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Embedded Pro

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EMBEDDED Pro*

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1. Standard Old French (c. 1100-1300)

The usual distribution of null and overt subjects in Old French (OF) is illustrated in (1). The examples show that pro is limited to postverbal position and that V(S) order typically occurs only in main clauses.[1,2]

(1) a. Einsi partirent ___ del port de Venise com vos avez oï.
thus left (they) from the port of Venice as you have heard
"Thus they left from the port of Venice as you have heard." (Vil. XVI)

   b. Les drás suzlevet ___ dunt il esteit cuvert.
the cloths removed (he) with which he was covered
"He removed the cloths with which he was covered." (Alexis 346, cited by Wagner 80)

   c. Une aventure vus dirai ___ /Dunt li Bretun firent un lai.
a story will (I) tell you of which the Bretons made a lai
"I will tell you a story of which the Bretons made a lai." (Marie de France, Laüstic 1-2)

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    d.   De venoison ont ____ grant plenté.
        of meat have (they) plenty
        "They have plenty of meat." (Bér. 1773)

    e.   Tant ont <u>François</u> chevauchié.
        long have the French ridden
        "The French have ridden a long time."

                                    (Ch.N. 1070)

    f.   L'escu, fet il, vueill <u>ge</u> bien veoir.
        the shield, said he, want I well to see
        "The shield," said he, "I very much want to see."

                                    (M.A. 25)

    g.   <u>Tu</u> m'a amé celéement et jou toi.
        you me-have loved in secret and I you
        "You have loved me in secret and I you."

                                    (R.Gr. 29)

The pattern in (1a,b,c) holds even when the embedded subject is the same as that of the main clause. This is shown in (2):

(2) a.   Lors deviserent____$_i$ comment <u>il</u>$_i$ le prendront.
        then discussed (they) how they him-will-take
        "Then they discussed how they will take him."

                                    (R.Gr. 20)

    b.   Encor ne sai ____$_i$ ou q'$_i$en doie trover.
        still not know (I) where I should find some
        "Still I do not know where I should find some."

                                    (Ch.N. 84)

The word order sequences illustrated in (1) and (2) are summarized in (3):

(3)   <u>Main clause</u>   <u>Embedded clause</u>
        XV(S), SV(X)   SV(X)

    As can be seen from the examples and the summary, OF observes a Germanic-type verb second (V2) constraint in main clauses: any XP may come first, but the inflected verb (V_i) is always second. Examples (1e,f) show that the subject is indeed postverbal when some XP other than the subject maintains V2, and (1g) shows that the subject itself could maintain V2. In subordinate clauses the base order of OF, SVO, is retained. V2 effects are typically derived in terms of two rules. One rule preposes V_i to the head of Comp (C^o), the other moves some XP to Spec,CP. The derivation of (1d) is given in (4):

(4)   [$_{CP}$ De venoison$_i$ [$_{C'}$ ont$_j$ [$_{IP}$ <u>pro</u> [$_{I'}$ t$_j$

    grant plenté t$_i$]]]]

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In previous work (Adams 1987a,b) I argued that the restrictions on <u>pro</u> can be explained in terms of directional government: agreement is equally rich in all clauses, but only in main clauses does V_x govern <u>pro</u> in the canonical direction. In short, <u>pro</u> must be both (i) governed by Infl (or Tense), the head which identifies <u>pro</u>'s position, and (ii) coindexed with rich agreement, the antecedent which identifies <u>pro</u>'s content. In addition, government is directional, and direction is determined in terms of the position of a head with respect to its complements.[3],[4]

2. <u>Pro</u> in complement clauses

Although one can account in this way for a large amount of data, <u>pro</u> is sufficiently common in complement clauses as to cast doubt on the directional condition. Since some form of directionality is assumed by many linguists to be a universal condition, the matter is not unimportant.

The existence of <u>pro</u> in complement clauses has been pointed out recently in Hirschbühler (to appear), Hirschbühler and Junker (1987), Depuis (1987), and Vance (1987a,b). None of these these papers deny the accuracy of the generalizations summarized in (1)-(3); what they do make clear is that the generalizations are far from absolute. Hirschbühler and Hirschbühler and Junker have compiled examples of subordinate clause <u>pro</u> spanning the 13th through the 16th centuries. The initial impetus of the present work was the attempt to explain data of the sort put forth in these papers. Depuis and Vance have looked at similar facts and have proposed theories to account for them; their theories differ both from each other and from the one offered below.[5]

An examination of the distribution of null subjects in complement clauses shows that their distribution is predictable and cannot be laid to chance or to poetic license. Thus it should be possible to find an explanation. The solution I propose continues to rely on directional government. In addition, it supports the base structure proposed by, Fukui and Speas (1986), Koopman and Sportiche (1986), Kuroda (1986), and others,[6] which places the underlying position of the subject within VP. Finally, it makes certain claims about specifier positions--what they may contain and when they may be empty.

2.1. V2 Complements

<u>Pro</u> occurs in several types of OF complement clauses. One of its most common occurrences is in what

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might be called V2 complements. The structure of these
clauses exactly matches that of main clauses. That is,
they observe V2 effects. V2 complements in OF are
usually introduced by bridge-type verbs, shown in (5),
and sometimes by expressions of degree, shown in (6).

(5) a.   Or voi ge bien, [plains es ___ de mautalant].
         now see I well (that) full are (you) of ill-will
         "Now I see well that you are full of ill-will."
                                              (Ch.N. 295)
    b.   Et il respondirent que [de ceste nouvele sont il
         moult lié].
         and they replied that about this news are they
         very happy
         "And they replied that they are very happy about
         this news." (M.A. 45)

    c.   Ço sent Rollant [de sun tens n'i ad ___ plus].
         that felt Rolland (that) of his time not was
         (there) more
         "Rolland felt that his time was up." (Rol. 2366)

(6) a.   Jo ai tel gent [plus bele ne verreiz ___].
         I have such an army (that) more beautiful not
         will (you) see
         "I have an army such that you will never see a
         finer one." (Rol. 564)

    b.   Tel duel en a ___ [le sens cuide ___ changier].
         such grief of it has (he) (that) his wits thinks
         (he) to lose
         "He has such grief over it that he thinks he will
         lose his mind." (cited by Einhorn 102)

    c.   Il estoit si soupris de l'amour d'elle que
         [tousjours convenoit il qu'il fust en lieu ou il
         la peüst veoir]
         he was so surprised with the love of her that
         always was-necessary it that he be there where he
         her could see
         "He was so taken with love for her that he always
         arranged to be there where he could see her."
                           (Bérinus 12, cited by Offord 221)

Since the complement clauses are structured like main
clauses, it is reasonable to assume that they license pro
in a similar manner, that is, by verb fronting to Comp,
as illustrated in (7) for (5a) (cf. (4)):

(7)   ...[CP plein$_i$ [C' es$_j$ [IP pro [I' t$_j$ t$_i$

      de mautalent]]]]

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Empirical evidence for the configuration in (7) is found in (5b) and (6c), which show a lexical subject in post-V_x position. Notice that the complementizer <u>que</u> 'that' is optional in OF. When it is present in this type of clause, I suggest that it takes a CP complement. For further discussion of this type of complement see Adams (1987b, to appear).

The V2 complement survived throughout the Middle French (MidF) period until V2 effects were lost generally in main and complement clauses alike. The only significant difference between OF and MidF usage in this respect is that in MidF the complementizer came to be almost always expressed.

2.2. WH and adverbial complements clauses

If (7) is a correct analysis then it is clear that the V2 complement poses little difficulty for a theory of directional government. But <u>pro</u> also occurs in other kinds of complement clauses in OF. These fall into two main groups, WH complements and adverbial, or adjunct, complements. Although the majority of both have the familiar structure common to Modern French (ModF), that is, SVO order with a lexical subject (examples can be seen in (1a,b,c) and (2a,b) above), those with null subjects are sufficiently numerous as to require attention. Hirschbühler (to appear) finds several such examples in Foulet's grammar, <u>Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français</u>, and notes that they are of two types, subordinator VY and subordinator XVY (p. 3). My study corroborates this observation: V_x is either first or second in these complements. The examples in (9) and (10) illustrate V1 and V2 WH complements, those in (11) and (12) corresponding adverbial complements.

<u>WH complements</u>
(Indirect questions and relatives pattern alike in relevant respects.)

(9)   a. Je sui le sire a cui [___ volez parler.]
         I am the master to whom wish-3p to speak
         "I am the master to whom you wish to speak."
                                            (Ay. 4041)
      b. L'espee dont [___ s'estoit ocis.]
         the sword with which himself-was-3s killed
         "The sword with which he killed himself."
                                          (Chast. 913)
(10) a. ...la parfaite amour que [<u>sans deshonneur</u> lui
         pourtez]
             the perfect love which without dishonor
         to-her-bear-2p

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"...the perfect love which he bore to her without
dishonor." (Saintré 16, cited by Vance 1987a, 20)

b. ...je me plaing d'une amor/ ke [longuement ai
servie.]
     I weep over a love which long have-1s served
"...I weep over a love which I have long served."
(C.M. XI, cited by Foulet 314 and Hirschbühler 6)

Adverbial complements
(e.g. se 'if', com 'as', quant 'since''when', ainz que
'before')

(11) a. Ainz que [___ m'en aille en France]
before go-1s to France
"Before I leave for France..." (Ay. 204)

b. Quant [___ vit le roi]
when sees-3s the king-acc
"When he sees the king." (Ay. 702)

(12) a. ...por ce que [chevalier me face]
in order that a knight-acc me make-3s
"...in order that he make me a knight."
(Cligès 113)
b. Il vaut grant argent, quant [latin parole]
it is worth a lot of money since latin speaks-3s
"It is worth a lot of money because it speaks
Latin." (Fabliaux 7, cited by Einhorn 104)

The WH and adverbial complement clauses differ from main
clauses and from the V2 complements discussed above in
two respects. One, they are often verb-initial, as
illustrated in (9) and (11). Two, they do not ordinarily
give evidence of verb-fronting, that is, VS order with a
lexical subject is not common (but see below).
Therefore, unlike the V2 complements, there is little to
suggest that they are CPs (i.e. that the verb is in
Comp), or that they are anything other than IPs. The
fact that they license pro thus seems to call into
question any theory based on directionality. Any such
theory is threatened, however, only if pro is in
Spec,IP. Notice in (10) and (12) that some other XP
appears to occupy Spec,IP. If this is so, then pro must
be elsewhere.7

3. Analysis

3.1 The base position of pro

As noted above (see also note 6), several scholars
have argued that the base, or θ, position of the subject

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is universally within the maximal projection of VP, and
that languages do not differ from one another in the
hierarchical organization of their constituents (although
linear order may vary). The structure Koopman and
Sportiche propose is shown in (13), in which NP' is the
subject and VP' the maximal projection of V:

(13) Universal Base: $[_{IP}$ e $[_{I'}$ Infl $[_{VP'}$ NP' VP $]]]$

VP' is structurally equivalent to a small clause with NP'
as subject and a VP predicate. NP' receives its θ-role
from its sister VP, and Spec,IP is expletive. If (13) is
a correct hypothesis, it provides us with a first step
towards explaining the sentences in (9)-(12).

3.2. Conditions on specifier positions

Whereas some languages, such as ModF, Dutch, and
English, require that the subject raise from its base
position to Spec,IP, others, such as Japanese, do not.
Still other languages, such as Irish, may lack Spec,IP
altogether in tensed clauses. The distinction may be
parametric, as Koopman suggests. But if so, on what the
parameter depends is uncertain. Although I do not have a
complete explanation, the data of OF can provide us with
some clues. In addition to supporting (13), OF data
suggest (14).

(14) <u>Conditions on specifier positions</u>

    a. Universal Grammar makes specifier positions
       available to languages. If a language chooses a
       specifier position for a given category, that
       position must either be filled or it must satisfy
       conditions on empty categories (ECP).

    b. Specifier positions are not reserved by universal
       principle for any particular constituent. In
       principle, any XP may occupy any Spec.

I assume that the ECP comprises two independent
conditions:

(15) <u>Conditions on empty categories (ECP)</u>

    a. An empty category must be governed in the canonical
       direction by a lexical head. This identifies the
       empty category's position.

    b. An empty category must be c-commanded by a
       coindexed antecedent. This identifies the empty
       category's content.

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This simplified statement of the ECP draws on the results
of several studies (e.g. Aoun, et al. (1987), Jaeggli
(1985), Stowell (1985), Travis (1984)).

Unfilled specifier positions, being expletive, have
no content and therefore need no antecedent, (15b). They
must however be lexically governed, (15a). The governing
head of Spec,IP is the head of Comp, C^o. I assume that
C^o is lexical when it is indexed by a WH phrase, as in
(9) and (10), or when it contains an element with
semantic content, as in (11) and (12). Comp is neither
indexed nor lexical when it contains only the common,
semantically empty, complementizer que.

Given (13)-(15), (9)-(12) fall into place.
Provided Spec,IP is filled or lexically governed, the
subject can be pro, and if it is pro it remains in VP'
where it is governed and identified by V_x in Infl.
Hence the canonical order $[V_x \text{ pro}]$ is attained in
subordinate clauses, for although V_x does not prepose
to Comp, pro does not raise to Spec,IP. Thus the crucial
factor in the licensing of pro is not whether the clause
be independent or dependent, but the position of the
empty subject with respect to the inflected verb.

If the antecedent relation requires c-command but
not government, as is assumed in (15b), the question
arises as to whether pro could be in Spec,IP in (9) and
(11), where it would be head governed by a lexical Comp
but c-commanded and identified by Agr in Infl. The
answer depends upon at least two factors. One is the
definition of c-command; whether or not Infl c-commands
the subject depends upon the definition one adopts. The
other is whether or not a special relation exists between
Infl and the subject such that only Infl can serve as
governor of pro. Borer (1986) has argued in favor of
such a relation. In the absence of contrary evidence I
will assume, following Borer, that the relation exists,
that pro is both governed and identified by Infl, and
that pro in (9) and (11), as in (10) and (12), is in VP'.

The configurations in (16) and (17) summarize what
has been proposed thus far. They are given for (9a,10a)
and (11a,12a), respectively:

(16)   a. ...$[_{CP}$ a cui$_i$ $[_{C'}$ e$_i$ $[_{IP}$ e $[_{I'}$ volez $[_{VP'}$ pro

$[_{VP}$ parler t$_i$]]]]]

b. ...$[_{CP}$ que$_i$$[_{C'}$ e$_i$ $[_{IP}$ sans deshonneur$_j$ $[_{I'}$

lui-pourtez $[_{VP'}$ pro $[_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_j$]]]]]

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(17)   a. [CP Ainz que [IP e [I' m'en aille [VP' pro

[VP en France]]]]]

b. ...[CP por ce que [IP chevalier₁ [I' me face

[VP' pro [VP t₁]]]]]

In (16) the WH phrase, a cui, is in Spec,CP and a
coindexed empty category is in C°. Several proposals
have been made in the literature as to how this empty
category acquires its index from the WH phrase (e.g.
Aoun, et al. (1987), Jaeggli (1985), Stowell (1985).
The particular mechanism is not important to our theory.
What is important is that C° be indexed, for the
assumption is that the head, by sharing the index of the
WH phrase properly governs the empty Spec,IP in
(16a)/(9a,b). Notice that we are dealing only with
short distance movement in all of our examples; long
movement (ModF: Qui crois-tu qui viendra. 'Who do you
think will come.') is a separate problem in OF and not
addressed here. In (17), I assume that the
complementizer, simple or complex (e.g. se 'if', com 'as'
vs. por ce que 'in order that', ançois que 'before'), is
in C° and properly governs directly the empty Spec,IP
in (17a)/(11a,b). It may be an oversimplification to say
that complex complementizers are entirely in C°. OF
had dozens of complex adverbial complementizers built
upon que, and it is unclear how much 'fusion' had taken
place between their various components. In any event it
is the semantic content of the ensemble which lexicalizes
the head of Comp.

If it is correct, as stated in (14b), that any XP
may occur in any Spec, then the restrictions we find in
certain languages and the differences among languages
must lie outside UG or in the interactions between UG and
language particular rules. In OF almost any XP could
occur in Spec,IP; only some of the possibilities are
shown in (10) and (12). The same is true of Spec,CP, as
illustrated in (1). In Adams (1988) I argue that OF had
a Spec,VP position and that it too was open to a variety
of constituents.

Let us now turn to various arguments in support of
the analysis just proposed.

3.3. Supportive arguments

When the subject is overt I assume some principle
makes it the favored candidate for Spec,IP because overt
postverbal subjects are infrequent in WH and adverbial

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complements.   This principle may have to do with a
general tendency for specifier positions, or
phrase-initial positions, to be reserved for topics or
themes, and an overt subject is very often one of these.
This can only be a tendency, however, even if it is
correct.   Thus when we find an expletive pronoun, for
example, in Spec,IP it must be for another reason, such
as the need to fill the empty position.[10]

But although overt subjects are infrequent in VP',
they are nonetheless attested, and their existence
provides the analysis proposed above with empirical
support.   Examples are given in (18).   Notice that the
word order in (18) cannot be due to Stylistic Inversion,
which moves the subject to the right of V' or VP.   In
(18) only V_x and the subject are reversed.

(18) a. [Quant l'ot <u>li chapelain</u> escrit]...
        when it-had the chaplain written
        "When the chaplain had written it..." (Bér. 2649)

     b. ...[se reançon n'en vialt <u>an</u> prendre.]
        if ransom not-for-it-wants one to-take
        "...if one does not want to take a ransom for
        it."   (Yvain 5262, cited by Skarup 197 and
        Hirschbühler and Junker 3)

     c. Sire, [s'a la vostre bonté/ vousist <u>mon pere</u>
        prendre garde...]
        Sir, if against your good will wished my father
        to take precaution
        "Sir, if against your good will my father wished
        to take precautions..."   (V.P. 378-9)

     d. ...[dont les devons <u>nous</u> bien abhominer]
           for which them-ought we well to abhor
        "...for which we ought to abhor them very much."
        (Saintré 43, cited by Martin 330 and Hirschbühler
        15)

     e. Ce jour meïsme [dont ci vous parle <u>on</u>.]
        this very day on which here to-you-speaks one
        "This very day on which one speaks to you here."
        (Adenet 5137, cited by Skarup 215 and
        Hirschbühler and Junker 3)

     f. ...[si comme anciennement soloient <u>les roys</u>
        faire.]
        just as formerly used the kings to do
        "...just as the kings used to do in the old
        days."   (Froissart 240, cited by Price 1961, 37)

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Since the clauses are subordinate I assume that they
entail WH but not V_x movement to Comp. One might still
think it at least possible that in (18) V_x is in Comp
and the subject in Spec,IP. But notice in (18b,c,e,f)
that some other XP appears <u>between</u> Comp and V_x
(<u>reançon, a la vostre bonté, ci, anciennement</u>). If this
XP is in Spec,IP, as I am arguing, V_x must be in Infl.

     A second piece of evidence in favor of the analysis
is less direct, but suggestive nonetheless. In
clause-initial position OF uses the full, tonic, forms of
the object pronouns instead of the clitic forms. The
full forms show up in complementary distribution with
full NPs. The contrast is illustrated in (19) vs. (20)
(note that <u>lui</u> was a full pronoun in OF, not a clitic).

(19) a. <u>Lui</u> pri je que...
        to-him pray I that
        "I pray to him that..." (Queste 139)

     b. <u>Moi</u> doiz tu dire ton afere.
        to-me must you tell your affaire
        "You must tell me of your affaire." (Erec 2694)

(20) a. <u>Raison me</u> semble ____ que...
        reasonable to-me seems (it) that
        "It seems reasonable to me that..."
                        (R.Tr. 14, cited by Einhorn 101)
     b. <u>Tu</u> l'a ocis.
        you him-have killed
        "You have killed him." (Ad. 732, id. 66)

Therefore when we find the full form at the beginning of
a complement clause, as in (21), it is reasonable to
assume that it is in the initial constituent position,
Spec,IP:

(21) a. Je voi tel chose don$_i$ <u>moi</u> poise t$_i$
        I see such a thing which on-me weighs
        "I see a thing which weighs on me." (Bér. 4455)

     b. Quant <u>lui</u> plaira ____
        since him pleases (it)
        "Since it pleases him." (Queste 167)

If the underscored object pronouns in (21) are in
Spec,IP, then the empty subject or subject trace must be
someplace else. Its logical position, then, is in VP'.

     A third argument in favor of the proposed theory is
also based on complementary distribution. Assume for a
moment that the underscored XPs in (10) and (12), which I

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am suggesting are in Spec,IP, are actually adjoined to
IP.   This leaves Spec,IP empty, which could therefore
contain pro.   But if it could contain pro, it could
equally well contain an overt subject, in which case we
should expect to find some WH phrase or adverbial
complementizer followed by some adjoined XP complement
followed in turn by the subject NP.   That is, the
sequence shown in (22) should be freely available:

(22)   ...WH/Adv [XP NP' V_x ...]

As far as I know, however, this sequence is not
attested: in OF only one constituent shows up between
the subordinate Comp and V_x.[11]   Instead of (22),
then, what one finds is complementary distribution
between the subject and some other XP.   This can be seen
clearly in the pairs of verse lines in (23a,b), but the
phenomenon is general.   (Recall that in OF subject
pronouns were full constituents.)

(23) a. s'a li n'eüst ____ grant acointance
         if with her not-had (he) close acquaintance
         "If he was not closely acquainted with her

         et s'il ne l'amast sanz doutance
         and if he not-her-loved without doubt
         and if he did not love her without a doubt"
                                        (Chast. 741-2)

     b. Quant merci n'i puis ____ trouver
        when mercy not-there-can (I) find
        "When I can find no mercy there

        et je muir por bien amer,...
        and I die for well loving
        and I die for loving well,..."
                        (Colin Muset X, cited by Foulet 294)

There is one exception to (22).   Its order is not quite
as shown, but rather [NP' XP V_x], i.e. SOVI.   For
discussion of this older alternative base in OF, see
Adams (1988).

3.4. Subject relatives

     The proposed analysis has interesting implications
for the derivation of subject relatives.   Consider the
examples in (25), in which some XP shows up in Spec,IP:

(25) a. L'an remorut Gisleberties, Qui de Borgoigne ert
        sire e dus...

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that year died Gilbert who of Bourgogne was lord
and duke
""That year Gilbert died who was lord and duke of
Bourgogne..." (Benoit 22335, cited by Wagner 121)

    b. Li gars, qui <u>le bacon</u> ot pris...
      the boy who the ham had taken
      "The boy who had taken the ham..."
                    (Fabliaux 9, cited by Einhorn 129)

c.   Guillaume, qui <u>preus</u> fu et sages...
      William, who good was and wise
      "William, who was good and wise..." (V.P. 739)

    d. Les hommes qui <u>le batiau</u> gouvernoient...
      the men who the boat steered
      "The men who steered the boat..."
             (Froissart 27, cited by Price 1961, 41)

    e. Boines gens, ensi fui jou pris
      good people thus was I taken
      "Good people, I was taken

      par Amours, ki <u>si</u> m'ot souspris.
      by Love, who so me-had surprised
      by Love, who had surprised me so."
           (Feuillée 165-6, cited by Foulet 300)

What the examples show is that the subject pronoun <u>qui</u>,
in moving from VP' to Comp, need not pass through
Spec,IP. It cannot do so in these sentences, because
Spec,IP is filled by something else.

     Some OF scholars view relative clauses of this type
(i.e. <u>qui</u> XP V) as having underlying SOV order. This has
a curious result: it brings the percentage of subject
relatives with SOV order entirely out of proportion to
the percentage of other relatives and other types of
clauses with SOV order. Price (1961), who classifies
subject relatives in this way in his analysis of the
<u>Chronicles</u> of Froissart, gives the following surprising
figures (p. 43): clauses with SOV order comprise 1.3% of
main clauses, 0.9% of non-relative subordinate clauses,
0.9% of non-subject relative clauses, and 23.8% of
subject relatives. He concludes: "SCV se rencontre très
souvent en proposition relative introduite par <u>qui</u>,
rarement ailleurs" (p. 46). ("SCV is found very often in
relative clauses introduced by <u>qui</u>, rarely otherwise.")
The disproportionate statistical results suggest that the
SOV analysis is incorrect.

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In addition to the statistical argument, there are two empirical arguments against an SOV analysis of (25). One is the relative position of auxiliary and participle in (25b,e); true SOV clauses in OF are Infl-final. The second is that VP material occurs on both sides of V_x in (25a,c); this is unexpected under the assumption that the clauses are verb-final.

4. V1 clauses (VSO)

4.1. V1 in Old French (c. 1100-1300)

A word order not yet discussed is one which begins with the inflected verb. Apart from yes/no questions and imperatives, V1 is uncommon in the OF period, particularly in prose. When it is attested, it is usually in a poetic or expressive context. Some examples are given in (26):[12]

(26) a. Ce fu en mai, el novel tens d'esté;
         this was in May in the new time of summer
         "This was in May, the beginning of summer;

         <u>Feuillissent</u> gaut, <u>reverdissent</u> li pré.
         covered with leaves became the woods green again
         grew the meadow
         the trees in the woods sprouted leaves, the
         meadows grew green."   (Ch.N. 14-5)

     b. <u>Pleurent</u> Franceis pur pitet de Rollant.
        weep the French for pity of Roland
        "The French weep out of pity for Roland."
                                              (Rol. 3120)
     c. <u>Empeint</u> ___ le ben, <u>fait</u> li brandir le cors.
        spears (he) him well makes it brandish the body
        "He spears him well and brandishes his body."
                                              (Rol. 1203)

In recent work (Adams 1987b, to appear) I suggested that V_x preposes to Comp in these clauses just as it does in V2 clauses; but because here the verb is in some sense focused, there is no further need for an XP to precede it. My suggestion was that V_x in these clauses, as in yes/no questions and imperatives, moves into Spec,CP. Another possibility is that there is some kind of focus operator in Spec,CP which licenses the configuration. That V_x fronting does take place is suggested by the postverbal position of the subject in (26a,b).

4.2. V1 in late Middle French (c. 1450-1550)

In the late MidF period one is surprised to find a

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noteworthy, albeit short-lived, increase in V1 clauses
with null subjects. Vance (1987a) observes that
verb-initial clauses are more common in late MidF than in
OF. She does not point out however that the contexts of
V1 are different. Unlike V1 in OF, V1 in late MidF is
not at all restricted to clauses with expressive
content. This is illustrated in (27) (cf. (26)):

(27) a. Ce faict, <u>vint</u> à Paris avecques ses gens.
         this done, came (he) to Paris with his people
         "This done, he came to Paris with his people."
         (Rabelais, <u>Pantagruel</u> 7, cited by Gougenheim 254)

     b. ...<u>se pensa</u> que en meilleure saison ne pourroit
        il faire desplaisir au Roy d'Espaigne
        thought (he) that in a better season not-could he
        displease the king of Spain
        "...he thought that in a better season he
        wouldn't displease the king of Spain."
                              (Marguerite de Navarre, id. 254-5)

c.   <u>Peut</u> bien estre que <u>n'en avez</u> point.
        may (it) well be that not-of-it-have (you) any
        "It may well be that you have none."
                              (Saintré 8, cited by Vance, 13)

        Interestingly, these clauses become frequent just
when V2 effects and <u>pro</u> are disappearing. Let me suggest
that the increase in V1 at the end of the Middle Ages is
a consequence of the stepwise loss of V2 effects. That
is, under common analyses V2 effects are the result of
two independent operations, one moving V_x to C^o, the
other some XP to Spec,CP (cf. (4)). There is no a priori
reason why a language should need to lose both rules
simultaneously. I have argued elsewhere that the
conditions which ultimately led to the loss of obligatory
movement to Spec,CP--that is, which induced learners to
assume that their language did not obligatorily select
Spec,CP--began well before the loss of V2 effects
themselves (Adams 1987b, to appear).[13] It is
reasonable to assume therefore that the V1 clauses in
(27) retain the rule of V_x fronting to C^o but have
lost the rule moving some XP to Spec,CP. In other words,
unlike the V1 clauses in (26) those in (27) have no
Spec,CP. Thus their structure would be that shown in
(28):

(28) $[_{CP} V_{xi} [_{IP}$ <u>pro</u> t_i ...]]

Under this analysis V1 clauses in late MidF illustrate
simply the loss of one rule involved in the V2
derivation, that which obligatorily moves some XP to

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Spec,CP. Empirical support for this analysis is provided
by post-V$_x$ lexical subjects in late MidF V1 clauses:

(29) a. Se esveilloit Gargantua environ quatre heures du
        matin.
        awoke Gargantua around four o'clock in the
        morning
        "Gargantua awoke around four in the morning."
        (Rabelais, Gargantua 23, cited by Gougenheim 254)

     b. Dura ce carnage jusques à la dernière goute de
        sang qui se trouva espandable,...
        lasted this carnage until the last drop of blood
        which was found to let
        "This carnage lasted until the last drop of blood
        was found to let,..." (Montaigne I, 1, id.)

5. Conclusion

     In this paper it has been argued that given
directional government, the universal base, and the
proposed conditions on specifier positions it is possible
to explain a wider distribution of null subjects than is
possible under directional government alone. The
historical data in turn support the validity of the
proposed principles.

NOTES

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whose presentations at the 1987 ACFAS conference helped
keep the interest alive.

     [1] For a fuller discussion of these and other
aspects of OF grammar see Adams (1987a,b) and references
cited there.

     [2] As much as possible I have used original
materials in carrying out this study. When secondary or
tertiary sources are used, they are noted in the

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citations along with the original. The translations of the cited passages from OF to English are mine; all inaccuracies thus rest on me.

[3] Subject pronouns in OF were full constituents, not clitics; they could therefore satisfy the V2 requirement, as in (1g), for example.

[4] The main-subordinate clause asymmetry does not show up in Spanish and Italian because these languages, unlike OF, license free inversion (rightward movement) of the subject. Free inversion, unlike V_x fronting, is not limited to main clauses.

[5] Vance argues that pro is licensed either under canonical government by Infl (whether or not Agr is rich) or under coindexation with rich agreement (see Vance's (2) (1987b)). This seems to overgeneralize somewhat cross-linguistically and also leaves the strong asymmetry of OF (see (1)-(3) above), with which Vance concurs, a mystery: since Agr is rich in main and in subordinate clauses alike we should expect no asymmetry under her theory. The details of Depuis's analysis have not been made available to me.

[6] See Contreras (1987), Cowper (1987), Diesing (1987), Fukui (1986), Fukui, N. and M. Speas (1986), Kitagawa (1986), Koopman (1987), Koopman and Sportiche (1986), Kuroda (1986), Speas (1986), Sportiche (1987), Zagona (1982).

[7] It is unlikely that pro in WH clauses can be explained in terms of Stylistic Inversion (SI):

    i. L'homme qu' t_i avait aimé Marie$_i$.
        the man that had loved Marie
        "The man that Marie loved."

First, SI was less common in OF than it is in ModF. Second, SI only occurs with full NPs, not pronouns (although the reason for this may be phonological, that is, the need to avoid a phrase-final weak element, something from which empty categories would be exempt). Finally, SI applies only to WH, not to adverbial, clauses; the latter would still require an explanation.

[8] According to Stowell (1985) the empty category is the trace of the WH phrase which passes through C° before arriving in Spec. Jaeggli (1985) suggests on the other hand that the index on the empty category is a consequence of Spec-head agreement.

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[9] This is similar to the proposal in Aoun, et al. (1987) to the effect that an indexed Comp functions as a lexical head: when Comp is coindexed with the subject trace, it head governs that trace.

[10] Koopman (1984) motivates subject raising in terms of Case assignment: the subject raises to Spec,IP because Case assignment is directional.

[11] In the late OF and MidF periods subject pronouns began to cliticize. Thus when the subject, NP', is a pronoun one must bear in mind the possibility that after a certain date it need not be a full constituent. Likewise one must exempt cases in which the XP in (22) is a parenthetical or floating quantifier.

[12] Although V1 is rare in OF apart from the contexts noted the following examples have been attested:

    i.   S'il n'eüst le cuer aillors,/ bien se peüst
         apercevoir/ par samblant/ que l'amast por voir.
         "...that (she) loved him truly." (Chast. 50-2,
         cited by Foulet p. 323 and Hirschbühler and
         Junker 1)

    ii. Si averiez bien deservi/ d'avoir amie en si
         haut leu/ qu'en eüssiez honor et preu.
         "...from whom (you) would have honor and
         advantage." (Chast. 62-4, id.)

Note however that although the examples are apparently unfocused and unexpressive, they are nonetheless written in verse.

[13] Briefly, my argument is that the decline in the frequency of pro and the loss of V2 effects in late MidF was due to both syntactic reanalysis (i.e., the frequent use of the subject to satisfy V2 led learners to assume that derived SVO was basic: [S [V [t t O]]] --> [SVO]) and to the cliticization of subject pronouns to pre-V_x position. The latter, I maintain, had to do with rhythmic changes (e.g. the loss of enclisis, the strengthening of phrase-final stress). These changes together with the syntactic reanalysis led speakers to assume that their language did not obligatorily select Spec,CP. For details, see Adams (1987b,to appear).

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