che Troia disfar non si potea senza le saette d'Aloteta,  
 If predicted was that Troy destroy not IMP can.PAST without the lightnings of Aloteta  
 e quelle non adoperaro altro che uccidere Alessandro chiamato Paris,  
 and those not used other that kill.INF Alexander called Paris  
 dunque la morte di Pari fu la cagione per che disfatta fu Troia  
 thus the death of Paris were the reason for that destroyed were Troy  
 "If it were predicted that Troy couldn't be destroyed without Aloteta's lightnings, and those weren't  
 used but to kill Alexander called Paris, then Paris' death was the reason why Troy were destroyed"  
 [FR, 31, 3-5]
8. Avesti voi paura, se **nel primo consiglio** l'avesti condannato,  
 Had you fear, if in.the first council 3s.ACC.CL had.2s sentenced  
 non fosti tenuto crudele?  
 not were considered cruel  
 "Weren't you afraid of being considered cruel, if you had sentenced him in the first council"  
 [FR, 34, 13]
9. è avuto per sozza cosa quando altri si loda se **le sue lode** non sa temperare  
 is had for filthy thing when other REFL praise if the his praises not can mitigate  
 "It is considered impolite when someone praise himself, if he cannot mitigate his own praises"  
 [FR, 35, 12]
10. se **questi delle vostre mani** camperà, contra voi medesimo si rivolgerà questa fiera  
 if this.one of.the your hands will.live against you same REFL will.turn this beast  
 "If you let him live, that beast will indeed turn against you"  
 [FR, 36, 7]
11. Se **di costui, messer la podestà**, piglierete troppo aspra vendetta,  
 If of this.one sir the lord will.take.2p too harsh revenge  
 non solamente costui ma molti altri per la vostra sentenza saranno puniti  
 not only this.one but many others for the your verdict will.be.3p punished  
 "If you take a too harsh revenge on him, my lord, not only him but many others will be punished"  
 [FR, 36, 8-9]
12. Se **per viva ragione e grandissimi esempli** t'ò mostrato  
 If for alive reason and very.big examples 2s.DAT.CL have.1s shown  
 che per lo suo paese si dee l'uomo mettere ad ogni rischio, savi debbono essere tenuti...  
 that for the his country REFL must the man put to every risk, wize must be considered...  
 "If I have shown you, through proper reasoning and important examples, that men must run any (kind  
 of) risk for their own country, (they) must be considered wise..."  
 [FR, 39, 26-27]
13. né l'uomo può essere di grande bontà se **prima** non l'usa,  
 Neither the man can be of great bounty if first not 3s.ACC.CL uses,  
 né 'l puledro se **prima** non è domato  
 nor the pony if first not is tamed  
 "Neither can the man be very good if he does not behave in a good way first, nor can the pony if he is  
 not first tamed"  
 [FR, 42, 16]
14. E tu mena teco Stefano e Sofia, e anche ne togli, se **più** te ne fanno bisogno  
 E you take you.with Stefano and Sofia, and also of.it take, if more 2s.DAT.CL of.it make need  
 "Take with you Stefano and Sofia, and take more of it, if you need more"  
 [FR, 46, 18]

15. E se, **andando per la terra**, s'intopperà i forestieri, i quali ne la sua cittade  
 E if going through the earth REFL bump.into the foreigners who in the his city  
 l'aranno molto onorato e servito, sì si contrista  
 3s.ACC.CL will.have much honored and served SI REFL becomes.sad  
 "If he bumps into the foreigners who have honored and served him well in his hometown, while  
 wandering around the world, he will become sad" [FR, 46, 20-21]
16. avrebbero fatto meglio se **dirittamente a l'abrego suo** ne fussero venuti.  
 Would.have.3p done better if straight to the hotel his LOC were come  
 "It would have been better if they went straight to his hotel" [FR, 46, 22-26]
17. E que' dicono che ciò avrebbero fatto, se **l'abrego suo** avessero saputo.  
 E those say that that would.have.3p done if the hotel his had known  
 "They said that they would have done that if they knew his hotel" [FR, 46, 22-26]
18. perdonatemi se **con voi** non posso ora più dimorare  
 forgive.me if with you not can now more stay  
 "Forgive me if I can no longer stay with you now" [FR, 46, 37]
19. se *questa città* **vincitore** favellasse ora qui dinanzi da noi,  
 if this city winner spoke now here in.front of us  
 non potrebbe ella in questo modo parlare  
 not could it in this way speak  
 "If this city proclaimed a winner here, now, in front of us, it couldn't speak in this way" [FR, 48, 4]
20. lasciala all'uditore che la 'ntenda per sé in questo modo.  
 Leave.3s.ACC.CL to.the hearer that 3s.ACC.CL understand for REFL in this way  
 Se **a colui a cui tu vuoi dire che tolga moglie** dice:  
 If to whom to which you want say that take wife say.2s  
 "Quando aren delle nozze tue?" [...]  
 When will.be of.the marriage your  
 se **a colui ch'è gran bevitore** dica: "Va' dormi di forza e forbiti gli occhi,  
 if to whom that is great drinker say.SUBJ go.IMP sleep of strength and clean.IMP the eyes  
 da che gli t'ai messi a rivescio"  
 from that 3p.ACC.CL have.2s put to backward  
 "You will leave it up to the hearer to understand it, if you ask "when is your marriage going to be?" to  
 whom you want to tell to get married, (or) if you say "go to sleep and rest your eyes, since you have  
 rolled them backward" to whom is a heavy drinker" [FR, 49, 12-15]
21. E se **ben** porrai mente a cciò ch'è detto infino a qui, apertamente potrai conoscere e vedere...  
 E if well will.put mind to what that is said up to here openly can.FUT know and see  
 "If you pay close attention to what has been said up to know, you will clearly understand and see..." [FR, 51, 22]
22. E se **fare proemio** non vuole, si cominci il detto suo da alcuno bello esemplo  
 E se **fare proemio** non vuole, si cominci il detto suo da alcuno bello esemplo  
 E if make preamble not want.3s SI begin.SUBJ the said his from any nice example  
 "If he doesn't want to make a preamble, he should start his speech from some good example" [FR, 54, 3]

23. Da la sua persona si fa colui che favella benevolo l'uditore,  
 From the his person REFL makes who that speaks benevolent the hearer  
 se **sanza arroganza** loderà l'officio suo  
 if without arrogance will.praise the work his  
 "The speaker renders the hearer benevolent towards him if he praises his own work without  
 arrogance" [FR; 56, 3]
24. Si fa colui che favella benevolo l'uditore, se **per lo detto suo** farà el suo avversario  
 REFL makes who that speaks benevolent the hearer if by the said his will.make the his opponent  
 venire in invidia dell'uditore.  
 come in envy of.the hearer  
 "The speaker renders the hearer benevolent, if he makes his opponent envied by the hearer by means  
 of his speech" [FR, 56, 9-12]
25. E se **verità** non fosse *quel che si dice*, molto maggiormente sono da considerare le dette cose.  
 E if truth not were what that IMP says much more are to consider the said things  
 "If what is said wasn't true, the mentioned things are to be considered more thoroughly"  
 [FR; 61, 10]
26. E sempre sia scaltrito il dicitore di fermare per carta il detto suo, se **fare** si puote  
 E always be.SUBJ smart the speaker of stop.INF by paper the said his, if make.INF IMP can  
 "May the speaker be always careful of writing down his speech, if that can be done"  
 [FR, 61, 11]
27. color che sono letterati, se **delle dette due parti** vogliono sapere,  
 Those who are literate if of.the said two parties want know.INF  
 leggano nella Rettorica di Tullio  
 read.SUBJ in.the Rhethoric of Tullio  
 "The scholars should read Tullio's Rhethoric, if they want to know about the two parties"  
 [FR, 64, 8-9]
28. il dicitore dice dubitando che ne interverrebbe se **a ciascuno**  
 the speaker says doubting that of.it would.intervene if to anyone  
 si concedesse il simigliante [...] e poscia mostra,  
 IMP allow.SUBJ the similar and then shows  
 se **questa cosa** si mette in negligenza, che pericoli o che sozze cose  
 If this thing IMP put in negligence which dangers or which filthy things  
 ne nascerebbe per innanzi.  
 of.it would.be.born for forward  
 "The speaker doubts that it would happen if similar things were permitted to each one, and then  
 shows which dangers or bad things would arise in the future, if this thing were neglected"  
 [FR, 66, 16-19]
29. quando mostra il dicitore, se **a costui** si perdonasse, come molti rei  
 when shows the speaker, if to this.one IMP forgive.SUBJ how many guilty  
 uomini s'inviterebbo a mal fare  
 men IMP would.invite to bad do.INF  
 "When the speaker shows how many guilty men would be encourage to act badly if this one were  
 forgiven" [FR, 66, 20-21]

30. se **pur una volta** fosse iudicato altrimenti, per niun modo  
 If just one time were judged otherwise, by no means  
 si potrebbe questo male poscia spegnere;  
 IMP could this evil then estinguish  
 “If it were judged otherwise even just once, this fault could by no means be estinguished”  
 [FR, 66, 23-25]
31. se **pur una volta** sarà errato in questa ragione, non si potrà poscia  
 If just one time will.be mistaken in this reason not IMP can.FUT then  
 trarre adietro né mendare  
 take.INF back neither discharge.INF  
 “If this judgment were mistaken, it will be possible neither to take it back, nor to discharge (one from the penalty)”  
 [FR, 66, 23-25]
32. si percuote l’organo e guastasi la boce se, **anzi che s’ausi**  
 IMP smites the organ and damages.IMPcl the voice if instead that IMP uses  
**con boce consolata e piana**, *colui che favella* comincia di forza a favellare o a gridare  
 with voice comforting and flat who that speaks begins of strength to speak or to shout  
 “The organ is smitten and the voice is damaged if the speaker starts talking loudly or shouting instead of keeping a low and comforting voice (tone)”  
 [FR, 70, 3-4]
33. E se **in narrar lo fatto** acaderà di dire detto o priego [...]  
 E if in narrating the fact will.happen to say.INF said or prayer  
 diligentemente considererà il dicitore questo fatto  
 diligently will.consider the speaker this fact  
 “If it happens to utter a speech or a prayer while narrating the fact, the speaker shall consider this fact diligently”  
 [FR, 71, 19-20]
32. se **temperatamente** si fanno, rendono la diceria più approvata e piacente  
 If gently IMP make, render the speech more approved and pleasant  
 “If they are performed gently, they render the speech more sympathetic and pleasant”  
 [FR, 72, 1, 3]
33. niuno possa essere consolo se **prima** non à età di trentacinque anni  
 no.one may.SUBJ be consul if before not has age of thirty-five years  
 “No one can be consul before the age of thirty-five”  
 [FR, 73, 40]
34. E se *il consigliere*, **considerata la cagione della cosa sopra la qual**  
 E if the advisor considered the cause of.the thing above the which  
**si piglia consiglio**, vede che l’utilità sua è che si faccia in tal modo  
 IMP takes advice sees that the utility its is that IMP makes in such way  
 che stia bene e dirittamente, sì dee sapere colui che consiglia che[...]  
 that stay.SUBJ well and rightly SI must.3s know who that gives.advice that  
 si può dar consiglio per quattro vie  
 IMP can give advice by four ways  
 “If the advisor, after considering the cause of the thing which is under debate, sees that its utility is to produce a proper behavior, the one who gives advice must know that advice can be given in four ways”  
 [FR, 75, 1-3]

35. E è detto l'animo forte per via di speranza [...] se **le cose che**  
 E is said the soul strong by way of hope if the things that  
**sono a fare** si fanno bene e dirittamente  
 are to do IMP do well and rightly  
 "The soul is said strong with hope if things that are to be done are done well and properly"  
 [FR, 78, 13]
36. può l'uomo essere lodato di fortezza in ciò ch'è detto l'animo forte  
 can the man be praised of strength in what that is said the soul strong  
 [...] se **le cose** si fanno bene...  
 if the things IMP make well  
 "Men can be praised for their strength inasmuch as the soul is called strong, if things are well done"  
 [FR, 81, 41]
37. Se **ben** porra' mente alle cose che son dette di sopra,  
 If well will.put mind to.the things that are said of above  
 potrai apertamente veder che ventisette sono le cose generali  
 can.FUT.2s openly see that twenty-seven are the things general  
 "If you pay attention to the things that are mentioned above, you will clearly see that the general  
 things are twenty-seven"  
 [FR, 81, 50]
38. Niuno la direbbe bene se, **quando la dice**,  
 Nobody 3s.ACC.CL would say well if when 3s.ACC.CL say  
**bene a memoria** non l'avesse  
 well to memory not 3s.ACC.CL had.SUBJ  
 "Nobody would say it properly if he didn't have it well in mind when he says it" [FR, 82, 6]
39. se **delle dette cose memoria** vogliamo avere, le immagini  
 if of.the said things memory want.1s have the images  
 loro in certi luoghi ci conviene allogare  
 their in certain places 1p.DAT.CL is.convenient put.INF  
 "If we want to remember the mentioned things, we should place their images in specific places"  
 [FR, 82, 26]
40. Conviene dunque, se **di molte cose** ci vogliam ricordare,  
 is.convenient therefore if of many thinfs REFL want.1p remember  
 molti luoghi comprendere  
 many places include  
 "It is convenient to include many places if we want to remember many things" [FR, 82, 26]
41. Come se molti nostri conti veggiamo per ordine stare,  
 As if many our counts see.1p by order stay.INF  
 non sarà forza se **di capo o alla fine o nel mezo**  
 not will.be force if of beginning or to.the end or in.the middle  
**le nomora loro** cominciamo a dire  
 "As if we see many of our calculations be in order, it will not be worth if we start mentioning their  
 names at the beginning, at the end or in the middle" [FR, 82, 30]
42. si convegono notare in questo modo: se **nel quinto luogo una mano d'oro** pognamo...  
 IMP are.convenient notice.INF in this way if in.the fifth place a hand of gold put.1p  
 "It is worth noticing this way: if we put a handful of gold in the fifth place..." [FR, 82, 33-34]



43. se **nel modo che di sopra aviamo mostrato** *alcuno* pensa di  
 if in.the way that of above have.1p shown anyone thinks of  
 non saperlo fare, elli medesimo molti e acconci luoghi da sé trovi  
 not know.INF+3s.ACC.CL make he same many and proper places by SELF find.SUBJ  
 “If anyone thinks that he cannot make it in the way we have shown above, shall he himself find many  
 proper places” [FR, 82, 47-49]
44. se **di questo manifesto modo** non saranno contenti, e’ medesimi,  
 if of this open manner not will.be happy, they same  
 co’ loro pensieri, truovino acconci luoghi  
 with their thoughts find.3p.SUBJ proper places  
 “If they are not happy with this open manner, they shall themselves find proper places by means of  
 their thinking” [FR, 82, 51]
45. se **la disposizione della forma e imagine con diligente similitudine** faremo,  
 if the disposition of.the shape and image with diligent comparison will.make.1p  
 agevolmente della cosa che vorremo avremo memoria.  
 Easily of.the thing that want.FUT.1p will.have.1p memory  
 “If we make a comparison of the image and shape of the thing diligently, we will easily remember the  
 thing we want” [FR, 82, 69-70]
46. questa similitudine delle imagini allotta vale, se **la natural memoria** adoperremo  
 this comparison of the images then is.worthy, if the the natural memory will.use.1p  
 “This similarity of images is then worthy, if we use the faculty of memory” [FR, 82, 78]
47. La quale insegnare grave non ci sarebbe, se **paura** non avessimo  
 The which teach.INF heavy not 1p.DAT.cl would.be if fear not had.SUBJ.1p  
 “It would not be hard for us to teach it, if we were not afraid (to do it)” [FR, 82, 83]
48. Se **alcuna cosa nella vita** veggiamo piccole, usitate e cotidiane,  
 If any thing in.the life see.1p small, used and daily  
 siamo usati di non ricordarcene  
 are.1p used of not remember.INF+REFL+of.it  
 “If we see things that are small, habitual and daily in our life, we usually don't remember them”  
 [FR, 82, 89-90]
49. se **alcuna cosa** udiremo o vedremo che sia dignitosa o soza o onesta [...],  
 if any thing will.hear.1p or will.see.1p that be.SUBJ dignified or filthy or honest  
 quella cosa per lungo tempo ci sarà a mente  
 that thing for long time 1p.DAT.CL will.be to mind  
 “If we see or hear anything upstanding, petty or honest, we will have that thing in mind for a long  
 time” [FR, 82, 91-92]
50. E intervenga questa cosa se **di cose molto conte** faremo similitudine;  
 E intervene.SUBJ this thing if of many things much known will.make.1p comparison  
 e se **non molte ovvero varie** porremo imagini [...] ovvero se **alcuna** orneremo di corone  
 and if not many or diverse will.put.1p images or if any will.decorate of crowns  
 “Such a thing will occur if we make a comparison with well known things, and if we will not use too  
 many or diverse images, or if we decorate them with crowns” [FR, 82, 106-110]

51. se **in alcuna parte, non dispiacendo a lui**,  
 if in any part, not displeasing to him  
 si può parlare per rallegrare il corpo [...], facciasi con più onestade  
 IMP can talk for cheer.ip the body make.INF+IMP with more honesty  
 e con più cortesia che fare si puote  
 and with more politeness than do.INF IMP can  
 “If one can talk to cheer up the body in some place, without bothering, that shall be done most rightly  
 and with as much politeness as one can” [N, 1, 12-14]
52. se **in fare lo tempio** fuoro gravati, tu se’ quelli che li agevolerai  
 if in making the temple were burdened you are the.one who 3p.ACC.CL help  
 “If they were burdened with the building of the temple, you are the one who will help them”  
 [N, 7, 40]
53. S’è.**lla sua cucina (ch’e’ vende dando l’utile proprietade di quella)**  
 If in.the his kitchen that he sells giving the useful property of that.one  
 suole prendere utile moneta, et ora c’ha venduto fummo (ch’è la parte sottile  
 is.used take.INF earned coin and now there has sold smoke that is the part subtle  
 ch’esce della cucina), fae, signore, sonare una moneta  
 that goes.out of.the kitchen do.IMP lord ring a coin  
 “If he usually makes a profit in his kitchen, whereby he sells its consumable products, and now he  
 has sold smoke (which is the subtle part that comes out of the kitchen), may you, lord, pay one coin”  
 [N, 9, 42-45]
54. se **alle tre volte ch’egli avisasse** no’l vi mettesse, si  
 if to.the three times that he carefully.looked.SUBJ not 3s.ACC.CL there put.SUBJ SI  
 li toglievano le donne tutto suo arnese  
 3s.DAT.CL took.off the women all his weapon  
 “If he didn’t manage to put it through at the third trial, then the women would take all his weapons  
 away” [N, LXII, 34-39]
55. metteteci consiglio, se **essere** può  
 put.IMP+LOC advice if be can  
 “Give an advice, if it is possible” [N, LXVIII, 9-10]
56. E se **per amore** fosse tuo pianto: perché nol piangevi tu quand’era vivo  
 E if for love were your cry why not+3s.ACC.cl cried you when was alive  
 “If you were crying for love, why didn’t you cry when he was alive?” [N, LXXI, 19-22]
57. la femina non vale neente, [se **di lei** non viene come di luccio passato]  
 the female not be.worth.3s nothing, if from her not comes as of pike tainted  
 “Women are not valuable if they don’t smell like tainted pike” [N, LXXX, 26-27]
58. E se **così** avessi detto in prima, tutto questo non ci sarebbe stato  
 E if so had.SUBJ said in advance all this not LOC would.be been  
 “Had I said so in advance, all this wouldn’t have happened” [N, XCVI, 59-60]

Se-clauses with preverbal subjects only

59. Io non sarei salvo se **voi** non foste perite  
 I not would.be safe if you.pl not were dead  
 “I would not be safe if you didn’t die” [FF, II, 16-17]

60. *S'io* vincerò la febre, io verrò al tempio e  
 If I will.win the fever I will.come to.the temple and  
 se *la febre* vincerà me, discenderò a lo 'nferno  
 if the fever will.win me will.descend.1s to the hell  
 "If I recover from the fever, I will come to the temple, and if the fever knocks me out, I will go to hell"  
 [FF, IX, 19-20]
61. Neuno per li seculi fue posto sì alto che non abbia povertà d'amici,  
 No.one for the centuries were put so high that not have.SUBJ poverty of friends  
 s'elli vuole che per ricchezza neente li falli  
 if he wants that by richness nothing 3s.DAT.CL misses.SUBJ  
 "No one in the history has been so important to be without friends, if he wants not to miss anything in terms of richness"  
 [FF, XXIV, 117-118]
62. *s'el podere* viene meno, almeno co l'animo perseveriamo  
 If the power comes less at least with the soul continue.IMP.1p  
 "If (physical) strength decreases, shall we continue at least with (the strength of our) mind"  
 [FF, XXV, 22-23]
63. ben sarà al suessore tuo s'elli liberrà sé medesimo  
 well will.be to.the successor your if he will.set.free himself  
 "It will be good for your successor if he sets himself free"  
 [FF, XXVI, 16-17]
64. udio legere che neuna femina era casta, [*s'ella* era richiesta  
 heard read.INF that no female was chaste if she was requested  
 e tutte erano senza vergona]  
 and all were without shame  
 "He heard that no woman was chaste if she were desired and (that) all women were shameless"  
 [FF, XXVIII, 4-5]
65. promisele diece danari d'oro s'ella facesse che  
 promised+3s.DAT.CL ten coins of gold if she made.SUBJ that  
 la madre il coricasse seco  
 the mother 3s.ACC.CL sleep with.SELF  
 "He promised her ten golden coins if she made it so that his mother slept with him"  
 [FF, XXVIII, 13]
66. comandò 'nanzi tutti ch'al filosafo fosse mozza la testa s'elli non parlasse  
 ordered in.front all that to.the philosopher were cut.off the head if he not spoke.SUBJ  
 "He ordered in front of everybody that the philosopher's head were cut off if he didn't speak"  
 [FF, XXVIII, 38-39]
67. s'elli parla, fagli tagliare la testa e s'elli istà fermo a  
 if he speaks make.IMP+3s.DAT.CL the head and if he stays still to  
 non parlare, rimenalme quae  
 not speak.INF take.back.3s.ACC.CL +1s.DAT.CL here  
 "If he speaks up have his head cut off, and if he persists in not speaking up, take him back here to me"  
 [FF, XXVIII, 41-42]
68. se *tu* puoi fare che parli o per lusinghe e per minacie  
 if you can make that speak.SUBJ or by flatteries or by threats  
 subito gli fa tagliare la testa  
 immediately 3s.DAT.CL make.IMP cut the head  
 "If you can make it so that he speaks either by flattering or threatening him, have his head cut immediately"  
 [FF, XXVIII, O, 18-22]

69. puomi ben uccidere se *tu* vuoi  
 can+3s.ACC.CL well kill if you want  
 “You can indeed kill me if you want” [FF, XXVIII, O, 36]
70. ebela lusingata promettendole gioie e denary se *ella* facia chella  
 had.3s.ACC.CL flattered promising+3s.DAT.CL jewels and money if she made that.the  
 domna lo facesse dormire con lei  
 woman 3s.ACC.CL made.SUBJ sleep with her  
 “He flattered her by promising her jewels and money if she had made it (possible) that the woman  
 slept with him” [FF, XXVIII, Rg, 10]
71. li disse che se *lui* non parlava che nollu facesse morire  
 3s.DAT.CL said that if he not spoke that not+3s.ACC.CL made die  
 “He told him that if he didn't speak he wouldn't kill him” [FF, XXVIII, Rg, 32]
72. nessuna femina era casta *sella* fosse requesta  
 no woman was chaste if.she were requested  
 “No woman would be chaste if she were desired” [FF, XXVIII; Ri, 4]
73. comandò a uno di suoi cavalieri inançi a tuta quella zente  
 ordered to one of his knights in.front to all that people  
 che era ive presenti che al philosopho muto fosse tagliata la testa  
 that was there present that to.the philosopher mute were cut.off the head  
 se *ello* non parlasse [...] e se *ello* parla o per losanghe  
 if he not spoke.SUBJ and if he speaks or by flatteries  
 o per menage incontinente lo remena qui  
 or by threats immediately 3s.ACC.CL bring.back here  
 “He ordered to one of his knights in front of all those people that were present there that the mute  
 philosopher had his head cut off if he didn't speak, and if he spoke under flatteries or threats, that he  
 took him back there immediately” [FF, XXVIII, Ri, 35]
74. poditemi ben ucidere e far morire se *vui* volete  
 can.2p+3s.ACC.CL well kill and make die if you.pl want  
 “you may indeed kill me and let me die if you want” [FF, XXVIII, Ri, 53]
75. se *l'uomo* àe in sé senno in sapere bene in su le cose vedere, [...]
 if the man has in SELF sense in know.INF well in up the things see.INF  
 sì gli fa bisogno di sapere favellare  
 SI 3s.DAT.CL makes need of know.INF speak.INF  
 “If the man has the virtue of discerning things properly, then he needs to know how to speak  
 properly” [FR, 1, 12]
76. Questo gridare, se *l'uditore* l'usarà rade volte [...], renderà l'animo  
 this shout.INF if the speaker 3s.ACC.CL will.use rare times will.render the soul  
 dell'uditore indegnato  
 of.the hearer indignant  
 “Such a shouting will make the hearer's sense indignant, if the speaker uses it rarely”  
 [FR, 10, 11-12]
77. Che speranza di libertà possiamo noi avere se *quello che vogliono* è licito loro  
 what hope of freedom can we have if that that want.3p is permitted to.them  
 “What kind of hope for freedom can we have if they are allowed (to do anything) they want”  
 [FR, 18, 2]

78. non vo' più dire, acciò che, s'io dicesse ogni cosa, non tornasse a vergogna altrui  
not want more say.INF so that if I said.SUBJ each thing not come.SUBJ to shame others'  
"I don't want to speak anymore, so that it would not turn out to be a shame for others, if I were to say everything"  
[FR, 30, 6]
79. Se questa cotal licenza di riprendere i nostri maggiori paresse al dicitore,  
if this such freedom to recall the our predecessors seemed.SUBJ to.the speaker  
quando à detto, che fosse stata troppo aspra, sì la debbia di dietro mitigare  
when has said that were been too harsh SI 3s.ACC.CL must.SUBJ of behind mitigate  
"If such a freedom of recalling our predecessors seemed too harsh to the speaker, after he has spoken, then he must mitigate it right after"  
[FR, 34, 18]
80. se 'l dicitore avesse detto che lla cavalleria fosse in lui in grande stato,  
if the speaker had said that the chivalry were in him in great state  
[...] sarebbe paruto troppo grande arroganza  
would.be appeared too big arrogance  
"If the speaker had said that he had a high rank in chivalry, it would have seemed too arrogant"  
[FR, 35, 6-7]
81. se questo reo uomo ch'è or venuto alle mani vostre  
if this guilty man that is now come to.the hands your  
e del comune no fie punito per voi e delle vostre mani  
and of.the community not be.SUBJ punished by you and from.the your hands  
camperà, incontamente sì come leone o altra crudel bestia scatenata  
will.survive immediately SI as lion or other cruel beast unchained  
andrà per la terra  
will.go through the world  
"If this man, who is now in your and in the community's hands, will not be punished by you and will survive because of you, he will immediately go around as a lion or another cruel, unchained beast"  
[FR, 36, 3-4]
82. Che sarebbe se 'l buono Scipione rinascesse  
What would.be if the good Scipio would.be.born.again  
"What if the good Scipio would be born again"  
[FR, 48, 9]
83. E questo si può fare se 'l dicitore dice il fatto come è stato  
E this IMP can do.INF if the speaker tells the fact as is been  
"This can be done if the speaker reports the fact as it was"  
[FR, 51, 3]
84. s'egl'è ben fatto e come si conviene a ragione, così dà vittoria al dicitore...  
if he is well done and as IMP is.convenient to reason so gives victory to the speaker  
"If it's well done as is convenient for a (good) argument, so it gives reason to the speaker..."  
[FR, 52, 3-4]
85. se gl'anima delli uditori sono molto gravati d'udire  
if the souls of the hearers are much burdened of hear.INF  
per l'abondanza di quello ch'è detto dinanzi a lui,  
by the abundance of what that is said in.front to him  
si si dee guardare di fare proemio  
SI REFL must watch of make.INF preamble  
"If the hearers' mind are overwhelmed with hearing what has been (broadly) discussed previously before him, then he must avoid making a preamble"  
[FR, 52, 25-26]

86. se *'l fatto* è agli uditori chiaro e aperto, sì si dee guardare  
 if the fact is to the hearers clear and open, SI REFL must watch  
 di fare narragione  
 of make.INF narration  
 “If the fact is clear to the hearers, then he must avoid narrating (it)” [FR, 52, 27]
87. dee lasciare il dicitore di dire [...] quella altra parte  
 must leave the speaker of say.INF that other part  
 ch'è appellata conclusione, se *'l detto suo* è stato breve  
 that is called conclusion if the said his is been short  
 “The speaker must skip telling that other part that is called conclusion if his speeck was short”  
 [FR, 52, 30-33]
88. Brevemente si può il fatto narrare, se *colui che favella*  
 briefly IMP can the fact narrate if the.one who speaks  
 non si fa dallo incominciamento del fatto [...]   
 not REFL makes from.the beginnning of.the fact  
 “The fact can be narrated briefly if the one who speaks does not make himself (...) from the  
 beginning of the fact” [FR, 59,  
 1]
89. se *'l fatto* è vero, sono da considerare le dette cose  
 if the fact is true are to consider.INF the said things  
 “If the fact is true, the mentioned things are to consider” [FR, 61, 8]
90. se *quello onde è in concordia con l'altra parte* gli fa pro,  
 if that whereby is in harmony with the other part 3s.DAT.CL makes advantage  
 sì 'l dee in prima mostrare e aprire  
 SI 3s.ACC.CL must in first show and open  
 “If what is in harmony with the other part is of advantage (to him), he must show and explain it first”  
 [FR; 63, 4-5]
91. se *'l parlare* sarà in favellar dignitoso [...] sì proferrà  
 if the speak.INF will.be in speak.INF dignified SI will.utter  
 il dicitore la sua parola con piene guance  
 the speaker the his word with full cheeks  
 “If the speech has a worthy nature, the speaker shall utter his words with full-blown cheeks”  
 [FR, 71, 8]
92. se *la favella* sarà in mostrare, sì farà il dicitore la boce sua più bassetta  
 if the word will.be in show.INF SI will.make the speaker the voice his more low  
 “If the speech is an exposition, the speaker shall lower his voice” [FR, 71, 11]
93. se *la favella* sarà in narrare, sì varierà la boce sua il dicitore  
 if the word will.be in narrate.INF SI will.vary the voice his the speaker  
 “If the speech is a narration, the speaker shall vary his voice tone” [FR, 71, 13]
94. se *la favella* sarà in parlare di sollazzo e di giuoco, sì parlerà il dicitore ...  
 if the word will.be in talk.INF of solace and of play SI will.talk the speaker  
 “If the speech regards solace and fun, the speaker shall talk...” [FR, 71, 21-22]

95. se *la favella* sarà in contendere, sì può fare lo dicitore  
 if the word will.be in dispute.INF SI can make.INF the speaker  
 la sua boce in due modi  
 the his voice in two ways  
 “If the speech is a dispute, the speaker may use his voice in two different ways” [FR, 71, 23]
96. se *la favella* saràe in abominare [...] sì favellerà con boce sottile  
 if the word will.be in reject. INF SI will.speak with voice subtle  
 “If the speech is a rejection (of something), he shall speak with subtle voice” [FR, 71, 28-29]
97. se *la favella* sarà in parlare tristo, sì favellerà il dicitore in voce bassa  
 if the word will.be in speak.INF said SI will.speak the speaker in voice low  
 “If the speech is sad, the speaker will use a low voice tone” [FR, 71, 31]
98. se *lla parola* sarà nella favella dignitosa, il parlator dicerà il detto suo con levando  
 if the word will.be in.the word dignified the speaker will.tell the said his with raising  
 “If the speech has a worthy content, the speaker shall tell his speech with a raising voice tone”  
 [FR, 72, 10-11]
99. se *lla parola* sarà in mostrare, starà più col capo dallo ‘mbusto  
 if the word will.be in show.INF will.stay more with.the head from.the trunk  
 divolto inverso color che stanno a udire  
 leaned towards those who stay to listen.INF  
 “If the speech is an explanation, he shall lean his head towards those who are listening”  
 [FR, 72, 10-11]
100. se *la parola* sarà in narrare, quel movimento del corpo saràe acconcio  
 if the word will.be in narrate.INF that movement of.the body will.be appropriate  
 “If the speech is a narration, that movement of the body will be appropriate” [FR, 72, 14]
101. se *lla parola* sarà in giocare, sì mostrerà il dicitore alcuna allegrezza nel volto  
 if the word will.be in play.INF SI will.show the speaker any happiness in.the face  
 “If the speech has a light nature, the speaker will show some happiness in the face”  
 [FR, 72, 15]
102. se *lla parola* sarà in contender, sì si può fare in due modi  
 if the word will.be in dispute.INF SI IMP can make.INF in two ways  
 “If the speech is a disputation, it can be made in two ways” [FR, 72, 16]
103. se *la parola* sarà in abominare, sì serverà il dicitore il primo modo  
 if the word will.be in reject.INF SI will.serve the speaker the first way  
 “If the speech is a rejection (of something), the speaker shall make use of the first way”  
 [FR, 72, 19]
104. se *la parola* sarà in lamentare, sì farà il dicitore uno lamentare  
 if the word will.be in lament.INF SI will.make the speaker one lament.INF  
 come femina  
 as female  
 “If the speech is a lamentation, the speaker will mourn like a woman” [FR, 72, 20]
105. se *la guerra* non fosse, la detta proposta non sarebbe  
 if the war not were.SUBJ the said proposal not would.be  
 “If there were no war, the mentioned proposal would not be” [FR, 73, 45]

106. se *la memoria* à in sé alcuna dottrina, [...] i savi antichi ne dubitarono  
 if the memory has in SELF any knowledge the wise.men ancient of.it doubted  
 “The ancient wise men doubted if the memory has any knowlegde in itself” [FR, 81, 7]
107. Se *l'accusatore* dirà alcuno essere per veleno morto [...],  
 If the accuser will.say someone be by poison dead  
 di tutta questa cosa una immagine faremo  
 of all this thing one image will.make.1p  
 “If the accuser says that someone was killed with poison, we will make an image of it”  
 [FR, 82, 59, 62]
108. se *i fiori che proporremo* fossero mischiati intra molte altre parole,  
 if the flowers that will.propose.1p were.SUBJ mixed among many other words  
 non vi dispiaccia  
 not 2p.DAT.CL displease.SUBJ  
 “If the novels that we are going to present come in different registers, don't be upset”  
 [N, 1, 26]
109. se *voi* foste suto figliuolo di re, vi sarebbe paruto poco  
 if you were.SUBJ been son of king 2p.DAT.CL would.be seemed little  
 di donarmi una nobile città  
 of donate.INF+1s.DAT.CL a noble city  
 “If you were son of a king, you would have thought that donating me a noble city is not enough”  
 [N, 3, 77-78]
110. Non vi maravigliate se *la natura* domanda ciò ch'ella ha perduto  
 not REFL be.surprised if the nature asks what that she has lost  
 “Don't be surprised if nature asks back what it has lost” [N, 5, 31-32]
111. dirai che [...] se *tuo padre* fu loro aspro, che tu sarai  
 will.say.2s that if your father were to.them harsh, that you will.be.2s  
 loro umile e benigno  
 to.them humble and good  
 “You will say that you will be humble and good to them, if your father was harsh to them”  
 [N, 7, 40]
112. se *tu* dirai loro dolci parole, parrà che tu teme il popolo  
 if you will.say.2s to.them sweet words will.seem.3s that you fear the people  
 “If you tell them sweet words, it will seem that you fear the people” [N, 7, 50-51]
113. se *Salamone* li gravoe in fare lo tempio, e tu li  
 if Salomon 3p.ACC.CL burden in make.INF the temple E you 3p.ACC.CL  
 graverai...  
 will.burden  
 “If Salomon burdened them with building the temple, you will burden them...” [N, 7, 57-58]
114. Se *lla sustanza* è sottile, et ha poco, poco paghi  
 If the substance is subtle and has little little pay.SUBJ  
 “If the substance is subtle and inconsistent, shall he pay little” [N, 9, 36]
115. s'*io* non rinvenisse, dara'li per l'anima mia  
 if I not came.back.SUBJ will.give+3p.ACC.CL for the soul mine  
 “If I did not come back, you should donate them for my soul” [N, 10, 5-7]



116. *s'io* rivengo a certo termine, quello che tu vorrai mi renderai  
 if I come.back to certain point that that you want 1s.DAT.CL will.return  
 "If I come back at some point, you will return me how much you want" [N, 10, 5-7]
117. *s'io* lo ti fo, siànne dinanzi alla Signoria  
 if I 3s.ACC.CL 2s.DAT.CL make be.SUBJ+of.it in.front to.the lordship  
 "If I make it to you, it shall be (judged) before the lordship" [N, 10, 18]
118. *s'elli* non stessee anni dieci che non vedesse il sole,  
 if he not stood.SUBJ years ten that not saw.SUBJ the sun  
 che perderebbe il vedere  
 that would.lose the see.INF  
 "If he spent ten years without seeing the sunlight, he would lose his sight" [N, 14, 5-6]
119. Se *tu* hai corno del vino, ti do io volentieri  
 if you have horn of.the wine, 2s.DAT.CL give I with.pleasure  
 "If you have the horn for the wine, I will give (some) to you with pleasure" [N, 23, 11]
120. *S'io* avesse cossi bella cotta com'ella, io sarei sguardata com'ella  
 If I had.SUBJ so nice dress as she I would.be looked as she  
 "If I had such a nice dress as she has, I would be looked at as she is" [N, 26, 7]
121. *S'io* lile chaggio, darebbel m'egli?  
 If I 3s.DAT+3s.ACC.CL ask.1s would.give+3s.ACC.CL 1s.DAT.CL he  
 "If I ask it to him, would he give it to me?" [N, 34, 8]
122. se *tu* non vuoi morire, lo benedì come tu lo volevi  
 if you not want.2s die.INF 3s.ACC.CL bless.IMP as you 3s.ACC.CL wanted  
 maledire  
 curse.INF  
 "If you don't want to die, bless him as much as you wanted to curse him" [N, XXXVI, 25-26]
123. *s'io* volesse dire una mia novella, a cui la dico per lo più savio di noi?  
 If I wanted.SUBJ tell one my novel to whom 3s.ACC.CL say for the more wise of us  
 "If I wanted to tell one of my novels, to whom shall I tell it, as the wisest of us?" [N, XL, 12-13]
124. Assai ti de' dolore, se *tu* hai gentil core, ch'altri porti pena  
 Much 2s.DAT.CL must hurt if you have gentle heart that others carry.SUBJ pain  
 delle tue colpe  
 of.the your faults  
 "It must be very painful to you that others suffer for your fault, if you have a gentle heart" [N, XLVIII, 6-7]
125. io non sono sì agiato, se *'l fatto* dee così andare, ch'io li potesse  
 I not am so wealthy if the fact must so go.INF that I 3p.ACC.CL could.SUBJ  
 nutrire  
 feed.INF  
 "I am not so wealthy to be able to feed them, if things shall go that way" [N, XLIX, 23-24]
126. *Istue* vinci, tu mi pagherai la promessa;  
 If.you win you 1s.DAT.CL will.pay the promise  
 e *stu* perdi, tu m'adimpierai il libello  
 and if.you lose you 1s.DAT.CL will.fulfill the little.book  
 "If you win, you will pay me as promised, and if you lose you will fulfill my book"

127. se *'l Comune di Roma* avrà le persone de' Greci, bene avrà  
 if the municipality of Rome will.have the people of.the greeks, well will.have.3s  
 le persone e l'avere  
 the people and the have.INF  
 "If the municipality of Rome rules the greeks, it will get both people and possessions"  
 [N, LXI, 15-17]  
 [N, LXI, 43-46]
128. s'*io* togliesse l'oro, i Romani perderebbero la loro intenzione  
 if I took.away the gold the romans would.lose the their intention  
 "If I took gold away, the romans would lose their purpose"  
 [N, LXI, 43-46]
129. s'*elli* si voleva affibbiare da mano, ch'*elli* medesimo mettesse lo filo...  
 if he REFL wanted buckle.up from hand that he same put.SUBJ the yarn  
 "If he wanted to buckle up again, he himself had to put the yarn..."  
 [N, LXII, 34-39]
130. se *voi* il sapeste come [noi], voi il menereste assai più  
 If you.pl 3s.ACC.CL knew.SUBJ as us you 3s.ACC.CL would.carry much more  
 tosto di noi.  
 fast of us  
 "If you knew it as we know it, you would carry it much quicker than us"  
 [N, LXIII, 26-27]
131. Io non canteroe mai, s'*io* non ho pace da mia donna  
 I not will.sing never if I not have peace from my woman  
 "I will never sing unless I make it up to my wife"  
 [N, LXIV, 73]
132. se *'malvagi cavalieri di Cornovaglia* parlan di me, tutto primamente dico...  
 if wicked knights of Cornwall talk of me, all firstly say.1s  
 "If the wicked knights of Cornwall talk about me, I will first say..."  
 [N, LXV (A), 35-37]
133. se *lli malvagi cavalieri di Cornuaglia* parlano di me in questa maniera, io vi dico...  
 if wicked knights of Cornwall talk of me in this manner, I 2p.DAT.CL say  
 "If the wicked knights of Cornwall talk about me in this way, I will tell you..."  
 [N, LXV (B), 38-40]
134. se *la vecchiezza* n'ha colpa, io m'accordo di voler morire giovane  
 if old age PART.cl has guilt I 1s.REFL.cl agree of want.INF die.INF young  
 "If it is due to old age, I agree to be willing of dieing young"  
 [N, LXVIII, 7-8]
135. Se *tu* fossi femina sì come l'altre, io non ti parlerei com'io farò  
 If you were female so as the others I not 2s.DAT.CL would.talk as I will.do  
 "If you were a woman like others, I wouldn't talk to you as I am going to"  
 [N, LXXI, 6]
136. Se *tu* dirai quella che voll'esser consolata, dirai il vero  
 if you will.say that that wants be comforted, will.say.2s the truth  
 "If you say the one who wants to be comforted, you'll say the truth"  
 [N, LXXI, 13-14]
137. se *tu* mi vuoi dire [...] non è vero che meno l'ami tu morto  
 If you 1s.DAT.CL want.2s say.INF not is true that less 3s.ACC.CL love.2s dead  
 che quando era vivo  
 than when was alive  
 "If you mean (...), it is not true that you love him less as dead than when he was alive"  
 [N, LXXI, 19-22]

138. Se *l tuo figliuolo* è morto, altro non può essere  
 If the your son is dead other not can be.INF  
 “If your son is dead, it cannot be otherwise” [N, LXXI, 23-24]
139. S’*elli* dirà la giudea, io dirò ch’*elli* pecca contra la mia  
 If he will.say the jewish, I will say that he commits.sin against the mine  
 “If he says the jewish, I will say that he commits sin against mine” [N, LXXIII, 8-9]
140. s’*io* l’avesse recate, io sarei ora cieco  
 if I 3p.ACC.CL had.SUBJ taken I would.be now blind  
 “If I had brought them, I would now be blind” [LXXIV, 23-24]
141. se *la guerra* saràe che non possa rimanere, io difenderò mia partita  
 if the war will.be that not can.SUBJ remain I will.defend my party  
 “If the war is such that I cannot remain, I will defend my party” [N, LXXXI, 21-23]
142. se *voi* volete sapere perch’io a mia fine sono venuta,  
 if you want know.INF why I to my end am come  
 si è per lo migliore cavaliere del mondo e per lo più villano  
 SI is for the best knight of.the world and for the most rude  
 “If you want to know why I have come to my end, it is because of the world’s best but rudest knight” [N, LXXXII, 28-29]
143. se *ciò* sia, noi staremo in lungo riposo  
 if that is.SUBJ we will.saty in long rest  
 “If that happens, we will rest for a long time” [N, LXXXIV, 32]
144. Io non ti posso prosciogliere se *tue* no lli rendi  
 I not 2s.ACC.CL can release if you not 3p.ACC.CL return  
 “I cannot release you, if you don’t return them” [N, XCI, 11]
145. se *tu* sai leggere, io l’ho scritto nel piè diritto di dietro  
 if you know read.INF I 3s.ACC.CL written in.the foot right of behind  
 “If you can read, I have written it right on the back of the foot” [N, XCIV, 9-10]

Se-clauses with pro (arg or expl) subjects and no fronting of potential candidates

146. Se farai bene, tu a te darai autorità di persona  
 If make.2s well, you to you.ACC will.give authority of person  
 “If you behave (well), you will give yourself dignity of person” [FF, VII, 42]
147. Se vivi secondo natura, non sarai mai povero  
 if live.2s according.to nature not will.be.2s never poor  
 se vivi secondo oppinione e a volontà, non serai mai ricco  
 if live.2s according.to opinion and to will not will.be.2s never rich  
 “If you live according to nature, you will never be poor; if you live following opinions and in a fickle way, you will never be rich” [FF, XI, 14-15]
148. se l’avesse letta sì si ne sarebbe guardato  
 if 3s.ACC.CL had.SUBJ read SI REFL of.it would.be watched  
 “If he had read it, he would have watched out of it” [FF, XIX, 14]

149. se parla di cose ferme, mostri fermezza,  
 if talks of things steady show.SUBJ steadiness  
 se parla a sollazzo, mostri allegrezza  
 if talks to solace show.SUBJ happiness  
 “If he talks about steady things, he shall show steadiness; if he talks with solace, he should show happiness”  
 [FF, XX, 46-47]
150. se vengono a parlare, siano contenti di parlare una volta  
 if come.3p to talk be.SUBJ happy of talk.INF one time  
 “If they come to speak, they shall be happy to speak once”  
 [FF, XX, 77-78]
151. L’amistade, se la rechiamo a nostro frutto [...], nonn è amistà  
 The friendship if 3s.ACC.CL take to our advantage not is friendship  
 “If we use friendship to our advantage (...), it is not friendship”  
 [FF, XX, 167-168]
152. in uno modo si puote lodare il savio, se loda in altrui le bontade  
 in one way REFL can praise the wise if praises in others the good.things  
 che appaiono in lui  
 that appear in him  
 “The wise man can praised himself in one way: if he praises the good qualities that appear in himself as belonging to others”  
 [FF, XXIII, 11-13]
153. Neuno è più certano ch’el testimonio del fanciullo, s’è venuto a li anni  
 No.one is more certain that the testimony of.the boy, if is come to the years  
 che intenda  
 that understand.SUBJ  
 “Nothing is more certain that a boy's testimony if he is old enough to understand”  
 [FF, XXIV, 156-157]
154. se non volesse pure parlare incontamente lo rimena qua  
 if not wanted.SUBJ also speak immediately 3s.ACC.CL take.back here  
 “If he does not want to speak, take him back here immediately”  
 [FF, XXVIII, O, 18-22]
155. se non è saputo, più che terra non vale  
 if not is known more than ground not is.worth  
 “If it is not known, it is no more valuable than ground”  
 [FR, 1, 15]
156. se dubitasse d’alcuna cosa e non la ‘ntendesse, non si tema  
 If doubted.SUBJ of any thing and not 3s.ACC.CL understood.SUBJ not REFL fear  
 di ricorrere a’ savi.  
 of turn to wise.men  
 “If he doubted of any thing and didn't understand it, he shall not be afraid of turning to wise men”  
 [FR, 2, 17-18]
157. E questo dee servare il dicitore se non ridicesse la parola ...  
 E this must observe the speaker if not repeated.SUBJ the word  
 “The speaker must stick to this if he does not repeat the word...”  
 [FR, 6, 33]
158. E se porrete ben mente al detto mio, neuna ornata parola udirete porre  
 E if will.put well mind.to.the said mine, no decorated word will.hear.2p put.INF  
 “If you pay close attention to what I say, you will not hear “frippery” on my speech”  
 [FR, 7, 6-8]

159. Dilettevole cosa sarebbe amare, se non avesse in sé cose amare  
 Delightful thing would.be love.INF if not had.SUBJ in SELF things bitter  
 “To love (someone) would be delightful if it didn't involve bitter feelings as well” [FR, 8, 47]
160. questo può fare senza fatica e con diletto, se l’usa di fare  
 this can make.INF without effort and with pleasure if 3s.ACC.CL uses of do.INF  
 “He can do this with pleasure and without effort if he is used to it” [FR, 13, 10]
161. se l’usa a certe stagioni e adattalo bene al fatto che dice,  
 if 3s.ACC.CL to certain seasons and adapt+3s.ACC.CL well to.the fact that tells  
 rende il detto suo molto piacente  
 makes the said his very pleasant  
 “If he uses it in some moments and well adapt it to the fact he describes, he will make his speech  
 very pleasant” [FR, 13, 24]
162. Che sarebbe stato se avesse pregato gl’amici?  
 What would.be been if had.SUBJ prayed the friends  
 “What would have been if he had asked his friends?” [FR, 21, 6]
163. Della vituperevole vita che menasti quando fosti giovane,  
 of.the reprehensible life that carried.out.2s when were.2s young  
 direi, se fosse tempo e stagione  
 would.say if were time and season  
 “I would tell about the reprehensible life you had when you were young if it were the proper time”  
 [FR, 22, 3]
164. se volessimo dire alla distesa ogni cosa sarebbe sozzo a udire  
 if wanted.SUBJ.1p say.INF to.the spread every thing would.be filthy to hear.INF  
 “If we wanted to tell everything without stopping, it would be unpleasant to hear” [FR, 22, 10]
165. se diventa troppo aspro, si ssi tempera colle lode da sezo  
 if becomes too harsh SI IMP temper with.the praises from SELF  
 “If it becomes too harsh, it is tempered by means of being praised” [FR, 34, 34]
166. Se non vi difenderete francamente e lascerete vincere la vostra città,  
 If not 2p.ACC.CL will.defend vigorously and will.let win.INF the your city  
 di questo potete voi essere ben certi  
 of this can.2p you be.INF well certain  
 “If you don't defend yourself vigorously and let you city win, you can be sure of this”  
 [FR, 36, 13]
167. Se ti stanno a mente saronne meritato  
 If 2s.DAT.ACC stay.3p to mind will.be+of.it deserved  
 “If you can keep them in mind, it will be deserved” [FR, 37, 6]
168. Per me non si potrebbe ben fare , se non mandaste anche  
 for me not IMP could well do.INF if not would.send also  
meco de’ fanti vostri  
 with.me some infantrymen your  
 “To me it could not be done, unless you sent also some of your infantrymen with me”  
 [FR, 46, 17]

169. E que' risponde che ciò era loro agevole cosa d'imparallo,  
 E that replies that that was to them easy thing of learn.INF+3s.ACC.CL  
 se n'avessero domandato  
 if of.it had.SUBJ asked  
 "That one replied that it would have been easy for them to learn it, if they had asked about it"  
 [FR, 46, 22-26]
170. Arrenditi, bacalare, se non se' morto  
 Surrender smart.ass if not are.2s dead  
 "Surrender, smart ass, if you are not dead"  
 [FR, 47, 19]
171. se gli cade in acconcio alcuna volta d'usare, si ponga mente alle oscure parole  
 if 3s.DAT.CL falls in appropriate.way any time of use.INF SI put.SUBJ mind to.the  
 oscure parole  
 unclear words  
 "If sometimes he happens to use (it) appropriately, he shall pay attention to the unclear words"  
 [FR, 49, 10]
172. Puote il dicitore il detto suo ordinare secondo la dottrina data da l'arte,  
 can the speaker the said his order according.to the knowledge given by the art  
 se dividerà in sei parti la sua diceria  
 if will.divide in six part the his speech  
 "The speaker can order his talk according to the knowledge given by practice, if he divides his  
 speech into six parts"  
 [FR, 52, 8]
173. se fa proemio non fa narragione, o se fa narragione non fa divisione  
 if makes preamble not makes narration, or if makes narration not makes division  
 "if he makes a prelude he does not narrate, or if he narrates (something) he does make divisions (in  
 his speech)"  
 [FR, 52, 19]
174. dicendo colui che parla cotali cose di sé, si fa voler bene  
 Saying who that speaks such things of SELF REFL makes want.INF good  
 all'uditore. Anche, se dirà il dicitore alcuna cosa di sue miserie...  
 to.the hearer also if will.say the speaker any thing of his troubles  
 "The one who speaks makes himself beloved by the hearer by say such things of himself.  
 Furthermore, if the speaker says anything about his troubles..."  
 [FR, 56, 6-7]
175. Da la persona di colui che ode si fa colui che favella benevolo  
 by the person of who that hear REFL makes who that speaks benevolent  
 l'uditore, se dirà sanza arroganza che l'uditore sia savio  
 the hearer if wil.say without arrogance that the hearer be.SUBJ wise  
 "The one who speaks makes the one who hear benevolent towards him, if he says without arrogance  
 that the hearer is wise"  
 [FR, 56, 19-20]
176. Dalle cose delle quali si favella si farà colui che parla  
 from.the things of.the which IMP speaks REFL will.make who that speaks  
 benevolo l'uditore, se loderà il detto suo  
 benevolent the hearer if will.praise the said his  
 "The one who speaks will make the hearer benevolent towards him by the things he says, if he  
 praises his speech"  
 [FR, 56, 22]

177. si dice il fatto sommariamente e non per partite [...]  
 IMP says the fact roughly and not by partitions  
 E se non si partirà dal fatto ch'è cominciato [...]  
 E if not REFL will.leave from.the fact that has begun  
 E se tacerà lo 'ncominciamento del fatto  
 E if will.silence the beginning of.the fact  
 “The fact is told roughly and not in details, both if he does not move away from the fact that he has begun (to describe), and if he silences the beginning of the fact”  
 [FR, 59, 4-9]
178. Se dirà il dicitore che sia tornato in Francia,  
 If will.say the speaker that be.SUBJ come.back in France  
 non fa bisogno di dire ch'andato vi sia  
 not makes need of say.INF that gone LOC be.SUBJ  
 “If the speaker says that he is back to France, it is not necessary to say that he has gone there”  
 [FR, 59, 10]
179. Chiaro e aperto si puote il fatto narrare [...]  
 Clear and open IMP can the fact narrate  
 E se serverà tutte quelle cose che t'ò poste di sopra  
 by new way E if will.observe all those things that 2s.DAT.CL have.1s put of above  
 “The fact can be narrated clearly if one observes all the things that I have mentioned to you above”  
 [FR, 60, 1-4; 9]
180. colui ch'è stato a udire, se gl'è posto ben mente,  
 who that is been to hear.INF if 3s.DAT.CL has put well mind  
 si possa agevolmente ricordare...  
 REFL can.SUBJ easily remember.INF  
 “The one who has been listening can easily remember (...) if he has paid attention”  
 [FR, 65, 7-8]
181. le dette cose [...] non varrebbon niente al dicitore  
 the said things not would.be.worth nothing to.the speaker  
 se non sapesse il detto suo ben profferire  
 if not knew.SUBJ the said his well utter  
 “The mentioned things would not be useful to the speaker, if he can't utter his speech properly”  
 [FR, 68, 8]
182. Que' di Cartagine mandano per Anibale, che incontamente  
 Those of Carthage send for Hannibal that immediately  
 ne venga, se non si perdono la terra  
 LOC comes.SUBJ if not lose.3p the land  
 “Those of Carthage sent (someone) to tell Hannibal to come immediately or they would lose the territory”  
 [FR, 73, 25]
183. manda loro a dire, per suoi ambasciatori,  
 sends to.them to say by his ambassadors  
 di rivendere li prigionieri, se li vogliono ricomperare  
 of resell.INF the prisoners if 3p.ACC.CL want rebuy.INF  
 “He sends his ambassadors to tell them to re-sell the prisoners, if they want to buy them”  
 [FR, 73, 36]

184. se n'avrai trovati di quelli che sieno somiglianti,  
 if of.it will.have found of those who are.SUBJ similar  
 sarà in errore per la similitudine..  
 will.be in error by the similarity  
 "If you find some who are similar, you will be mistaken because of the similarity"  
 [FR, 82, 40-41]
185. E intervenga questa cosa [...] ovvero se disformeremo  
 E intervenes.SUBJ this thing or if will.distort.1p  
alcuna cosa faccendola di fango bruta...  
 any thing making.3s.ACC.CL of mud brute  
 "This will happen if we distort anything by "covering it with mud"" [FR, 82, 106-110]
186. Dimmi, se t'intendi della virtù delle pietre:  
 Tell.me if REFL know of.the virtue of.the stones  
 qual ti sembra di più ricca valuta?  
 which 2s.DAT.CL seems of more rich value  
 "Tell me, if you know about the properties of stones, which one do you think is more valuable?"  
 [N, 3, 29-30]
187. tu li graverai, se ti verrà in piacere  
 you 3p.ACC.CL will.oppress if 2s.DAT.CL will.come in pleasure  
 "you will oppress them, if you feel like it" [N, 7, 57-58]
188. Se ci viene un poltrone di cotal guisa, fatelmi venire  
 if LOC comes a lazy.one of such type, make.IMP+3s.ACC+1s.DAT.CL come  
 dinanzi  
 before  
 "He a lazy man of this kind comes, take him before me" [N, 23, 21]
189. se metteva il filo, alle tre, nell'ago, sì li rendeano gli arnesi suoi  
 if put the yarn at.the three in.the needle SI 3s.DAT.CL returned the weapons his  
 "If he put the yarn in the needle at the third time, they returned him his weapons"  
 [N, LXII, 34-39]
190. io non li perdonerò giamai se non mi fae gridare merzé a  
 I nor 3s.DAT.CL will.forgive never if not 1s.DAT.CL makes shout forgiveness to  
 cento baroni  
 hundred barons  
 "I will never forgive him if he does not make one hundred barons ask me loudly for forgiveness"  
 [N, LXIV, 76-78]
191. fedito l'avrebbe, se non fosse uno che 'l tenne  
 wounded 3s.ACC.CL would.have if not were.SUBJ one that 3s.ACC.CL kept  
per lo braccio  
 by the arm  
 "He would have wounded him if there weren't one who hold it by the arm"  
 [N, XCVI, 48-49]
192. se fosse stato colui cui elli aspettavano sarebbe ristato col loro  
 if were.SUBJ been who that they waited.for would.be stood with them  
 "If he were the one whom they were waiting for, he would have stood with them"  
 [N, XCIX, 37-38]



Se-clauses with pro (arg or expl) subjects and no candidates

193. La vendetta del nemico hai perduta, se ti scuopri che ti  
the revenge of.the enemy has.2s lost if REFL uncover that 2s.ACC.CL  
conosca a nemico  
knows to enemy  
“You will miss (the opportunity to take) a revenge against your enemy if you uncover yourself so  
that you can be recognized by the enemy” [FF, XII, 11-12]
194. ‘l ferro se l’aopere si si logora, se no l’aopere,  
the iron if 3s.ACC.CL use SI REFL wears.out, if not 3s.ACC.CL use  
la ruggine il consuma  
the rust 3s.ACC.CL wastes  
“If you use the iron it will wear out, if you don't use it, the rust will waste it” [FF, XVII, 4-5]
195. se si vendesse, non si troverebbe il comperatore  
if IMP sold.SUBJ not IMP would.find the buyer  
“If it were to be sold, no buyer would be found” [FF, XXIV, 214]
196. Neuno può essere grazioso se non dispregia quello  
no.one can be graceful if not despises what  
che fa impazzare i popolarii  
that makes go.mad the people  
“No one can be graceful if he does not despise what makes people mad” [FF, XXIV, 259-260]
197. se no parla lusinghalo e minaccialo  
if not talks flatter.IMP+3s.ACC.CL and threaten.IMP+3s.ACC.CL  
“If he does not speak, flatter and threaten him” [FF, XXVIII, O, 18]
198. ...se parlava che sy  
if talked that yes  
“...If he talked that yes” [FF, XXVIII, Rg, 32]]
199. salgano alla dignitade leale, se ne sono invitati  
rise.SUBJ.3p to.the dignity loyal if LOC are invited  
“They shall rise to the loyal dignity, if they are invited there” [FF, 207, 10]
200. Di cu’ ella à dunque paura, si l’avvelena se puote  
of who she has thus fear SI 3s.ACC.CL poisons if can  
“She poisons, if she can, who she fears” [FR, 12, 13]
203. E se avesse vinto, avrebbe fatto il simigliante?  
E if had.SUBJ won would.have done the similar  
“Had he won, would have he done the same?” [FR, 12, 35]
204. Di ciascuno modo t’avrei dato essempro, se non fosse  
Of any way 2s.DAT.CL would.have given example if not were.SUBJ  
che gli puoi cogliere degli essempli  
that 3p.ACC.CL pick.INF some examples  
“I would have given you some examples if it were not the case that you could have picked some  
(yourself)” [FR, 43, 10]
205. In invidia lo farà venire, se dirà che sia potente...  
In envy 3s.ACC.CL will.make come.INF if will.say that be.INF powerful  
“He will make him envied, if he says that he is powerful” [FR, 56, 9-12]

206. In odio il farà venire, se dirà che sia superbo  
 In hatred 3s.ACC.CL come.INF if will.say that be.SUBJ presumptuous  
 “He will make him hated, if he says that he is presumptuous” [FR, 56, 15]
207. In dispregio il farà venire, se dirà che sia matto  
 In despise 3s.ACC.CL will.make come.ING if will.say that be.SUBJ crazy  
 “He will make him despised, if he says that he is crazy” [FR, 56, 17]
208. Basterà di dire solo che il fatto sia fatto [...]  
 will.suffice of say.INF that the deed be.SUBJ done  
 se si guarderà di dire molte cose che non sono del fatto  
 if REFL will.look of say.INF many things that not are of.the fact  
 “It will suffice to say that the deed was done (...) if he avoids saying many things that do not belong to the fact” [FR, 59, 65]
209. Chiaro e aperto si puote il fatto narrare [...]  
 Clear and open IMP can the fact narrate  
 E se si guarderà di dire cosa che turbi [...] E se si  
 E if IMP will.see to say thing that upsets.SUBJ  
 guarderà di dire il fatto per nuovo modo  
 will.look of say.INF the fact by new way  
 “The fact can be narrated clearly both if he avoids saying upsetting things, and if he avoids saying the fact in a new fashion” [FR, 60, 66]
210. specialmente dica, se puote, come delle dette cose favellano le leggi  
 Especially says.SUBJ if can how of.the said things speak the laws  
 “He shall say specifically what the law states about the mentioned things, if he can” [FR, 66, 11]
211. questa è di tal forma che, se ci si errerà non può così poscia intervenire  
 this is of such shape that if REFL IMP will.be.mistaken not can so then intervene  
 “This comes in such a shape that it cannot occur like this then, if we are mistaken” [FR, 66, 28]
212. se vede ch’a quella utilità possa venire che sia più sicura la cosa [...]  
 if sees that to that utility can.SUBJ come that is.SUBJ more safe the thing  
 se vede che si tema che danno si possa dare [...]  
 if sees that IMP fear.SUBJ that damage IMP can.SUBJ give.INF  
 si dee il consigliere considerare...  
 SI must the advisor consider.INF  
 “If he sees that the thing (...) can come to the useful point where it is safer, if he sees that people fear that a damage could be done, the advisor must consider...” [FR, 74, 7-9, 10]
213. Più atteso si può colui che favella rendere l’uditore  
 More interested REFL can who that speaks make.INF the hearer  
 se proporrà di dire cose grandi o se proporrà  
 if will.propose of say.INF things big or if will.propose  
 di dire cose che s’appartengono al comune  
 of say.INF things that REFL belong to the community  
 “The speaker can make the hearer more interested if he proposes to discuss major issues, or if he proposes to discuss things that belong to the community” [FR, 55, 1]

214. Rimandolli ambasciatori et offerseli, se li  
 Sent.back+3p.ACC.CL ambassadors and offered+3s.DAT.CL if 3s.DAT.CL  
 piacesse, che 'l farebbe siniscalco della sua corte  
 liked.SUBJ that 3s.DAT.CL would.do seneschal of.the his court  
 "He sent back the ambassadors and offered to become seneschal at his court, if he liked it"  
 [N, 2, 36-37]
215. se no 'l mi dirai io ti farò di villana morte morire  
 if no 3s.ACC.CL 1s.DAT.CL will.say I 2s.ACC.CL will.make of brute death die.INF  
 "If you don't tell me I will kill you brutally"  
 [N, 3, 53]
216. e' disse di volere vedere i nostri modi e, se lli piacessero,  
 he said of want.INF see the our habits and if 3s.DAT.CL liked  
 diverrebbe cristiano  
 would.become christian  
 "He said that he wanted to know our habits and he would become christian, if he liked them"  
 [N, 25, 16-17]
217. se avvenisse che campasse la morte, giamai non trovava...  
 if happened.SUBJ that survived.SUBJ the death never not found  
 "If he happened to survive (death), he would never find..."  
 [N, 28, 5-7]
218. se vi bisogna, userete moneta  
 if 2p.DAT.CL needs will.use.2p coin  
 "You will use the money, if you need it"  
 [N, LXI, 8]
219. Se mi di' [...], dico che non piangi lui ma piangi lo tuo danno  
 if 1s.DAT.CL say say.1s that not cry.2s him but cry.2s the your damage  
 "If you tell me (...), I say that you don't cry for him but the damage done to you"  
 [N, LXXI, 15-16]

### C. Non-productivity of SF in Modern Standard Italian

#### Only with specific predicates in copular constructions

Clausal subject

- (1) a. **Certo** è che Gianni sa molte cose  
Certain is that John knows many things  
“It is certain that John knows many things”

- b. \*?**Sicuro** è che Gianni sa molte cose  
Sure is that John knows many things  
“It is sure John knows many things”

(cf. 112. above)

Quasi-argumental pro

- (2) a. \***Freddo** fece quell’inverno  
Cold made.3s that winter  
“It was cold that winter”

- b. \***Piovuto** aveva tutto maggio  
Rained had.3s all may  
“It rained the whole May”

#### No/bad predicative adjective fronting

- (3) \*Il partecipante che **vincitore** sarà proclamato avrà diritto a una foto...  
The participant who winner will be proclaimed will have right to a picture  
“The participant who will be proclaimed the winner will have the right to take a picture..”
- (4) \*L’esecuzione che **esemplare** fu ritenuta terminò tra gli applausi  
The performance that exemplary was deemed finished between the applause  
“The performance, that was deemed exemplary, finished with an ovation”

#### No SF of particles in (the few) phrasal verb constructions

- (5) \*I soldi/ la questione che **fuori** ebbe tirato  
The money/the issue that out had.3s pulled  
“The money that he took out/ The issue that he brought about”
- (6) \*Il criminale che **dentro** è stato portato  
The criminal that inside is been taken  
“The criminal that was arrested”
- (7) \*Le parole di conforto che **su** la tirarono  
The words of solace that up 3s.ACC.cl pulled.3p  
“The soothing words that cheered her up”
- (8) \*I vecchi arnesi che **via** furono buttati  
The old tools that away were thrown  
“The old tools that were thrown away”
- (9) \*Le persone che **bene** le vogliono  
The persons that good 3s.DAT.cl want.3p  
“The people who love her”

### Past participles

- (10) a. \*Il problema che **discusso** è stato  
The problem that discussed is been  
“The problem that discussed has been”
- b. \*Il problema che **risolto** è stato  
The problem that solved is been  
“The problem that solved has been”
- c. \*\*Il problema che **stato** è discusso  
The problem that been is discussed  
“The problem that discussed has been”

Adverbs In general fronting of adverbs is better (more similar to focalization, as it bears stress)

- (11) Gli errori che **spesso** si ripetono  
The mistakes that often PASS repeat.3p  
“The mistakes that are often repeated”
- (12) La persona che **sempre** avrà un posto nel mio cuore  
The person who always will.have.3s a place in.the my heart  
“The person who will always have a place in my heart”

### Idiomatic and lexicalized expressions with SF (stressed)

- (13) Chi **primo** arriva meglio alloggia  
Who first arrives better is accomodated  
“Who arrives first is better accommodated”
- (14) **Larga** è la foglia, **stretta** è la via...  
wide is the leaf, narrow is the way  
“The leaf is wide, the way is narrow...”
- (15) Chi **troppo** vuole, **nulla** stringe  
Who too.much wants nothing holds  
“Who wants too much will not get anything”
- (16) Chi **più** spende, **meno** spende  
Who more spends, less spends  
“Who spends more, gains more”
- (17)a. **Certo/Meglio** è che...  
Certain/better is that...  
“It is true/certain/better that...”

### **D. Ungrammaticality of SF in phrasal verb constructions of Sub-standard Italian (Venice area)**

Phrasal verbs are common but do not allow SF of verbal particles (Past simple is not productive in this variety, therefore I use present perfect):

- (10) \*La ragazza che **su** ha preso e se n'è andata  
the girl that up has taken and REFL PART is gone  
“The girl that has gone away”

- (11) \*Il gatto che **sotto** è stato preso  
 The cat that under is been taken  
 “The cat that was run over”
- (12) \*I chili che **giù** può buttare (sono molti)  
 The kilos that down can.3s throw are many  
 “The kilos that he can lose are many”
- (13) \*Quello che **fuori** si è svegliato per ultimo  
 The one who out REFL is woken for last  
 “The one who was the last one to realize it”
- (14) \*Lo studente che **indietro** si è preso con i compiti  
 The student that behind REFL is taken with the homework  
 “The student that is behind with homework”
- (15) \*Il bambino che **sotto/addosso** si è fatto dalla paura  
 The child that under/on REFL is done from.the fear  
 “The child that peed in his pants for the fear”
- (16) \*Il libro che **indietro** è stato portato  
 The book that behind is been brought  
 “The book which was returned”

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