

Medieval Romance and Its Place in the Verb Second Typology

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Aims

- ✦ A better understanding of where the Medieval Romance languages fit within a broader typology of Verb Second phenomena.
- ✦ By implication, an improved understanding of where these languages fit more generally within a syntactic typology of related phenomena:
 - * Finite Verb Movement
 - * Left Peripheral Cartography
 - * Phase-Edge Properties and 'EPP effects'.
 - * Null Argument Licensing

Rationale

- Long tradition of observing that the Medieval Romance languages differ fundamentally from their modern counterparts
 - * Tobler (1875), Mussafia (1888:145-146), Meyer-Lübke (1889:760-840), Delbrück (1900:375-395), Schoch (1912), Foulet (1919:§389-406), Sorrento (1950)

Background


Rationale

- V2 effects (Benincà 1983-4, 1995, 2004, 2006; Vance 1989, 1995, 1997; Roberts 1993, 2007; Poletto 2006, 2014; Salvi 2000, 2011, 2016; Ledgeway 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012, forthcoming a, forthcoming b, Wolfe 2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b, Nicolae 2015, 2016):
 - (1) Vino y agua **deve** el clerigo mezclar en el caliz
wine and water must the clerk mix.INF in the chalice
'The clerk must mix wine and water in the chalice'(Spanish, Leyes 13v, Fontana 1993)

Rationale

- However, it goes too often overlooked that the parallels are not exclusive to the V2 property:

* Asymmetric *Pro*-Drop



Axel 2005, 2007; Axel & Weiss 2011;
Cognola 2016 on
Old High German

Walken 2013, 2014 on Old English

Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1986; Benincà
1995, 2004, 2006; Poletto 2014,
forthcoming; Franco 2015; Wolfe 2015c on
Old Italo-Romance

Adams 1987; Vance 1989, 1997; Roberts
1993; Hansch 2014; Zimmerman 2014 on
Old French

Rationale

- However, it goes too often overlooked that the parallels are not exclusive to the V2 property:
 - * Asymmetric *Pro*-Drop
 - * Object-Verb Orders



Svenonius (ed.) (2000); Hróarsdóttir (2000); Pintzuk (1999); Trips (2002); Haider (2005, 2010); Fischer et al. (2000:§5.3.1.3) on
OV/VO alternations in Germanic

Adams (1977), Oniga (2004), Devin & Stephens (2006:180-198), Bauer (2009), Ledgeway (2012:§5.3)
OV/VO alternations in Latin

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- However, it goes too often overlooked that the parallels are not exclusive to the V2 property:
 - * Asymmetric *Pro*-Drop
 - * Object-Verb Orders
 - * Stylistic Fronting



Maling (1990), Jónsson (1991) and Thráinsson (2007) on [Icelandic](#)

Fischer & Alexiadou (2001), Fischer (2004, 2008) on [Old Catalan](#)

Fontana (1993), Poole (2006, 2007), Fischer (2014), Wolfe (2015e) on [Old Spanish](#)

See Barnes (1987), Holmberg & Platzack (1995) and Holmberg (2000) for [Faroese](#)

Mathieu 2006, 2009; Labelle (2007), Labelle & Hirschbühler (forthcoming), Salvesen (2011), Hansch 2014 on [Old French](#)

Franco (2015a, 2015b, forthcoming) on [Old Italian](#)

Rationale

- However, it goes too often overlooked that the parallels are not exclusive to the V2 property:
 - * Asymmetric *Pro*-Drop
 - * Object-Verb Orders
 - * Stylistic Fronting
 - * Scrambling



See Den Besten & Webelhuth (1989), Vikner (1994), Thráinsson (2001), Richards (2004), Haider (2006) for [Germanic](#)



Bauer (1995), Zaring (2010, 2011), Salvesen (2011) on [Old French](#)

Poletto (2006a, 2006b, 2014) on [Old Italian](#)

Wolfe (2015e), Poole (2013) on [Old Spanish](#)

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A better understanding of Medieval Romance V2 and its effects and correlates is likely to yield a better understanding of both the typology of V2 specifically and these phenomena cross-linguistically

Rationale

- Empirically we are in a far better position to form comparisons between Medieval Romance and Germanic than we were in the 1970s and 1980s:

A better understanding of both diachronic and synchronic syntactic microvariation within the late Latin and medieval period

Labelle & Hirschbühler (2005, forthcoming), **Labelle** (2007), **Poletto** (2006a, 2006b, 2014), **Ledgeway** (2007, 2008, 2009, forthcoming a), **Donaldson** (2012, 2015, 2016), **Poole** (2013), **Franco** (2015a, 2015b), **Wolfe** (2015a, 2015c, 2015e, 2016a, 2016b)

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A better understanding of both diachronic and synchronic variation within Germanic

Axel (2004, 2005, 2007, 2009); **Ferraresi** (2005),
Petrova (2006, 2011, 2012); **Wiklund et al.** 2009a,
2009b, **Bidese & Tomaselli** (2010), **Walkden** (2013,
2014, 2015, 2017); **Cognola** (2013, 2015), **Hsu**
(forthcoming)

Rationale

- Empirically we are in a far better position to form comparisons between Medieval Romance and Germanic than we were in the 1970s and 1980s:
 - * This avoids a classic ‘apples and pears’ problem, which causes challenges when comparing Medieval Romance exclusively with Modern German and Dutch



- * This is typically the stance taken by those arguing against a V2 account of Medieval Romance (Kaiser 2002; Rinke & Elsig 2010; Sitaridou 2011, 2012).

My Arguments Today

1

The Medieval Romance languages **can** be fruitfully integrated into a typology of V2 languages cross-linguistically.

2

The variation shown away from better-studied German and Dutch which were the focus of many 'classic' accounts (Williams 1974; Koster 1975; Den Besten 1977, 1989) yields particularly striking insights about the nature of V-movement, 'EPP effects' and the rich functional structure of the clause.

3

Variation in the V2 property in the medieval property may account for many major syntactic isoglosses separating the modern Romance languages

The Medieval Romance Data

V- Movement

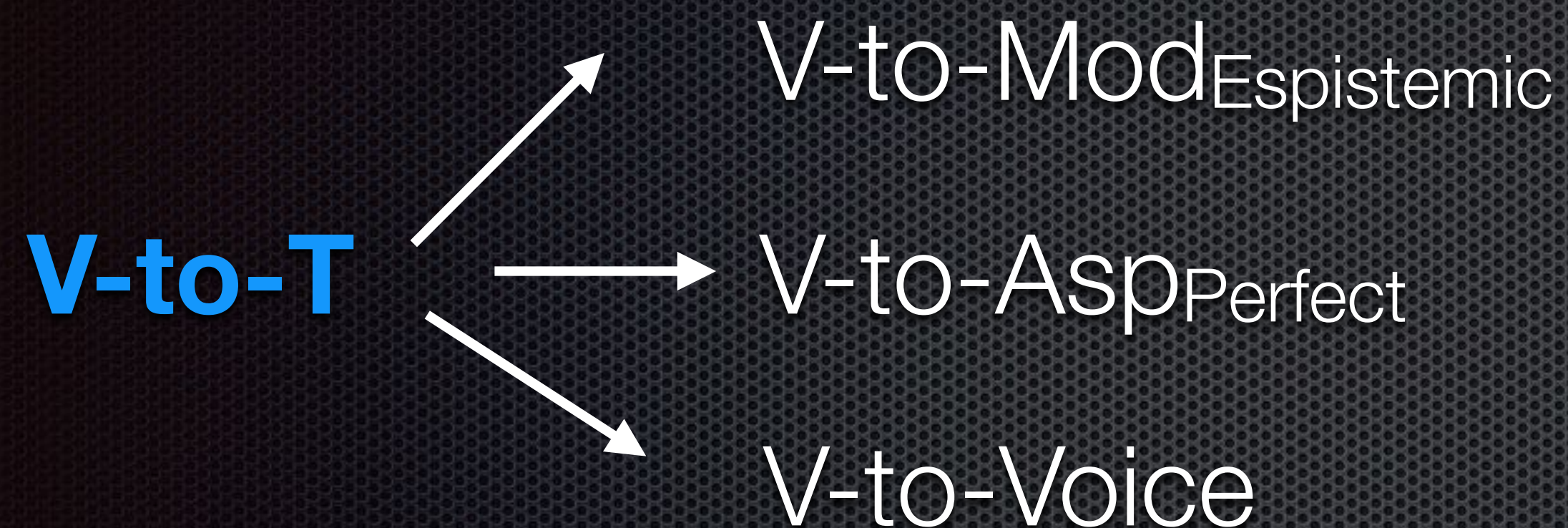
- ✦ **Commonly argued that the Modern Romance languages have ‘V-to-I/T’ movement** (Kayne 1991:648-657; Chomsky 1995; Roberts 2001:121-123, 2010b:258-271; Rowlett 2007:106-107).
- ✦ Considerable evidence from finite verb placement relative to adverbs suggests this is really a **cover term**, with **rich variation** within Romance as to which functional projection within the articulated T-domain attracts the finite verb (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005:86-89; Fedele 2010:§2-4; Nicolae 2014; Cruschina & Ledgeway 2016:560-562; Ledgeway in press; Schifano 2015a:Ch.4-8, 2015b).

V-C Movement

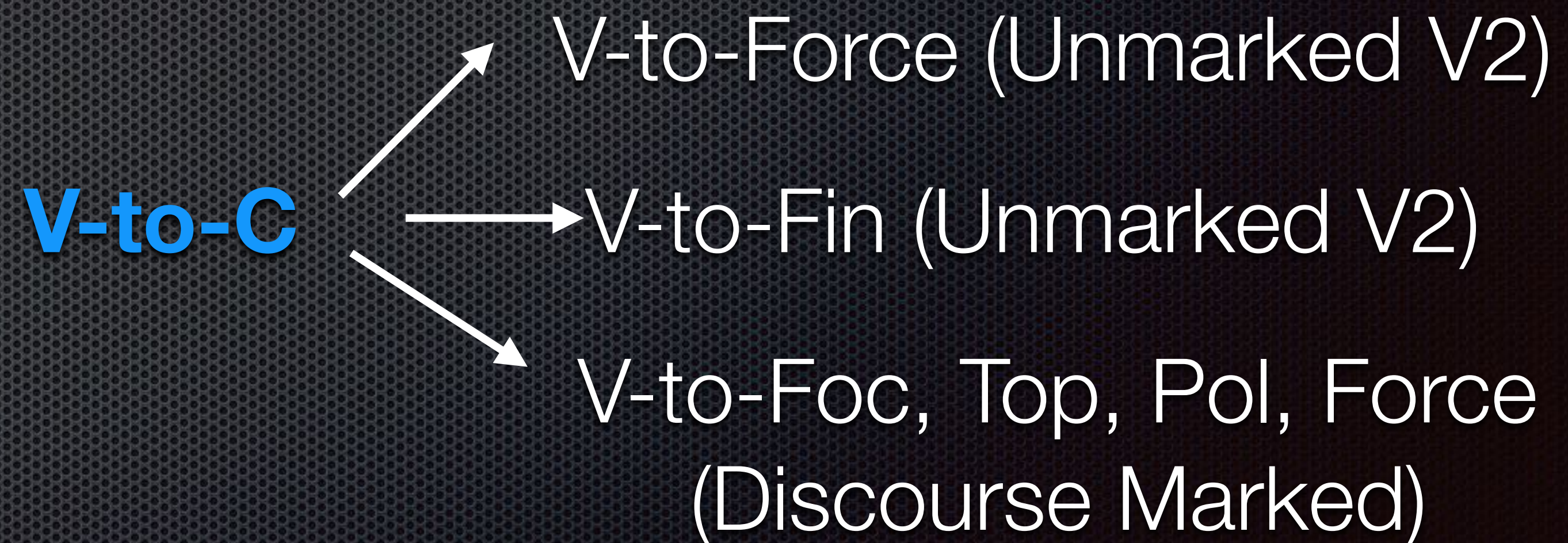
- ✧ If V-to-T movement is a cover term for a less unitary phenomenon, then where does that leave the V-to-C movement responsible for V2?

V-C Movement

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Schifano (2015a, 2015b)



Wolfe (2016a, 2016b) building
on Poletto (2002)

Evidence for V-to-C in Medieval Romance

- ✱ **Direct Object fronting with no clitic resumption in contexts where the object is both discourse-new and old** (Priestley 1955; Kroch 1989:213-215; Roberts 1993:108, 234, Vance 1997:234, 285; Danford 2002; Troberg 2004; Benincà 2004:268-270; Fernández Ordóñez 2009:17f; Salvesen 2013:§3; Poletto 2014:9-11):

(2) Ceste avision **vit** li rois Mordrains en son dormant

This vision saw the King Mordrain in his sleep

‘King Mordrain saw this vision in his sleep’ (French, *Queste*)

Evidence for V-to-C in Medieval Romance

- ✦ **Other evidence not discussed here includes the sharp matrix/embedded asymmetries attested and the position of the finite verb with regard to adverbs.** See for discussion:
 - * Adams 1987b:5; Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1987:§4.2; Roberts 1993:142, 2007:61-63; Jensen 1994:359; Vance 1995:174, 1997:133; Platzack 1995:205; Muller 2009:241; Salvesen 2013:140; Wolfe 2015e:§4).

Evidence for V-to-C in Medieval Romance

- ✦ **The most compelling evidence comes from Germanic-Inversion structures, attested across all varieties where a TP-internal subject appears sandwiched between a finite auxiliary and a constituent demarcating the v-VP-boundary:**
 - * $[_C \textbf{XP} [_{C^\circ} \textbf{V}] [_{TP} \textbf{Subject} [_{VP} \textbf{PastParticiple/Inf}]]]$
- ✦ **This has previously been observed for French** (Adams 1987b:4; Roberts 1993:§2.2; Vance 1997:78-79; Salvesen & Bech 2014:223), **but much the data here are new for Sicilian, Occitan and Spanish.**

Spanish:

- (3) Por fazer bien se=**ha** el cumplido bien
for do.INF well REFL=have.3SG he accomplish.PTCP well
'In order to do good, he has achieved highly' (*Lucanor*, 294)
- (4) et en faziendo estos seguramientos **ha** el ya
and in make.PROG these assurances has.3SG he already
pensado...
think.PTCP
'and in making these assurances he has already thought...' (*Lucanor* 141)

Occitan:

- (5) Acostumat **avia** li Sancta de pagar a Dieu las horas
accustom.PTCP have.3SG.PST the Saint of pay.INF to God the hours
'The Saint had become used to reciting her hours to God' (*Douceline* 128)
- (6) La qual cauza plus fizelmens a far e plus veraia **volc**
the which thing more faithfully to do.INF and more truly want.3SG.PST
illi aver per lo dechat e-l conseil dell saint paire
she have.INF for the words and-the advice of-the holy father
'In order to this more truthfully, she wanted to have the words and
guidance of the Holy Father' (*Douceline* 61)

Sicilian

(7) Ma quillu templu **avia** issu factu edificari...
but that temple have.3SG.PST he do.PTCP build.INF
'But he had had that temple built...' (*Valeriu* II, 1, 31)

(8) Et **avia** quissa Phyrria missa una inguaiatura cun certi
and have.3SG.PST this Phyrria lead.PTCP a trouble with certain
juvini
children
'And this Phyrria had led certain young people into trouble' (*Valeriu* IV, 3, 18)

So it seems we're on *terra firma* in suggesting these languages have finite V-movement higher than the T-domain

BUT...

So it seems we're on *terra firma* in suggesting these languages have finite V-movement higher than the T-domain

BUT...

When we look at the V3 orders licensed it becomes clear the height of V-movement within the C-domain is not identical

Fin V2 vs. Force V2

- ✦ Our claim is that we can better understand the Medieval Romance V2 typology if we assume that **in some languages the verb and merged XP target Fin and Spec-FinP whilst in others Force and Spec-ForceP.**

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Fin-V2

Early Old Spanish
Early Old French
Old Piedmontese
Old Occitan
Old Sicilian

Force-V2

Later Old Spanish
Later Old French
Later Old Venetian

The Fin-V2 Systems

- ✱ **Note the co-occurrence of an adverbial clause, a thematic constituent and a focal constituent is readily licensed, yielding V4:**

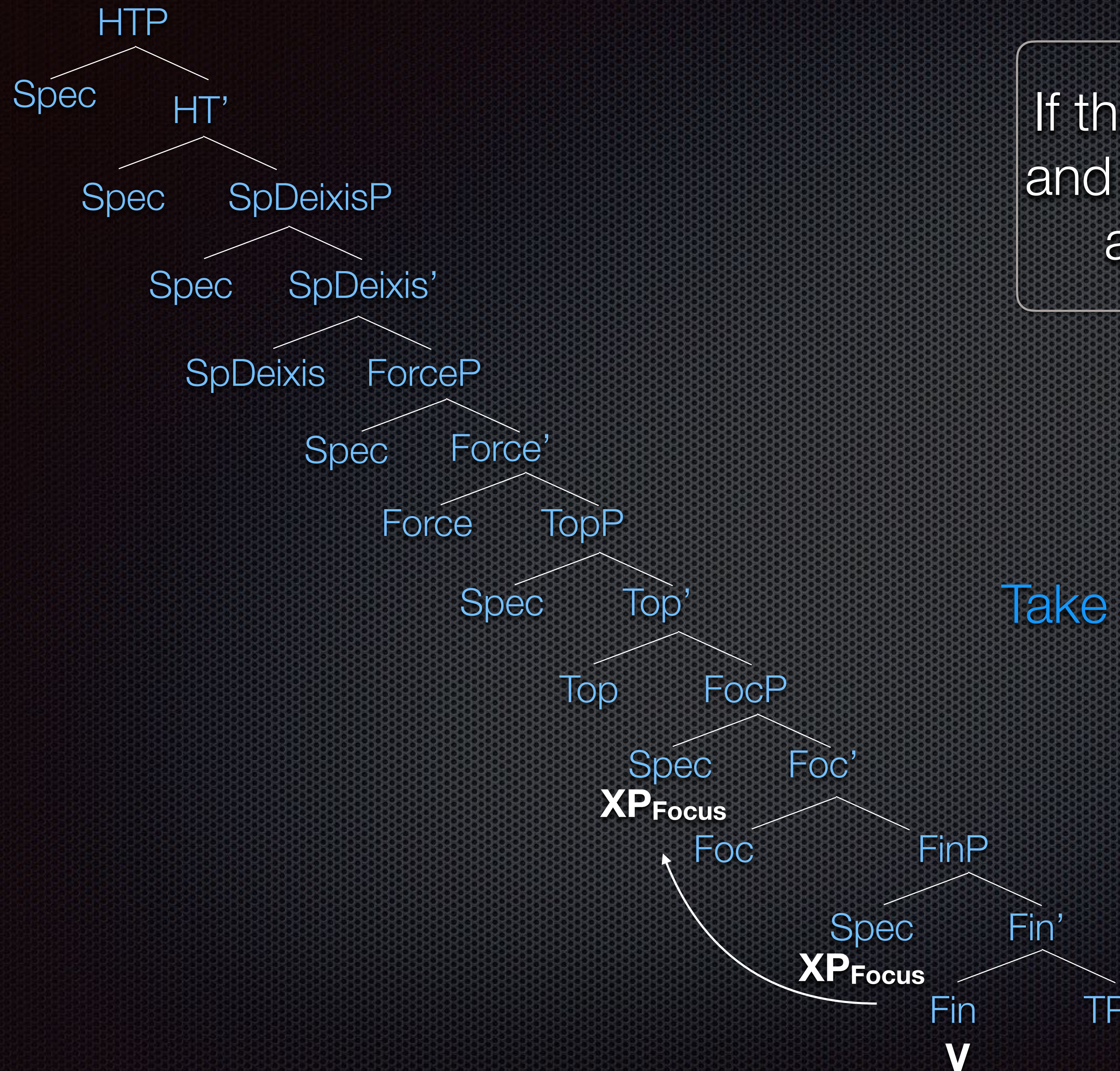
(9)[_{Deixis} tamen poy di la morti loru , [_{Topic} li ossa loru [_{Focus} pir virtuti divina
then after of the death their the bones their by virtue divine
[_{Fin...} **operannu** miraculi]]]
perform.3PL miracles

‘Then after their death, their bones perform miracles through divine virtue’ (Sicilian 262)

The Fin-V2 Systems

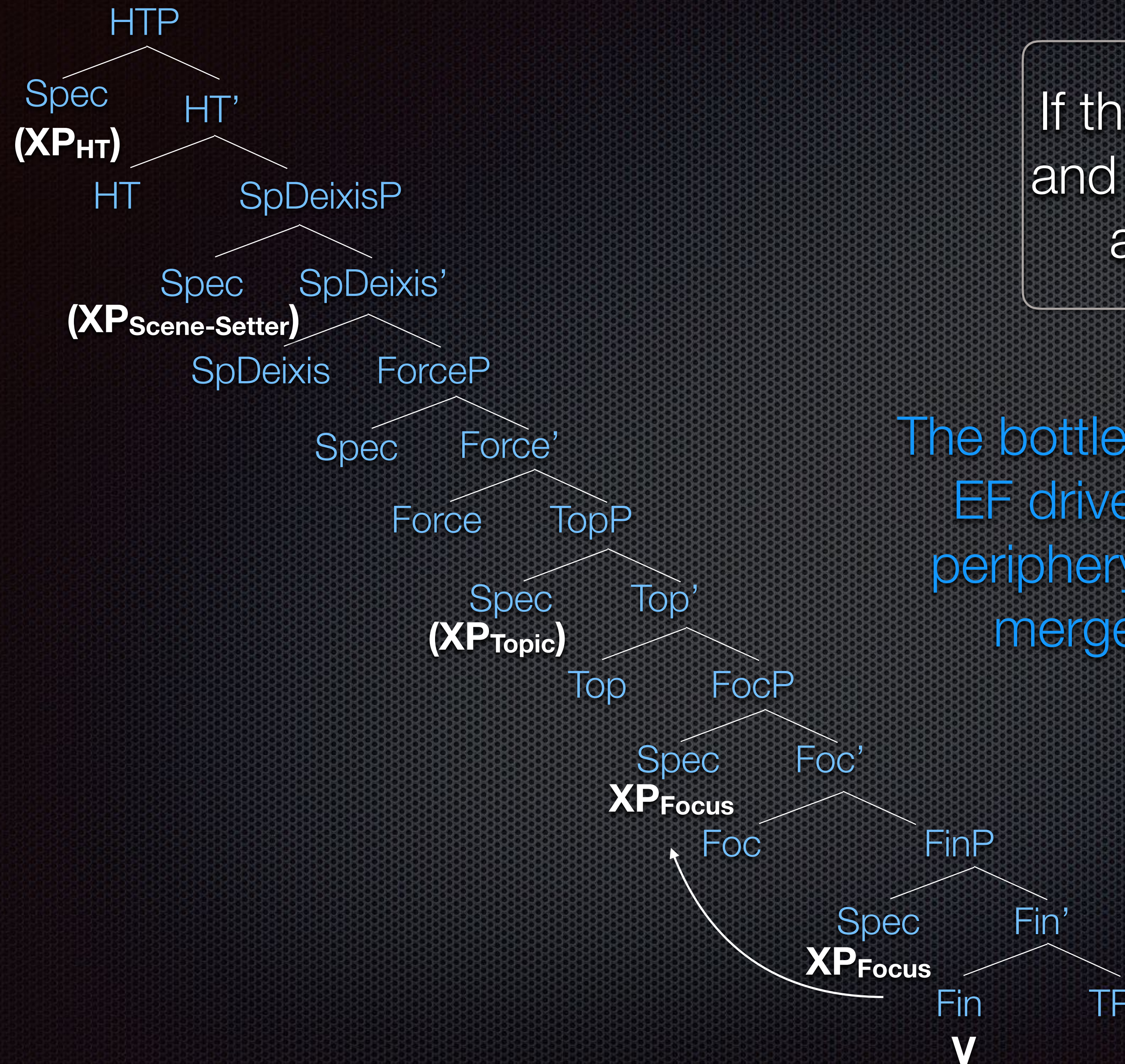
- ✱ **We not only find this Topic + Focus pattern in Old Sicilian** (cf. Scremin 1986:46), **in Italo-Romance where it has been extensively reported elsewhere** (Benincà 1995:329, 2004:275; Ledgeway 2007:124, 2008:440; Salvi 2012:105) **but also Old Occitan, Early Old Spanish, Early Old French and Piedmontese:**

(10) E [Topic so que li=**era** de lueinh,[Focus per zel de caritat[Fin
ho=aprobenquava and what that her=be.3SG.PST of far for zeal of charity
it=approach.3SG.PST
a si.]]]
to her
'And what happened far from her, through her charitable zeal, felt close' (Occitan,
Douceline 95)



If the locus of the V-Probe and EF is Fin, these orders are in fact expected

Take a Focus-initial example:



If the locus of the V-Probe and EF is Fin, these orders are in fact expected

The bottleneck on Fin prevents further EF driven movement into the left-periphery, but doesn't rule out first-merger higher in the structure

The Force-V2 Systems

- ✱ In Later Old Spanish, French and Venetian where the Topic + Focus order is not attested, V4* orders are hardly attested and Scene-Setting adverbial clauses or adverbs are the principal V3 triggers:

(11) Et quant il est apareilliez, il prent ses armes et monte
and when he be.3SG appear.PTCP he take.3SG his weapons and ride.3SG.PST
'When he appeared, he took his weapons and rode...' (French, *Quête* 129, 1215-1230)

(12) Et luego que llego a la puerta el diablo **abrioge**=la
And soon that arrive.3SG.PST at the door the devil open.3SG.PST=it
'And as soon as he arrived at the door, the devil opened it' (Spanish, *Lucanor* 204, 1335)

(13) Unde Brat levà la ma(n)
thus Brat raise.3SG.PST the hand
'Brat then raised his hand' (Venetian, *Lio Mazor* 51, 1312-1314)

The Force-V2 Systems

- ✦ We also find V3 less commonly with speaker-oriented adverbs (12) and in French with an initial Hanging Topic (13):

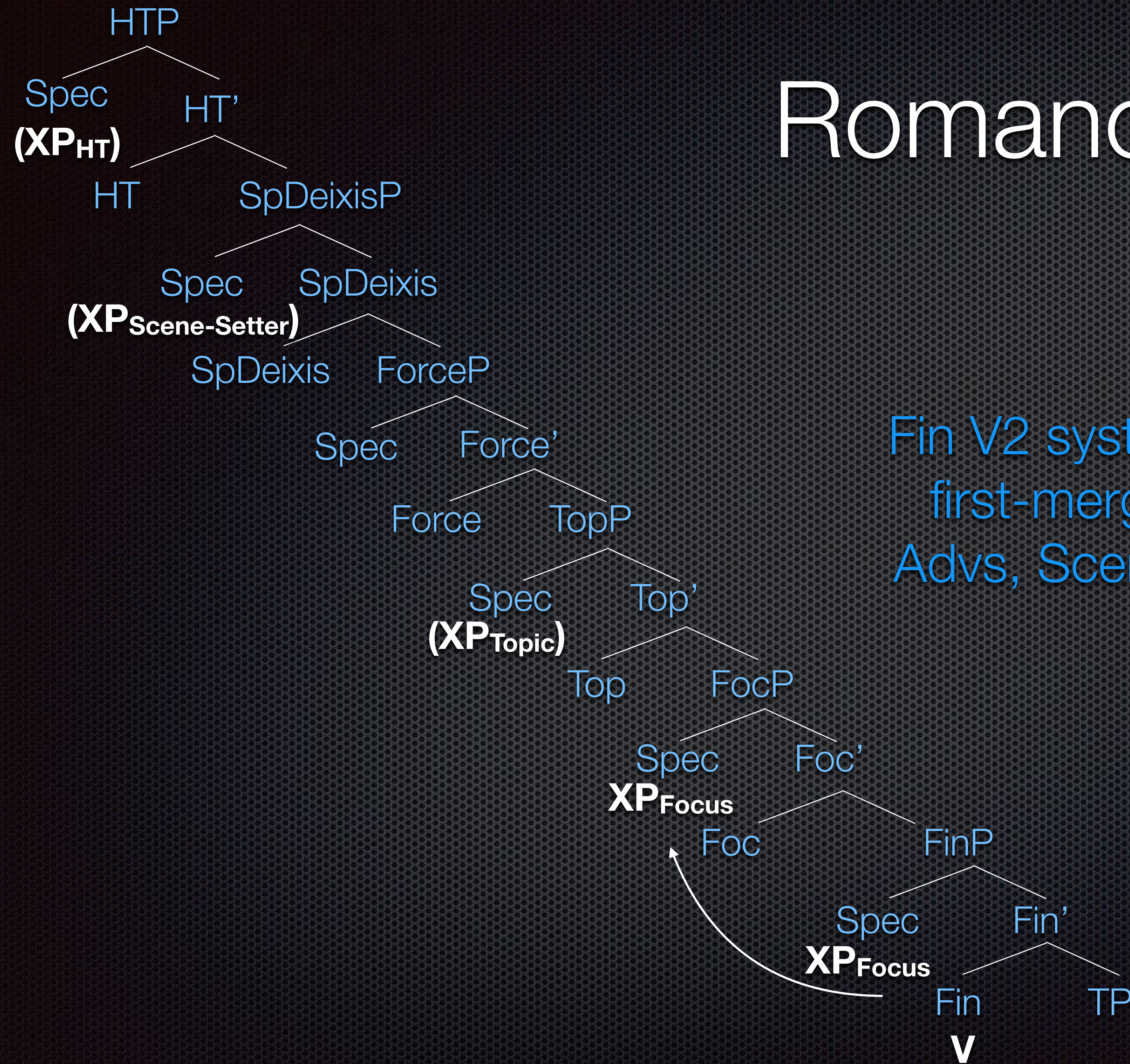
(12) Cierta mente este omne non **es** culpado
certain ADV this man NEG be.3SG guilty
'Certainly, this man is not guilty' (Spanish, *Lucanor*, 205, 1335)

(13) Li chevalier qui sont en pechié mortel, ce **sont** li terrien
the knights that be.3PL in sin mortal they be.3PL the earthly
'the knights who are mortal sinners, they are the earthly ones' (French, *Quête* 143, 1215-1230)

The Force-V2 Systems

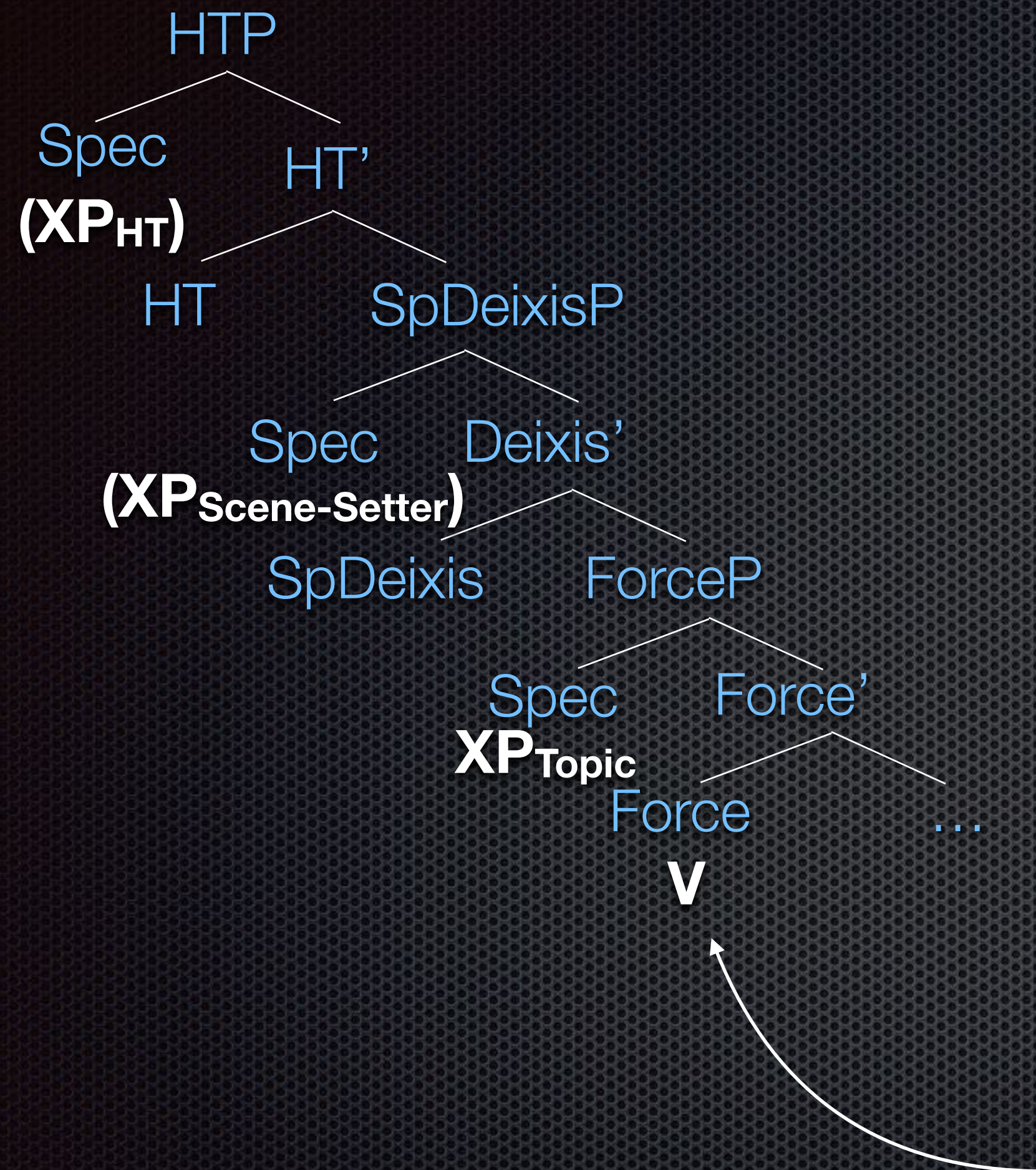
- ✱ **What the initial constituents all have in common is that they would standardly be analysed as occupying a very high position within the C-layer:**
 - ➡ Initial clauses and adverbs occupy a specifier within the Deixis field above the Topic-Focus layer (Poletto 2000:100; Benincà & Poletto 2004:66; Öhl 2010:62).
 - ➡ Speaker-oriented adverbs may also occur in the Deixis field, as they are associated with the viewpoint of the speech participants (Sigurdsson 2004, 2011; Haegeman & Hill 2013)
 - ➡ HTs standardly taken to be first-merged above Topic-Focus (Frascarelli 2000:169; Poletto 2002:235; Ledgeway 2010:279)

Romance Summary



Fin V2 systems readily permit V4*, with first-merged HTs, Speaker-oriented Advs, Scene-Setters and Topics along with moved Foci

Romance Summary



In Force V2 systems there is a double bottleneck on Fin and Force, thus only HTs, Speaker-oriented Advs and Scene-Setters can precede the constituent satisfying the EF on Force

V4* orders are therefore predicted to be extremely rare, yet the productive Scene-Setter + Topic pattern remains

Further Variation

- ✱ The Fin/Force dichotomy appears not only to affect verb movement. In fact:
 - ✱ **Only the Fin-V2 systems show evidence of left peripheral Information Focus** (see Labelle 2007:302-305 on Early Old French; Fernández-Ordóñez 2009:13-15 on Early Old Spanish; Wolfe 2016b on Sicilian, Occitan and Piedmontese).

(14) Un eisemple **direm** d'un bon hom qui ot tres amìs
an example tell.1pl of-a good man that have.3SG.PST three friends
“We now discuss an example of a good man who had three friends” (Piedmontese, Sermoni, f.146 r., 12th c.)

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 - * **Only the Fin-V2 systems show the ability to license a preverbal Null Familiarity Topic.** In the Force-V2 systems Null Subjects/Topics only occur when an overt subject would invert after the finite verb, yielding heavy restrictions or total absence of V1 orders (Wolfe 2015e on Spanish; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012 on French).

Null Topics Fin-V2 vs. Force V2

- ✱ **The following example is typical of Later Old French, where V1 orders are almost entirely non-attested and Null Subjects are only licensed in ‘post-finite’ position** (Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1985:175; Roberts 1993:84f; Hulk & van Kemenade 1995:236; Vance 1997:200):

(15) Or vos=**dirai** _____ la senefiance de ceste chose
 now you.CL=tell.1SG.FUT the significance of this thing
 ‘I will now tell you the significance of this thing’ (Old French, La Queste, 143)

Null Topics Fin-V2 vs. Force V2

- ✱ **By contrast in the same period V1 clauses where a Null Topic analysis seems appropriate are extensively attested in the same** (between 12~30% of the main clauses in Wolfe 2016b) (Sitaridou 2005:366-369, 2012:571; Benincà 2004:271; Wolfe 2015b):

(16) **Tornau** al monisterio
return.3SG.PST to-the monastery

“[He] returned to the monastery” (Sicilian, SG 86, 1301–1350)

(17) **Amava** e **queria** luechs solitaris
love.3sg.pst and want.3sg.pst places solitary

“She loved and wanted places where she could be alone ...” (Occitan, Douceline 107, 13th c.)

Null Topics Fin-V2 vs. Force V2

- ✧ Why might it be that at the same time we see certain Romance varieties showing V-movement to Force, Null Familiarity Topics in initial position are ruled out?

Roberts (2010)

Various types of null pronoun are **Defective Goals**. If the Goal's features are a proper subset of the Probe's, Probe-Goal Agree will take place and Chain Reduction will delete the Goal at PF.

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Null Topics Fin-V2 vs. Force V2

Roberts (2010) Defective Goals

Benincà (2004, 2006), Poletto (2006b, 2014) = The Medieval Romance
Null Topic is a form of *pro*

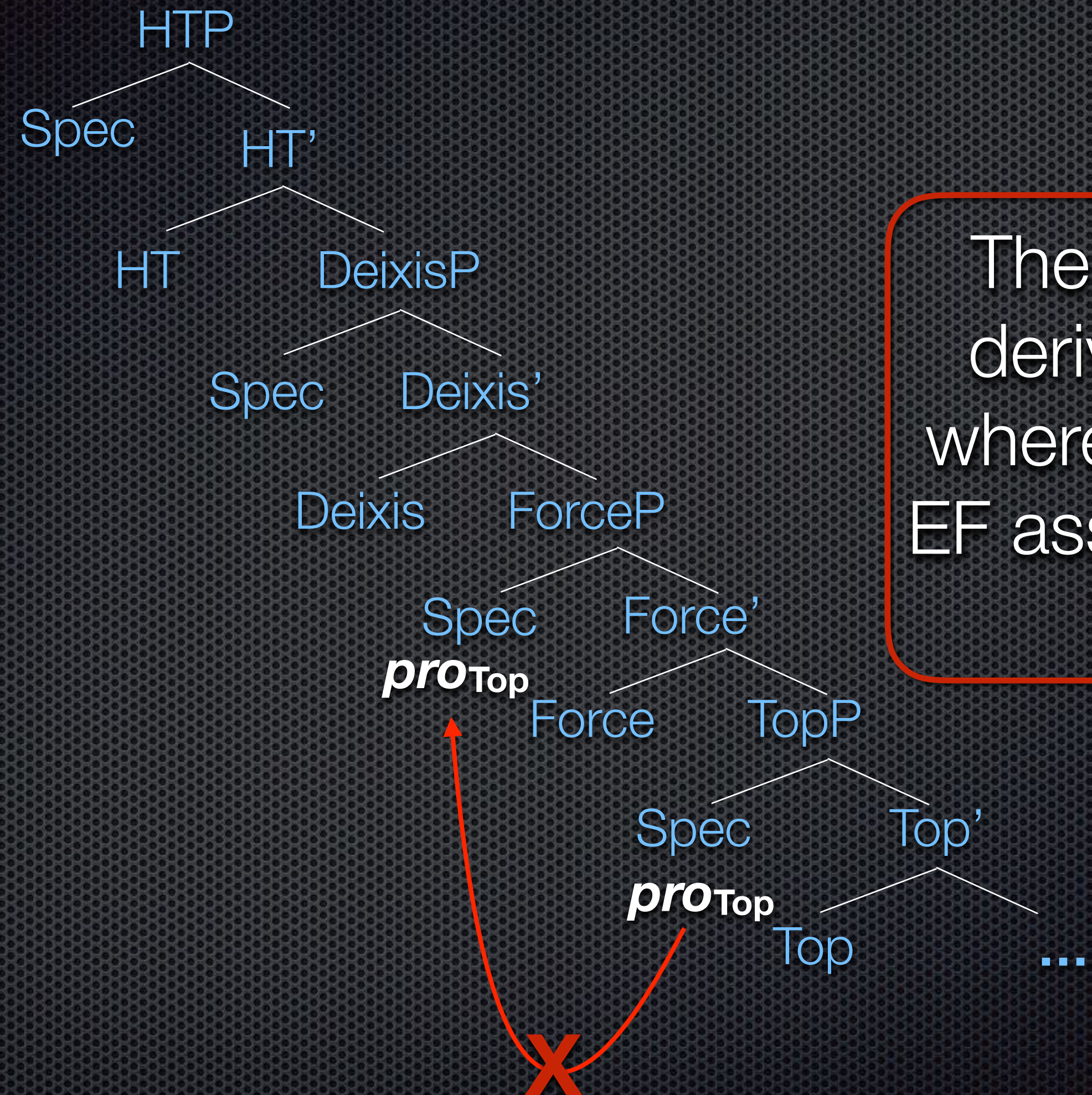
Let's hypothesise that this pro_{Top} is a Defective Goal in Roberts' terms which incorporates on Top. At this stage in the derivation it will be 'featurally inert' and presumably unable to undergo movement.

Null Topics Fin-V2 vs. Force V2

Benincà (2004, 2006), Poletto (2006b, 2014) = The Medieval Romance
Null Topic is a form of *pro*

Let's hypothesise that this *pro*_{Top} is a Defective Goal in Roberts' terms which incorporates on Top. At this stage in the derivation it will be 'featurally inert' and presumably unable to undergo further movement.

This has a very striking effect: *pro*_{Top} will never be able to satisfy an EF on a higher head within the C-domain. Therefore the V2-related EF on Force can never be satisfied by *pro*_{Top}.



The key point is that a derivation such as this where pro_{Top} satisfies the EF associated with Force-V2 is ruled out

Medieval Romance vs. Germanic

Verb Third

- The literature on a number of Early Germanic varieties paints a very similar picture to the patterns of V3* orders attested in the Fin-V2 Romance varieties:

Bean (1983:70); Van Kemenade
(1987:109f); Tomaselli (1995:347-350);
Kroch, Taylor & Ringe 2000:366-367);
Haeberli (2002:248-252); Pintzuk &
Haeberli (2008:370) and Walkden
2015:243) on [Old English](#)

Petrova (2012:183) on [Middle Low
German](#)

Speyer (2010:§5.3); Walkden
2014:70-71, 2015:243 on early [Old
High German](#)

Verb Third

- New data from **West Flemish** in Greco & Haegeman (forthcoming) paint a near-identical picture to Later Old Spanish, French and Venetian where a Frame-Setter can trigger V3 (but V4 is generally not licit):

(18)a. Oa-j em eentwa vroagt, je weet het niet.

if you him something ask, he knows it not

‘If you ask him something, he doesn’t know.’ (West Flemish)

b. *Als mijn tekst klaar is, ik **zal** je hem opsturen.

When my text ready is, I will you him send

‘When my text is ready, I’ll send it to you.’ (Modern Dutch)

Verb Third

- We can also add to this the ‘strictest’ class of Germanic V2 system, which includes Modern German, where base-generated Hanging Topics or ‘dislocated’ elements are the only V3 triggers (Frey 2004b:21; Shaer & Frey 2004:469-483; Boeckx & Grohmann 2005; Haider 2010:3; Holmberg forthcoming).

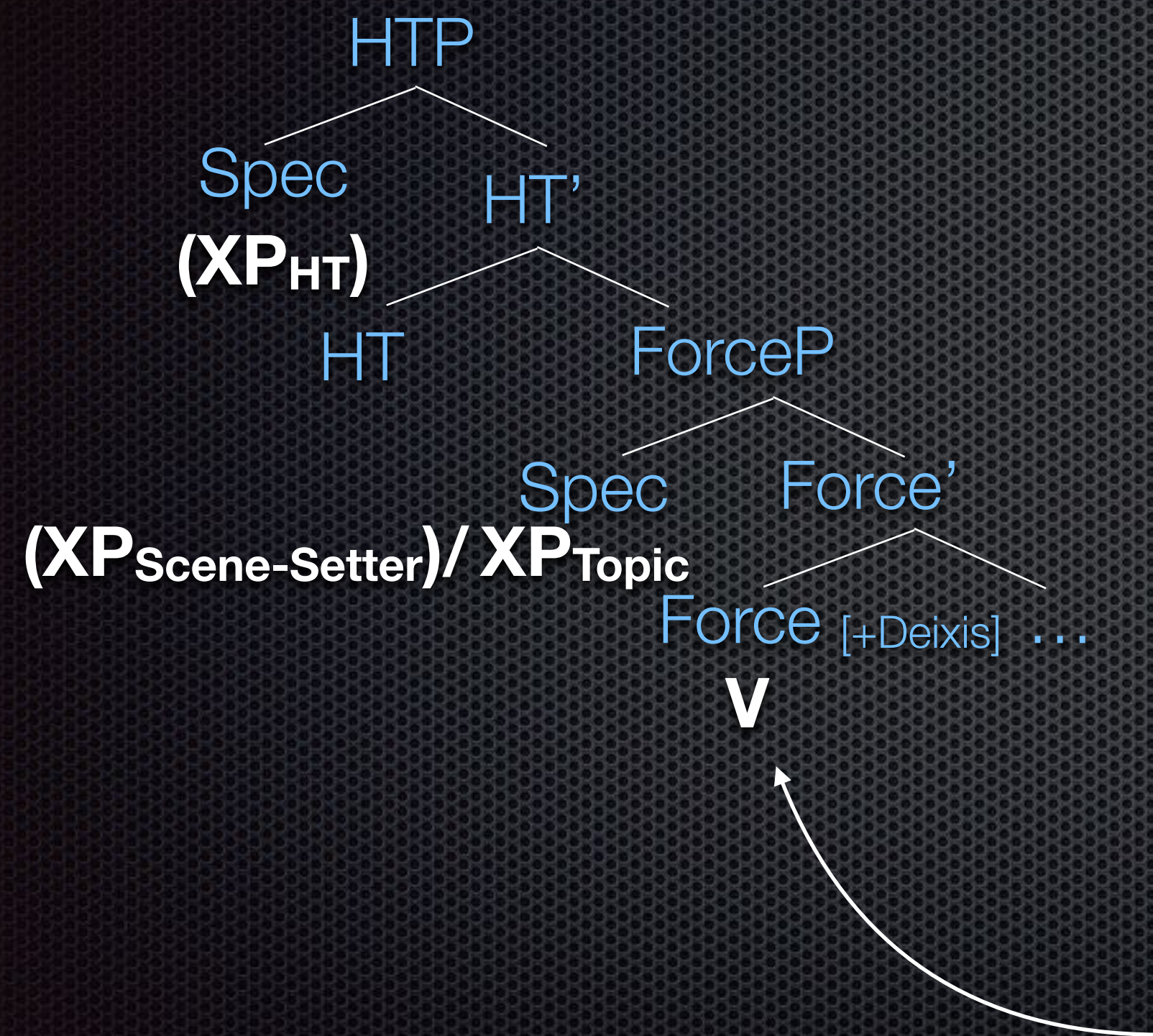
(18) [Den Käse], [den] **hat** die Maus gefressen
the.ACC cheese that.ACC have.3SG the mouse eat.PTCP
‘The cheese, the mouse has eaten it’ (Modern German)

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(Tentatively) Extending the Typology



In such systems it may be that we have partial syncretism between the Speaker Deixis projection and Force

Scene-Setters are therefore in complementary distribution with other constituents satisfying V2

Verb-First

- Again, there appears to be a correlation between Fin-V2 languages licensing widespread V4* and extensive V1 which generally makes up a substantial proportion of main clauses left in the textual records.
 - * Old English (Walkden 2013:161; Van Gelderen 2013:274-277)
 - * Old Icelandic (Kinn et al.in press:§3; Rusten 2013:989)
 - * (Early) Old High German (Axel 2007, 2009)

Verb-First

- But, suggesting that V1 with Null Topics is completely ruled out in Force-V2 systems is the wrong conclusion.
- Rather, it seems that the V1 licensed entails Topics which have a higher degree of referentiality, discourse-salience and are typically speech-act participants (Huang 1984; Sigurdsson 1989:145f, 2011:279; Önnarfors 1996, 1997; Sigurdsson & Maling 2010:60f; Kinn 2015)

(19) (Ég) flekki fla ekki
I recognise.1SG that NEG

‘I don’t recognise that’ (Modern Icelandic, Sigurdsson 2011:271)

Verb-First

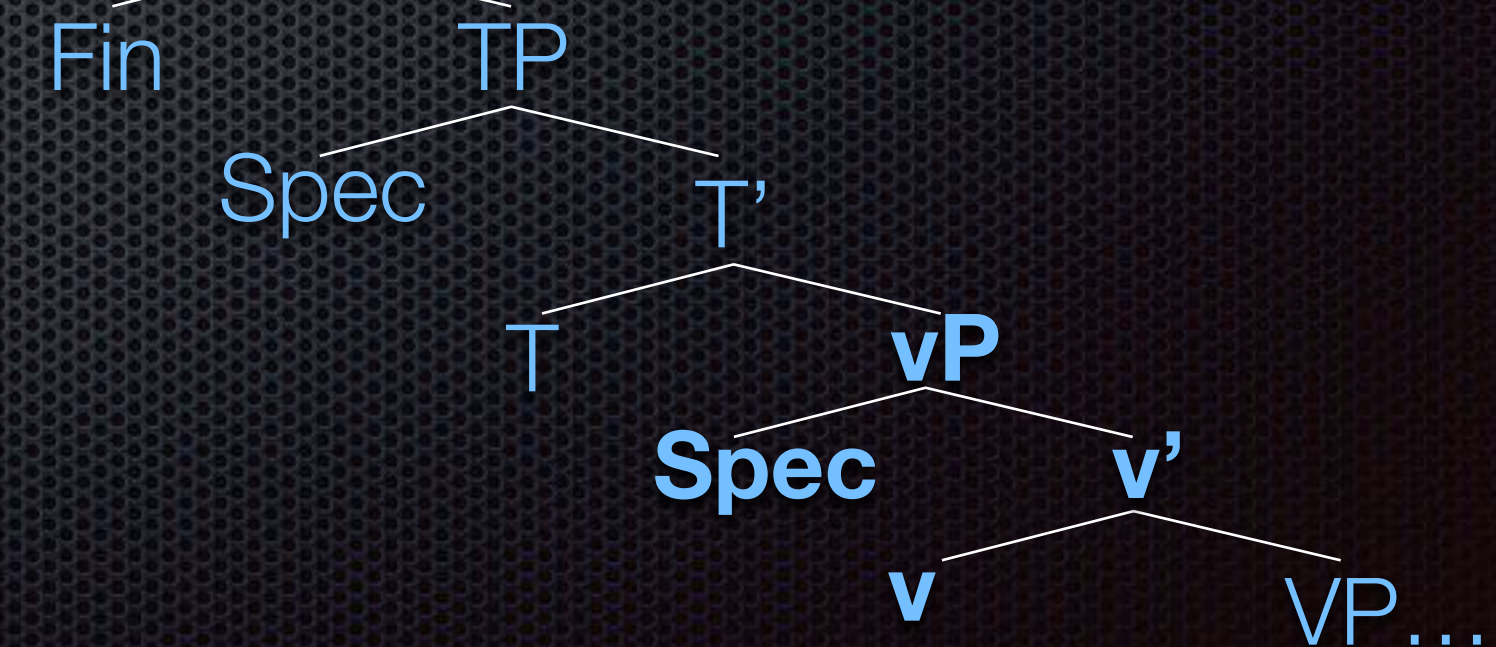
- One way of capturing this intuition might be to say that we can still have initial Null Topics in Force-V2 systems, but they are not licensed by the lower Topic head, but rather a head within the Speaker Deixis layer of the type assumed by Haegman (2000:143f, 2006:162) and Sigurdsson (2011). We can call this null element ***pro***[^]
 - * This account would make the correct prediction that Null Topics in the strictest class of Modern Germanic V2 systems are most felicitous with discourse participants (Önnerfors 1996, 1997; Eckert 1998; Sigurdsson 1989:145f, 2011:279; Sigurdsson and Maling 2010:60f).

Mapping V2 Clausal Structure



It's been implicit so far, but the vP edge is likely significant in a V2 grammar if we assume movement to occur in a successive-cyclic fashion through phase edges (Chomsky 2000)

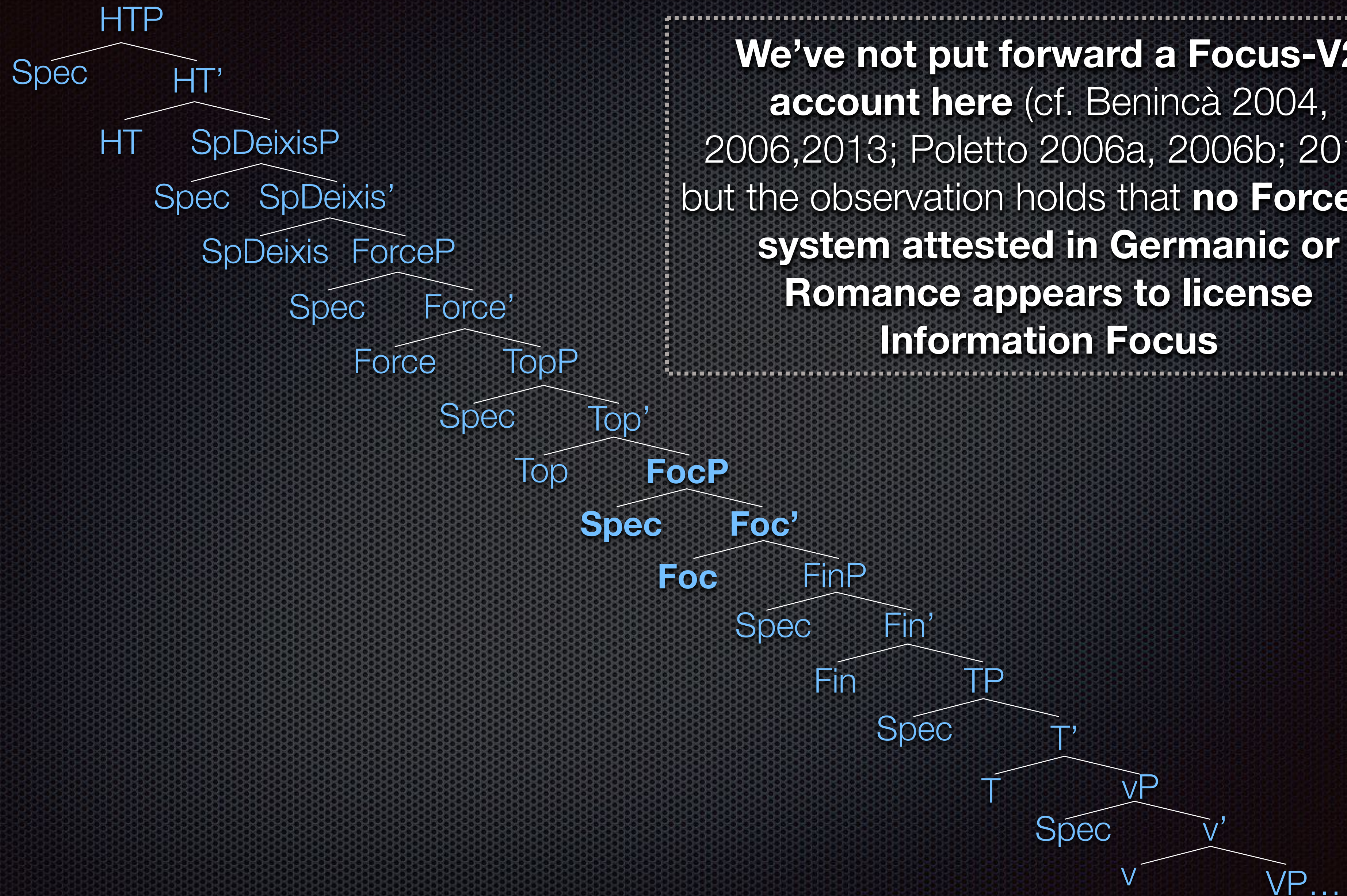
A significant change from Early Latin to late Latin may entail V-in-situ changing to V-to-v movement and unmarked Comp-to-Spec Rollup (Kayne 1994) of Objects changing to discourse-marked OV orders where O targets the vP periphery (Ledgeway 2012; Wolfe 2016b)



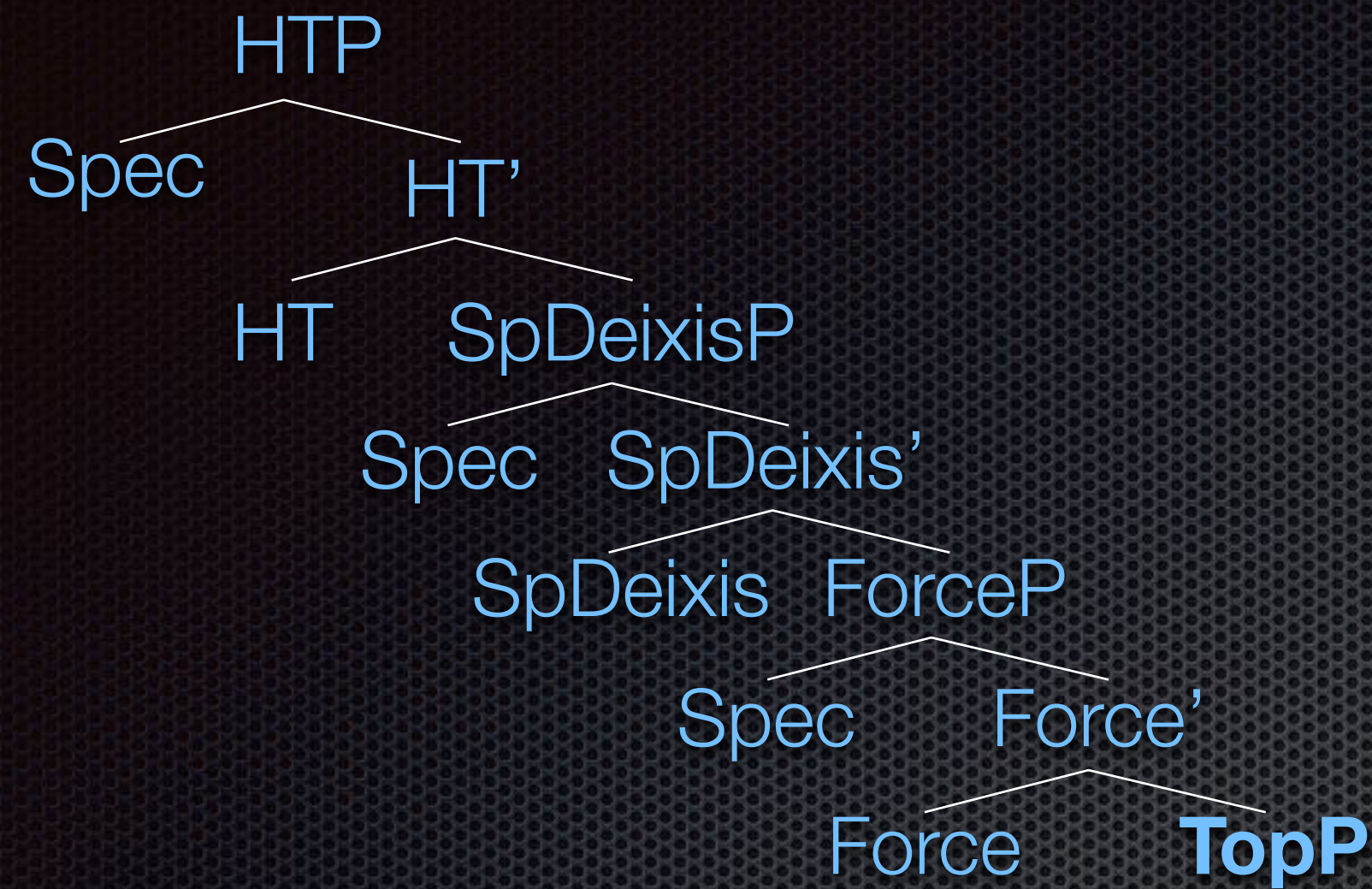


In the Fin-V2 systems, V-movement consistently targets Fin and the XP satisfying V2 Spec-FinP.

Nothing in these systems precludes first-merged constituents occurring higher in the functional structure

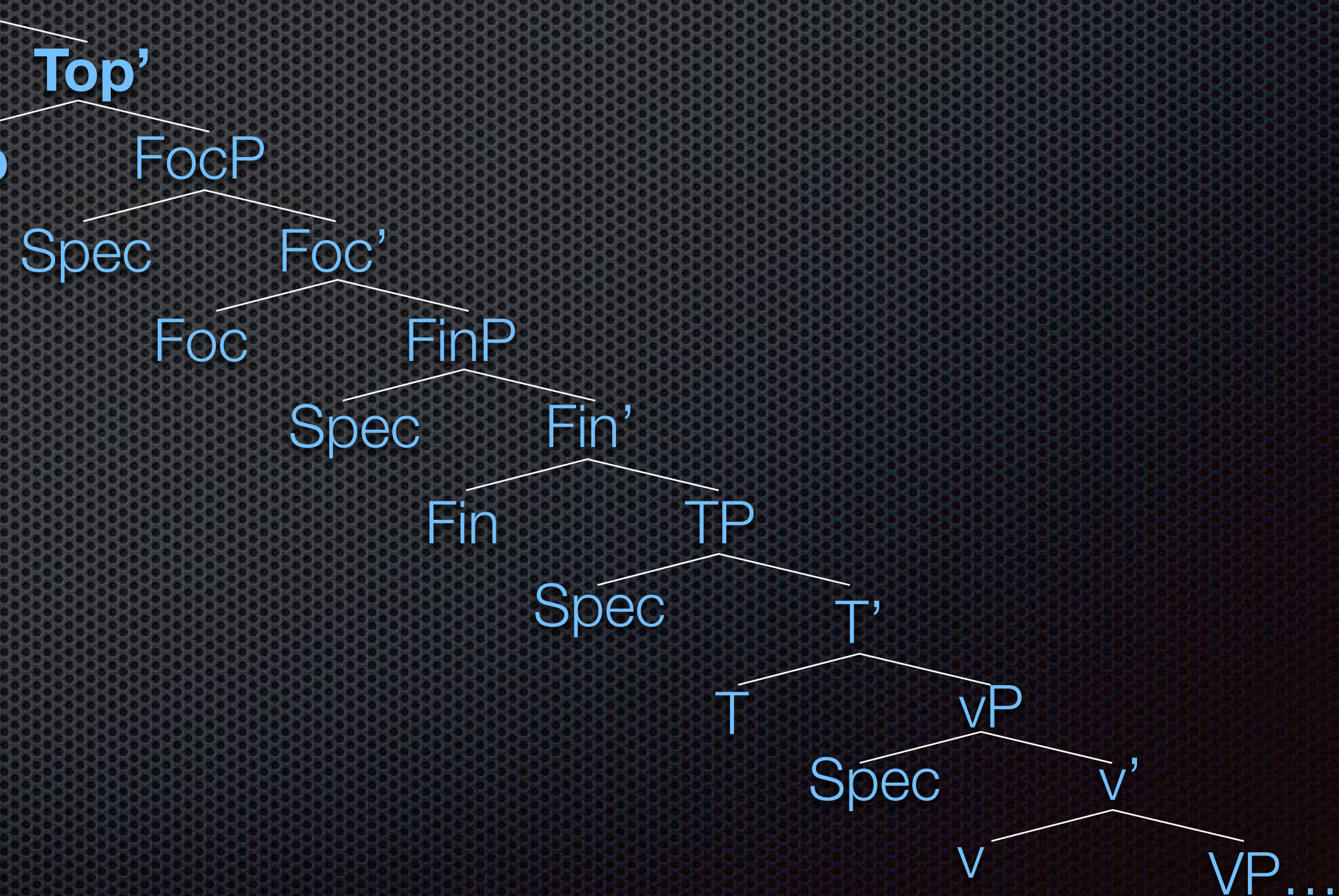


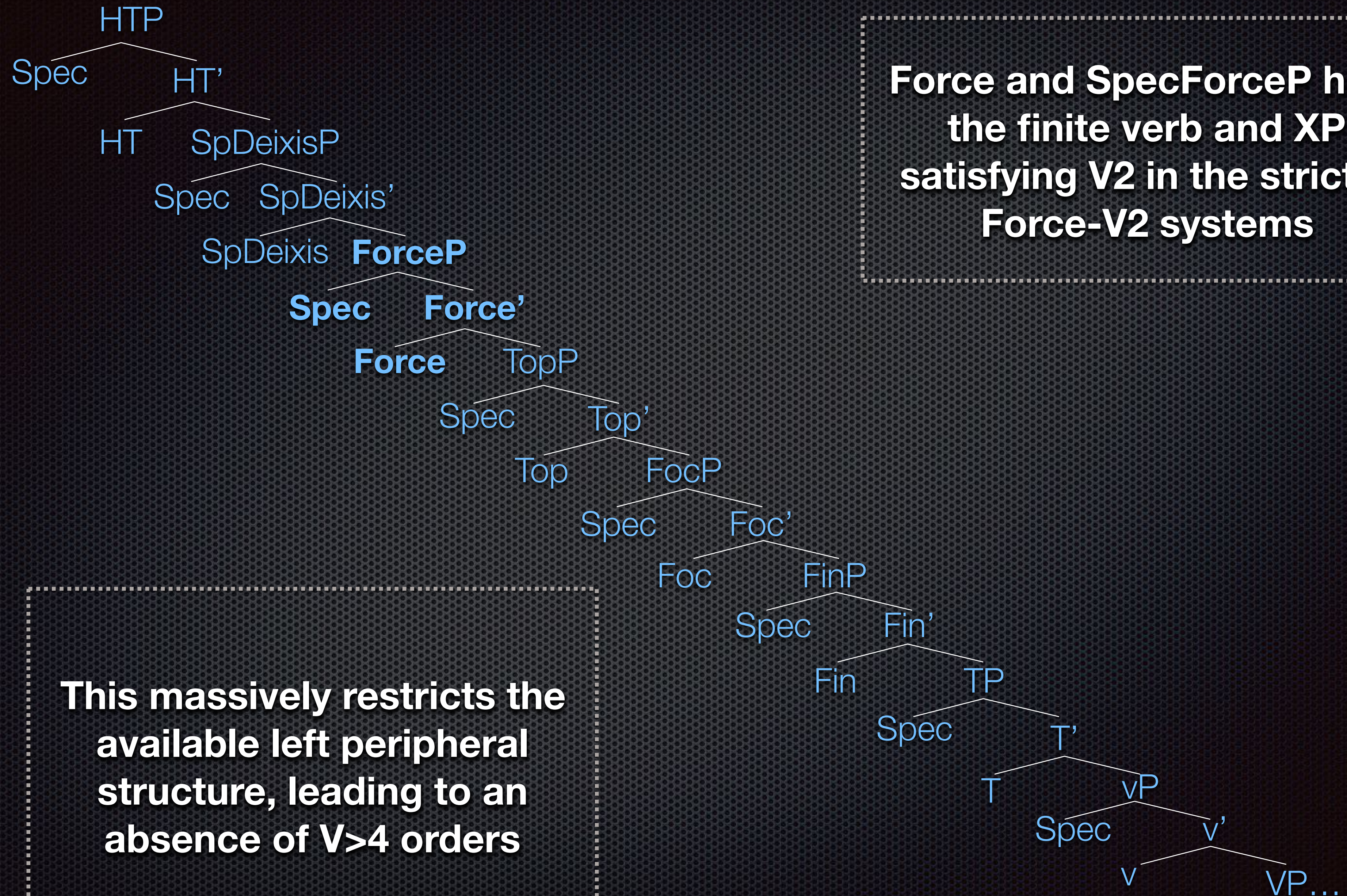
We've not put forward a Focus-V2 account here (cf. Benincà 2004, 2006,2013; Poletto 2006a, 2006b; 2014) but the observation holds that **no Force-V2 system attested in Germanic or Romance appears to license Information Focus**



The last point is significant as it means **there is a strong link between the locus of V-movement in V2 systems and the types of null arguments that can be licensed**

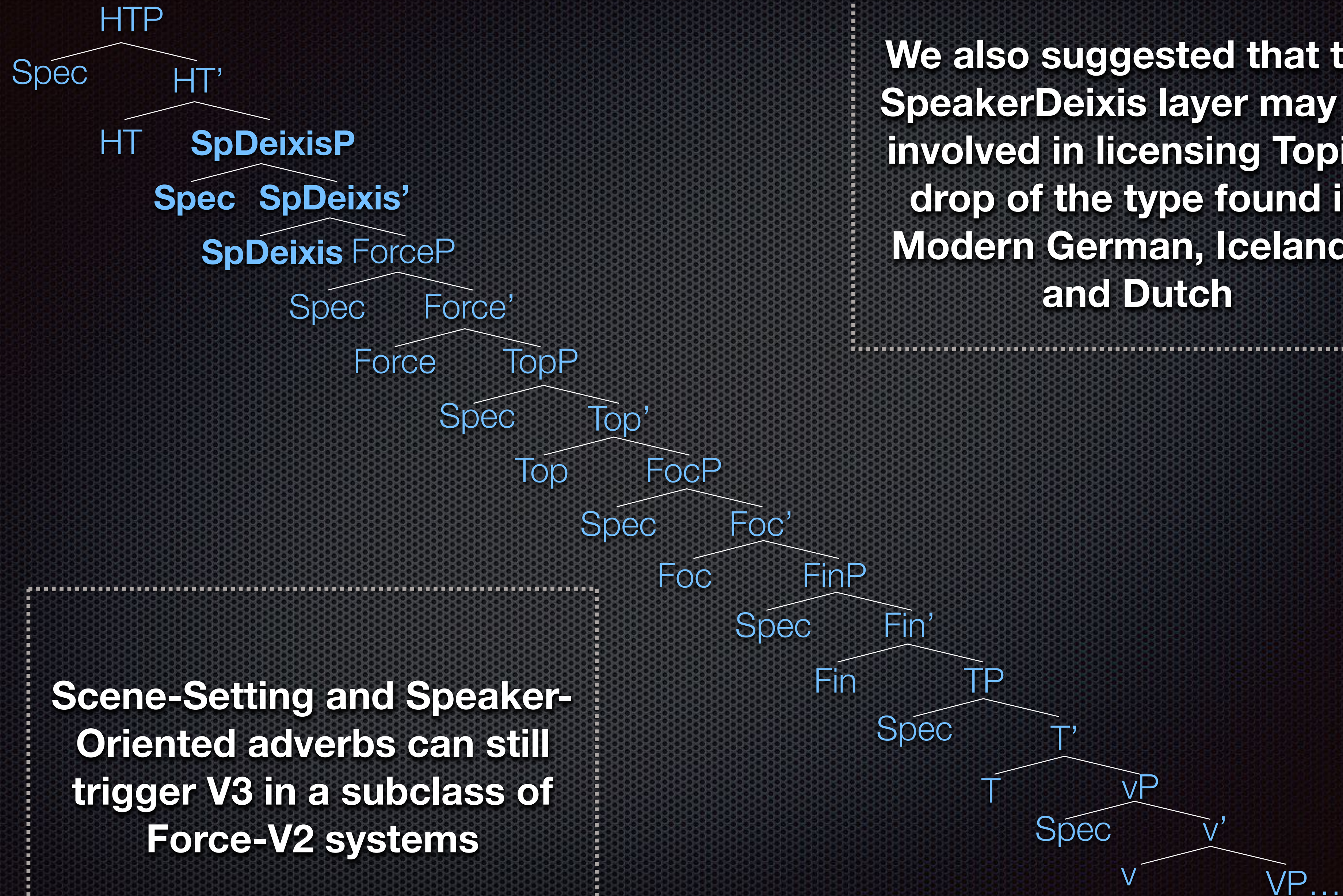
The Topic layer forms part of the prefield of Fin-V2 systems. It can host a sub-class of Topic and a Null Familiarity Topic





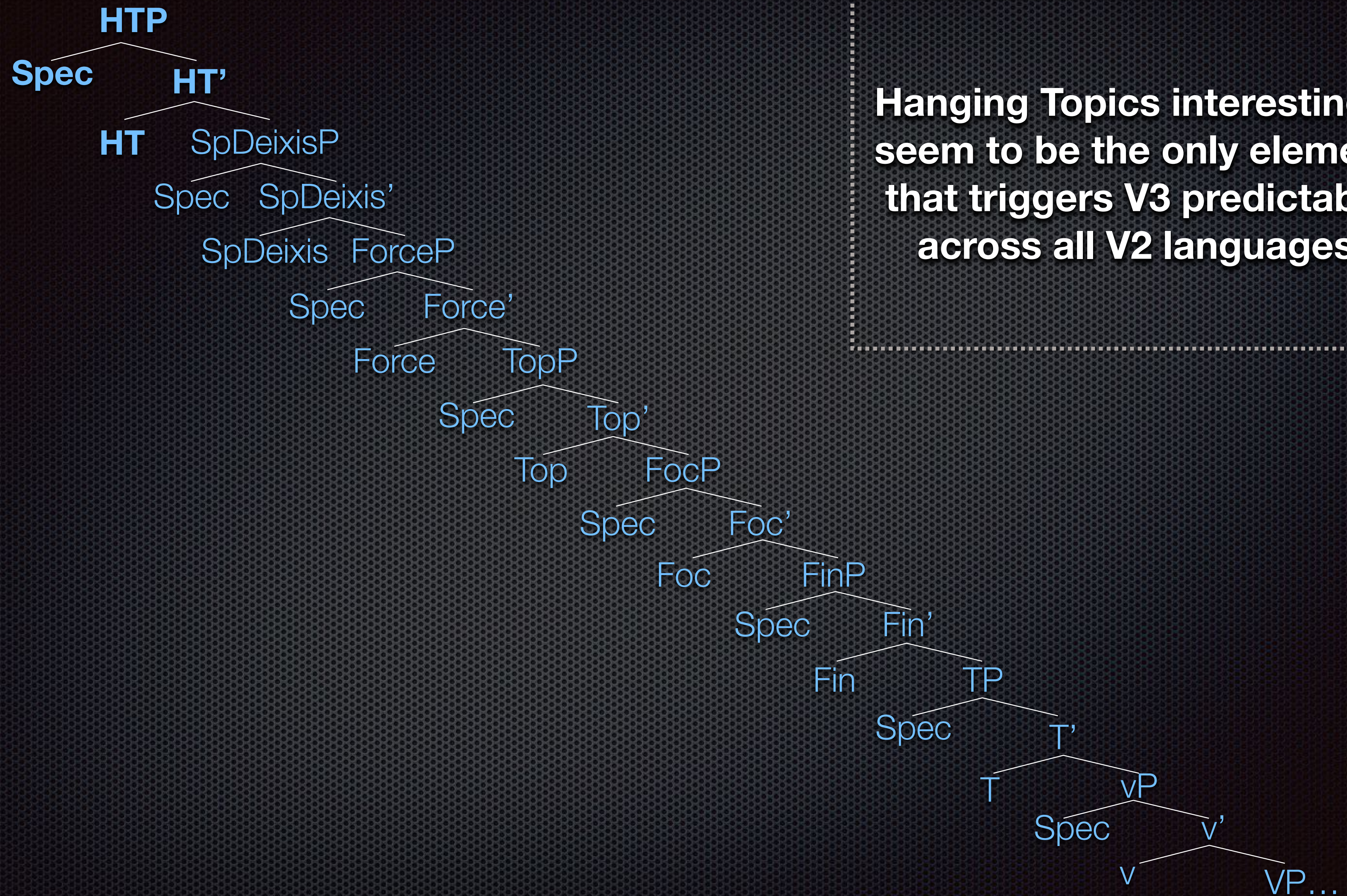
**Force and SpecForceP host
the finite verb and XP
satisfying V2 in the stricter
Force-V2 systems**

**This massively restricts the
available left peripheral
structure, leading to an
absence of V>4 orders**



We also suggested that the SpeakerDeixis layer may be involved in licensing Topic-drop of the type found in Modern German, Icelandic and Dutch

Scene-Setting and Speaker-Oriented adverbs can still trigger V3 in a subclass of Force-V2 systems



**Hanging Topics interestingly
seem to be the only element
that triggers V3 predictably
across all V2 languages**

From Medieval to Modern Romance

**Ledgeway (2012:289) suggests that North/South
grouping of Romance varieties may be more
instructive than the traditional West/East divide
(Wartburg 1950)**

Ledgeway (2012:289) suggests that North/South grouping of Romance varieties may be more instructive than the traditional West/East divide (Wartburg 1950)

For syntax, this may well be true:

NIDs, French, Occitan

Sicilian, Sardinian, Spanish

NIDs, French, Occitan

Heavy restrictions on Null Subjects
or Null Subjects entirely absent
(Poletto 2000; Cardinaletti & Repetti
2010; Roberts 2010; Oliviéri &
Sauzet 2016; Smith 2016)

General preference for base-
generation vs. internal merge of left-
peripheral constituents (De Cat
2009; Ledgeway 2010; Salvi 2016)

Information Focus licensed at the vP
level (Rowlett 2007; Belletti 2008;
Paoli 2010; Oliviéri & Sauzet 2016)

Sicilian, Sardinian, Spanish

Full Null Subject Systems (Jones
1988, 1993; Sheehan 2006, 2010;
Ledgeway 2016)

Language-specific variation but
extensive use of argument fronting
via internal merge (Mensching &
Remberger 2010; Remberger
2010; Ledgeway 2010; Jiménez-
Fernández 2014)

For Sardinian and Sicilian CP-
Information Focus (Cruschina 2006,
2008, 2012)

Null Arguments and the Licensing of *pro*



A dashed line with arrowheads at both ends originates from the title and branches to point towards two separate text boxes on the right side of the slide.

In the Fin-V2 systems acquirers are receiving clear evidence that a sub-type of *pro* can be licensed both pre and post-verbally, hence no reason for the Null Argument system to destabilise when the grammar is reanalysed as entailing V-to-T movement, not V-to-C

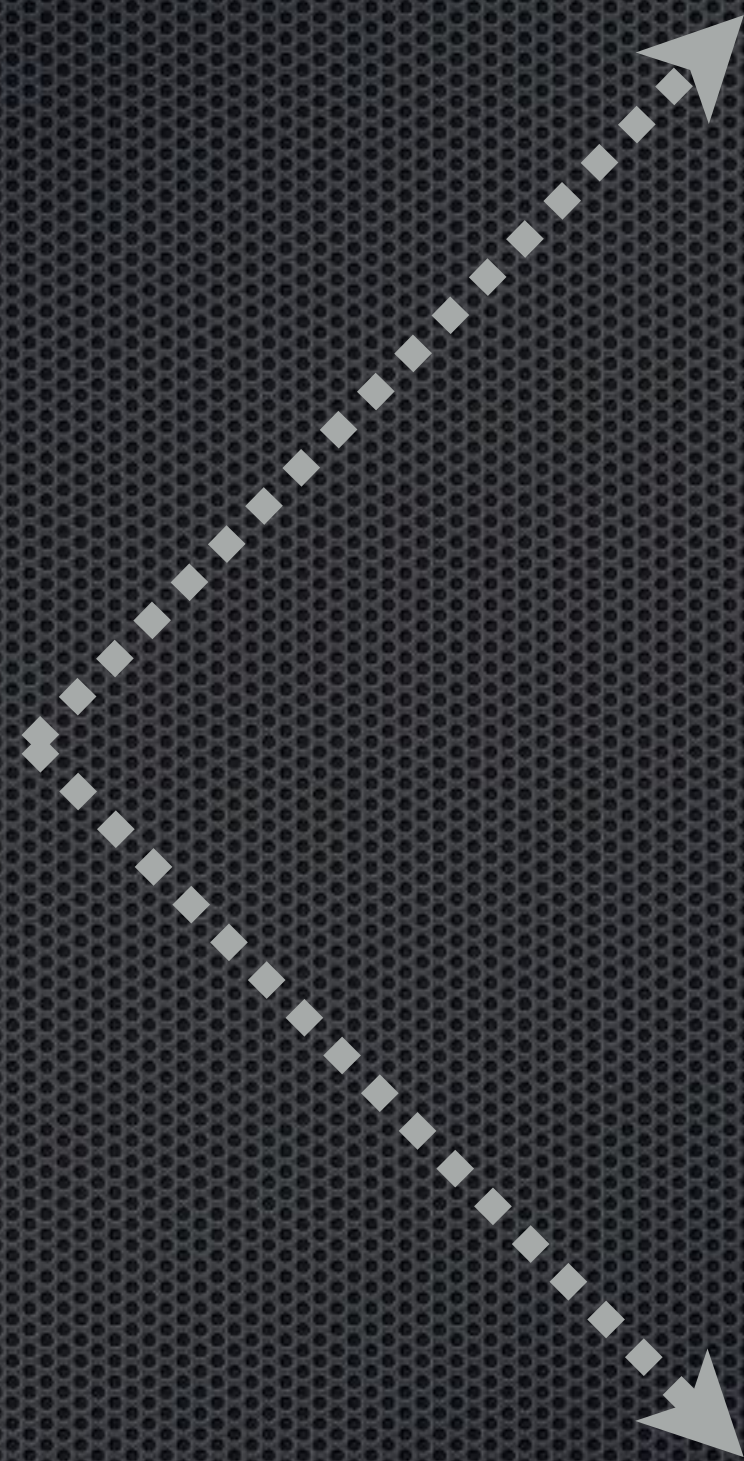
In Force-V2 systems the occurrence of *pro* is far more restricted, standardly occurring only in postverbal position and in matrix clauses

Null Arguments and the Licensing of *pro*

So the intuition in Rohrbacher (1999) and Jaeggli & Safir (1989) that V2 and Null Subjects were incompatible was **wrong** in one way and **right** in another

In Fin-V2 systems Null Arguments are widely licensed, but it is true that Force-V2 destabilises the acquisitional evidence for Null Arguments, presumably a factor behind the loss of referential Null Subjects in Germanic

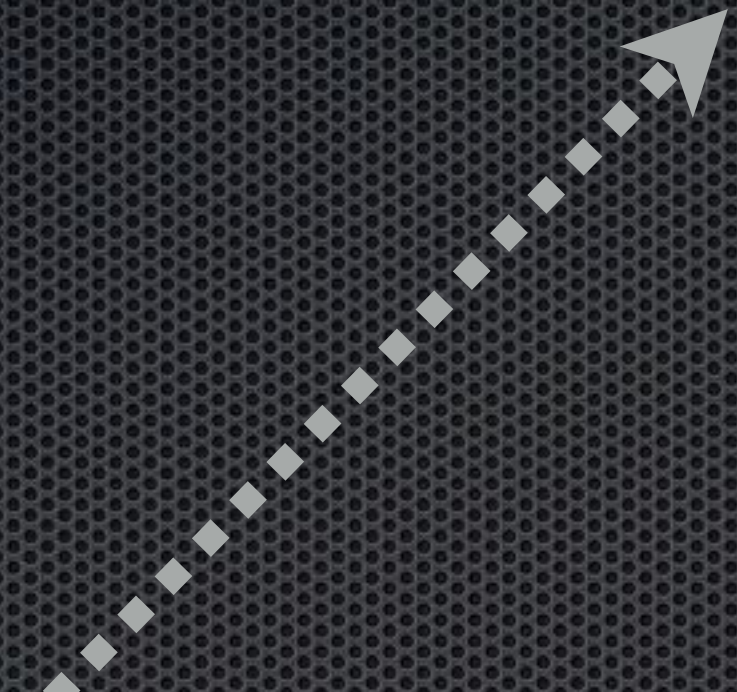
Base-Generation vs. Internal Merge



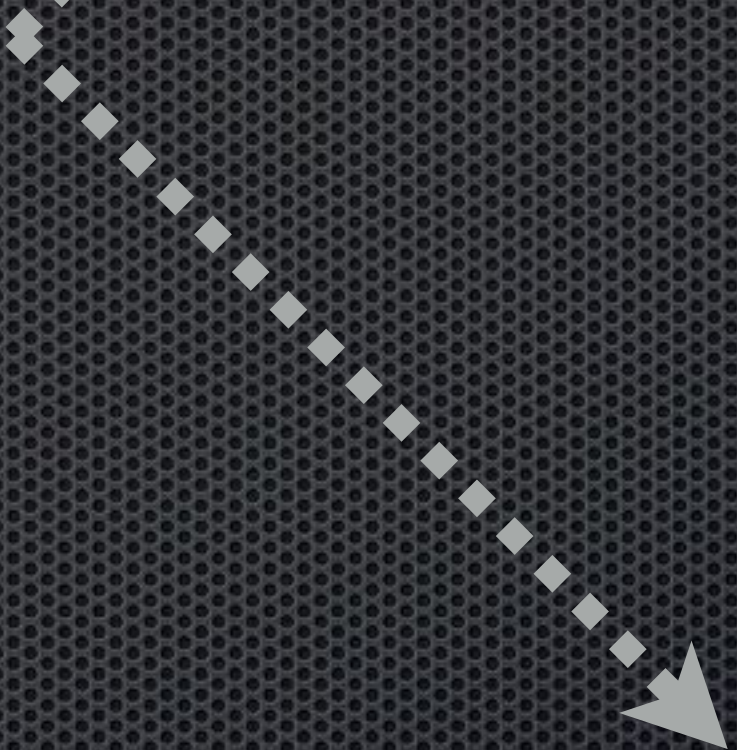
Fin-V2 systems make extensive use of the lower Topic and Focus layer, which can plausibly host constituents which have been internally-merged (cf. Benincà & Poletto 2004 on the lower fields of the CP as an ‘operator layer’)

If we assume UG shows a preference for base-generation in the upper portion of the CP (Ledgeway 2010), we may account for North/South contrasts today on the basis that the Force-V2 system ‘pushes’ towards base-generation over internal merge in the CP.

Information Focus



Licensed in all the Fin-V2 systems, with informationally new direct objects, for example, attested across the textual records



Absent from all Force-V2 systems though it remains to be established where the cause and effect lies. Wolfe (2016b) argues that the loss of CP-Information Focus triggers the reanalysis towards Force-V2

Information Focus

Again a contemporary syntactic isogloss in Romance can be accounted for by the 13th century = a Force V2 system will never license Information Focus today

Summary

- Medieval Romance languages not only show rich internal variation, but allow us to explore a richer typology of V2 variation than we have from Germanic data alone.
- The analysis put forward here suggests the V2 property has a special significance within the grammar: it has profound effects on the Null Argument system, the Syntax-Pragmatics mapping and the nature of the functional structure at the left edge of the clause.
- Some syntactic isoglosses separating the Modern Romance languages can already be deduced from the 11th-14th century textual records. This takes us a step closer towards historical dialect syntax.

Thank You