SYNTACTIC MICROVARIATION IN ROMANCE: BRIDGING SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY: THE CASE OF SI

1. Background, Aims and Methods

1.1. Aims of the Paper

- Numerous wide-ranging, data-rich studies of Medieval Romance languages have emerged in the last three decades, drawing on an old intuition that the modern vs. medieval dichotomy is morphosyntactically important (Tobler 1875; Mussafia 1888:145-146; Meyer-Lübke 1889:760-840; Delbrück 1900:375-395; Schoch 1912; Foulet 1928:§389-406; Sorrento 1950).

- Significant puzzles remaining:
  - The extent to which it is possible to identify variation between varieties, akin to the very rich patterns of variation observable in contemporary Romance varieties (i.e. D'Alessandro, Ledgeway and Roberts 2010; Olviéri & Sauzet 2016; Kato & Ordóñez 2016; Panâ Dindelegan, Dragomirescu, Nicula, & Nicolae, 2018).

  - The degree to which we can observe changes *within* the medieval period (Roberts 1993; Vance 1995; Poletto 1995; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005, 2012, 2017; Wolfe 2016b), rather than broader brush 'macro' distinctions between medieval and modern varieties.

  - The interaction between observable changes in the system of **null arguments** (Adams 1987a; Vance 1995, 1997; Zimmerman 2014), **Verb Second** (Roberts 1993; Benincà 1995, 2004, 2006, 2013; Wolfe 2015, 2016a) and **the syntax/pragmatics mapping** (Fleischman 1990; Salvi 2005; Labelle 2007; Cruschina 2011; Donaldson 2016).

- The focus of this paper:

  - Discussion of the syntax of a ubiquitous part of Medieval Romance syntax, the particle SI.

  - This seems like a parochial area of interest, but actually intersects a number of the core changes in clausal syntax taking place in this period, namely changes in the null argument system, changes affecting verb second, the syntax of subject positions and the nature of the left periphery.

  - **The main thrust of the argument**: the interconnectedness of changes affecting si which have not generally been noticed previously and the fact that the diachronic progression of SI shows several distinct stages.

1.2. Empirical Background on Old French

1.3.1. Verb Movement and the Left Periphery

- Distributional differences between finite verbs and adverbials in Modern English vs. French > finite verb in French but not English moves out of the (*v*)-VP and into the clause's inflectional layer (Kayne 1991:648-657; Chomsky 1995; Roberts 2001:121-123, 2010b:258-271; Rowlett 2007:106-107):.

  (1) a. John always **kisses** Mary [Modern English]
       b. Jean **embrasse** toujours Marie [Modern French]

  (2) a. [$_{TP}$ John [$_{LAS}$ always [$_{v\text{-}VP}$ **kisses** Mary]]]
       b. [$_{TP}$ Jean **embrasse** [$_{LAS}$ toujours [$_{v\text{-}VP}$ ~~embrasse~~ Marie]]]

- But this 'classic account' is a simplification of the empirical facts:

  - Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005:86-89), Fedele (2010:§2-4), Nicolae (2014), Cruschina & Ledgeway (2016:560-562), Ledgeway (in press c), Schifano (2015a:Ch.4-8): Modern Romance verb movement targets a variety of head positions within the Tense-Aspect-Mood field.

- This is an important claim if French is a V2 language:[1]

  - Classic account of V2 > Verb and some XP move out of the clausal core targeting C(omplementiser) and SpecCP respectively.

  - This predicts the main/embedded asymmetries observed for V2 effects in Old French with SVO orders far more frequent in embedded clauses than in matrix clauses (Adams 1987b:5; Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1986:§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).

- If 'V-to-T movement' is a cover term for a range of verb movement operations within the inflectional layer, where does that leave the V2-related 'V-to-C' movement?

  - In a richly articulated let periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004, 2006, 2010, 2013; Benincà & Poletto 2004; Ledgeway 2010:51; Haegeman 2012) this is non-trivial:

(3) [Frame *HT*, *Adv*Scene-Setting [Force *Complementiser*1, [Topic *ClLD*, *Aboutness Topic* [Focus *Focus*Contrastive, *Quantifier*Indefinite, *Focus*Information [Fin *Complementiser*2 [TP…]]]]]]

- This has led to different approaches to Old French V2:

  - V-to-Fin (Salvesen 2011, 2013:134)

  - V-to-Focus (Benincà 2004:285-292, 2006:70; Labelle 2007:301-305; Donaldson 2012:1029)

  - V-to-Force (Rouveret 2004; Wolfe 2016a) to be the locus of V2 have all been proposed.

- Compare different ways of deriving (4):

(4) messe e   matines **ad**   li reis escultet
    mass and matins have.3SG the king hear.PTCP
    'The King has attended mass and matins' (*Roland* 11, 139)

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[1] Thurneysen (1892), Wartburg (1958:103), Price (1971:§11.5), Moignet (1973:287), Skårup (1975:290), Harris (1978:18-22, 1984:189-198), Adams (1987a:2-3, 1987b:4-7, 1987c, 1988:§1-2), Vance (1987, 1988:87, 1993:281-286, 1997), Fleishman (1991:267-270), Roberts (1993:Ch.2), De Bakker (1997:Ch.1), Rouveret (2004), Labelle & Hirschbühler (2005, 2012, 2017), Mathieu (2006:§2, 2009:344, 2012:340), Labelle (2007:290), Vance, Donaldson & Steiner (2009:302-307), Salvesen (2011:§1, 2013:135-138), Hansch (2014:81-118), Steiner (2014:10-23), Wolfe (2016a:§2, 2016b:§1.2).

(5) a. [Frame [Force [Topic [Focus [Fin messe e matines [Fin° ad] [SubjP… li reis escultet]]]]]]]
   b. [Frame [Force [Topic [Focus messe e matines [Force° ad] [Fin [SubjP…li reis escultet]]]]]]]
   c. [Frame [Force messe e matines [Force° ad] [Topic [Focus [Fin ~~messe e matines~~ [Fin° ad] [SubjjP…
   li reis escultet]]]]]]]

1.3.2. Subject Positions

- Modern French inversion (Kayne 1983; Rizzi & Roberts 1989; Jones 1996:474-478; Sportiche 1999; Hulk & Pollock 2001; Rowlett 2007:199-225; Kayne & Pollock 2012):

  - Non-pronominal postverbal subjects occur to the right of past participles (Rizzi & Roberts 1989; Hulk & Pollock 2001:5; Sheehan 2006:99, 2010:§3.4):

(6) J'exige que **soit** éliminée <u>cette solution</u>
I=require.1SG that be.3SG.SBJV eliminated.PTCP this solution
'I want this solution to be eliminated' (Hulk & Pollock 2001:5)

- Old French 'Germanic'-inversion (Adams 1987b:4; Roberts 1993:§2.2; Vance 1997:78-79; Salvesen & Bech 2014:223)[2]:

  - Postverbal subjects occur to the left of past participles, infinitives and VP adverbs.[3], so unambiguously show that earlier French varieties licensed V-to-C movement:

(7) a. Par tantes teres **ad** <u>sun cors</u> traveillet
     over so.many lands have.3SG his body suffer.PTCP
   'His body has suffered across so many lands' (*Roland*, 540)
   b. Et quant il furent ajosté ensemble, si **furent** <u>li noir</u> vaincuz
     and when they were joust.PTCP together si be.3PL the blacks defeat.PTCP
   'And when they met in the jousting, the blacks were defeated' (*Graal* 182, 40)
   c. Et enqui **ot** <u>Guillelme de Chanlite</u> brisié le braz d'une pierre
     and there have.3SG Guillelme de Chanlite break.PTCP the arm of=a stone
   'and there a stone broke Guillelme de Chanlite's arm' (*Villehardouin1* 167)

  - Old French also licenses postverbal subjects akin to those in Modern French:

(8) a. A cele foiz ne **furent** mie venu <u>tuit li baron</u>
     at that time NEG be.3PL NEG come.PTCP all the barons
   'At that point, not all the lords had arrived' (*Villehardouin1* 79)
   b. Si **est** avenue <u>la semblance de l'evangile</u>…

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[2] For more descriptive discussion of this construction in Old French, see Einhorn (1974:115), Jensen (1990:336) and Muller (2009:246) among others.

[3] These non-finite verbal forms demarcate the left edge of the v-VP complex (Cinque 2001, 2006:12; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004:525; Ledgeway in press c).

SI be.3SG happen.PTCP the likeness   of the Gospel
'What is said in the Gospel has happened…' (*Graal* 166, 17)

- **Descriptive conclusion**: Old French features multiple postverbal subject positions (Benincà 1983-4:190, 1995:326, 2004:278; Adams 1987b:9; Roberts 1993:56; Hulk & van Kemenade 1995:235; Vance 1995:177; De Bakker 1997:56; Ingham 2014:30, 34).

  - Higher subject position in inflectional layer > definite, discourse-active, thematic subjects (Vance 1997:77; Salvesen & Beck 2014:222; Wolfe 2015c:90).
  - Lower *v*P-internal position > discourse-OLD or NEW (De Bakker 1997:57; Vance 1997:79; Myking 2012; Salvesen & Beck 2014:222; Wolfe 2015:91).

1.3.3. Null Arguments

- **Standard Modern Metropolitan French > non-Null Subject Language** (Rizzi 1986:400; Roberts 2010a:307, 2010b:§3.5, 2014b:§2-4) vs. **Old French > form of Null Subject Language:**

  - System until 1200:

    ‣ Null subjects in matrix clauses can yield verb-initial orders (9a) (Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005:62; Labelle 2007:300; Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012:30; Salvi 2012:§3.1; Zimmerman 2014:36; Kaiser & Zimmerman 2015; Wolfe 2016a:470-471).

    ‣ Null subjects occur in a range of embedded clauses (Adams 1987a; Dupuis 1988; Vance 1988; Roberts 1993:136-147) (9b):

(9) a. **Getet**   le a terre…
      throw.3SG.PST=it to ground
    'He throws it to the ground…' (*Roland* 464)
    b. Se **veïssum**   Rollant einz qu'il   fust   mort
      If   see.1PL.IMP.SBJV Roland before that=he be.3SG.PST dead
    'If we saw Roland before he was dead…' (*Roland* 1804)

- Change ~1180-1220:

  ‣ Heavy restrictions on embedded null subjects (Adams 1987b:3, 1987c:Ch.1; Roberts 1993:139; Vance 1997:Ch.5; Poletto 2013:160)

  ‣ (Near)-total absence of V1 clauses (Skårup 1975:291; Marchello-Nizia 1980:331; Vance 1997:32; Rouveret 2004:193-195; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2005:66, 2012:11).

1.3.4. Left-Peripheral Constituents and Particles

• Old French preverbal field not specialised for subjects:

  - A point of agreement between traditional, descriptive and formally-oriented approaches:

    ‣ Foulet (1928:306-333), Wartburg (1958:103), Moignet (1973:357), Skårup (1975:9-69).

    ‣ Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà (1986:§4.1), Adams (1987b:4-5, 1988), Roberts (1993:85-87), Hulk & Van Kemenade (1995:235-236), Vance (1997:43-47), Donaldson (2012:1025), Mathieu (2012:327), Salvesen (2013:135-136), Steiner (2014:xviii)

  - Presence of a direct object triggers Verb-Subject 'inversion' (4, 8b, 10b):

(10) a. Li reis Marsilie **esteit**   en Sarraguce
       the king Marsile be.3SG.PST in Zaragoza
     'King Marsile was in Zaragoza' (*Roland* 10)
     b. Ce **oïrent**   el   palés   maint
       that hear.3PL.PST in-the palace many
     'Many in the palace heard this' (*Charrette*, 80)
     c. et a chascun **rendra**   ce   qu'il   avra   deservi
       and to each   give.3SG.FUT that which-he have.3SG.FUT deserve.PTCP
     'and he'll give each what he has earned' (*Graal* 163, 32-33)

• Particles can appear in the preverbal field:

  - AINZ 'but', OR 'now', APRES 'afterwards', PUIS 'then', ET 'and, thus' and SI (Foulet 1928:§300; Gardener & Green 1958:130; Ménard 1968:81; Moignet 1973:287-288; Skårup 1975:238-239; Marchello-Nizia 1985:2; Jensen 1990:472-473; Van Reenen &

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Schøsler 1992, 1993, 2000; Schøsler & Van Reenen 1996; Vance 1997:61, 235; Buridant 2000:508-510; Bonnard & Régnier 2008:209-210).

-   These often elude satisfying translation, description and formal analysis.

1.4. The Database

• Hand annotated 12th and 13th century corpus, including both poetry and prose:

-   Texts taken from philologically reliable editions in the *Base de Français Médiéval*.

-   *Roland, Thèbes, Eneas* and *Villehardouin* > all SI-clauses extracted.

-   Charrette, Clari and Queste > ~ 300 analysed.

-   Annotated for a dozen syntactic and discourse-pragmatic variables.

Table 1. Textual Database

Text	Composition	Poetry/Prose
Chanson de Roland	c. 1100	Poetry
Roman de Thèbes	c. 1150	Poetry
Eneas	c. 1155	Poetry
Chevalier de la Charrette ou Lancelot	c.1177-1181	Poetry
Conquéte de Constantinople (Villehardouin)	c. 1199-1213	Prose
Conquéte de Constantinople (Clari)	After 1205	Prose
Queste del Saint Graal	c. 1225-1230	Prose

2. Previous Approaches to SI

2.1 SI as an Adverb

• SI patterns with other clause-initial adverbs and serves to structure the discourse:

-   Foulet (1928:301-303), Anglade (1930:§248), Ménard (1968:81), Moignet (1973:287), Skårup (1975:238-239), Jensen (1990:472-473), Bonnard & Régnier(2008:209-210). At first glance, there is much to be said for this classification.

- Advantages of this account:

  - SI derives from Latin temporal deictic adverb, SIC 'thus' (Salvi 2004:15 n.66; Rosén 2005:228-230; Pinsker 2006:65, 107-108; Ledgeway in press a, in press b), itself derived from a manner adverb 'like this':

(11) et   sic   **plecaremus**   <u>nos</u> ad montem   Dei
     and thus arrive.1PL.PST.SBJV we at mountain.ACC God.GEN
     'and we thus approached the mountain of God' (*Peregrinatio* 2, 4)

  - SI triggers inversion like other adverbials (Foulet 1928:301-303; Jensen 1990:472) (12):

(12) Si **luisoient**   ja   <u>les estoiles</u>

     SI shine.3PL.PST already the stars

     'The stars were already shining' (*Charrette* 31a, 1015)

- Unanswered questions:

  - Sheer abundance of SI:

    ‣ Foulet (1928:300): in early French 'there is hardly a page where it doesn't appear several times' (Marchello-Nizia 1985:2; Fleischman 1991:261; Buridant 2000:§408).[4]

    ‣ This corpus: occurs 20 lines in the *Roland* and every 24 lines in *Charrette.*

  - Weak fit for CLAUSE + SI configurations (Foulet 1928:301; Moignet 1973:288; Einhorn 1974:103; Jensen 1990:473; Fleischman 1991:262; Benincà 1995:333; Vance 1997:64-65; Buridant 2000:509; Steiner 2014:26; Salvesen 2014:143).

    ‣ Frequency increases significantly in the 13th century

    ‣ Why does an adverbial meaning 'thus, so' need to occur after an initial clause 177 times in *La Queste*?:

(13) Quant il vint   en la valee, si **comença**   a penser   mout durement
     when   he come.3SG.PST in the valley SI begin.3SG.PST to think.INF very hard
     'When he came to the valley, he began to think very hard' (*Graal*, 194d, 8)

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[4] See also Van Reenen & Schøsler (1992:115, 2000:97) who show that the overall frequency shows regional variation, with SI more frequent in northern texts.

- **Si co-occurs with adverbials encoding exactly the notions of temporal continuity and succession that SI is meant to encode!** (Fleischman 1991:263; Schøsler & Van Reenen 1996:640-641 and Van Reenen & Schøsler 2000:79-80):

(14) quant a   sa proie devoree,   donc si **s'endort**   gole   baee
when has.3SG its prey devour.PTCP thus SI REFL.CL=sleep.3SG mouth open
"When it has devoured its prey, it then goes to sleep with its mouth wide-open" (*Eneas1*, 489-490)

2.2. SI as a Topic Marker

- A popular analysis where **SI encodes continuity of Topic or more explicitly is a marker of 'same-subject reference'** (Fleischman 1991, 1992).

  - See also: Diez (1882:2060), Skårup (1975:238-239), Blumenthal (1980:121), Van Reenen & Schøsler (1992:102, 1993:617, 2000:84), Benincà (1995:333), Vance (1995:184, 195, 1997:53), Schøsler & Van Reenen (1996:644), Ferraresi & Goldbach (2000:17), Buridant (2000:508), Bonnard & Régnier 2008:209)

- Accounts for a lot of the data like (15):

(15) <u>Li   vaslés</u> **entendi**   bien que li   empereres li donnoit   boin
the vassal understand.3SG.PST well that the emperor   him.CL=give.3SG.PST good
consel ; si **s'atorna**   au plus belement qu'il   peut, si
counsel SI REFL.CL=prepare.3SG.PST at most best   that=he can.3SG SI
s'en   **vint**   avec les messages
REFL.CL=LOC.CL=come.3SG.PST with the messengers
'The servant understood clearly that the emperor had given him good advice. He prepared the best he could and came with the messengers…'(*Clari* 30, 31)

- Accounts for absence of SI at the beginning of what Fleischman (1991:256) terms "thematic paragraphs" (following Givón 1983:7-8):

  - This corpus: No cases where a chapter or paragraph on a new Topic begins with SI (in keeping with Marchello-Nizia 1985:25; Ménard 1988:328; Lemieux & Dupuis 1995:96; Vance 1997:54; Van Reenen & Schøsler 2000:86; Buridant 2000:508; Bonnard & Régnier 2008:209).

- But this analysis is not without problems:

  - Unexpected co-occurrence with a readily ACTIVE or ACCESSIBLE (Lambrecht 1994:165) subject, a construction which is not exceptional (Foulet 1928:301; Marchello-Nizia 1985:7; Fleischman 1991:265-266,271; Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002:12; Salvesen 2013:156; Buridant 2000:509):

(16) <u>ceste ville</u> si **est** mult riche et mult bien garnie de toz biens
    this town SI be.3SG very rich and very well stock.PTCP of all goods
    'and this town is very rich and well stocked with provisions' (*Villehardouin1* 86, 4)

  - Unexpected co-occurrence with new information subjects, which is entirely unexpected if si is a 'same-subject marker' (Fleischman 1992):

(17) a. E si i **furent** e <u>Gerin e Gerers</u>

      and SI LOC.CL=be.3PL.PST and Gerin and Gerers

    'And Gerin and Gerer were there' (*Roland* 107)

    b. Quant je me fui endormiz si m'**avint** <u>une avision</u>

      when I REFL.CL=be.1SG.PST asleep SI REFL.CL=come.3SG.PST a vision

      <u>merveilleuse</u>

      marvellous

    'When I was asleep a marvellous vision came to me' (*Graal* 197a 23-24)

2.3. SI as a Focus or Fin Expletive

- Many formal analyses view **SI as a form of last-resort mechanism to satisfy some part of the V2 constraint**:

  - SI is a phrasal category, satisfying the part of the constraint requiring XP merger in the C-domain (Lemieux & Dupuis 1995:95; Benincà 1995:333, 2006:64; Vance 1995:184-185; Rouveret 2004:193-195; Poletto 2005:218-224; Salvesen 2013:143; Wolfe 2016b:469-470, 473)

  - Merger of a Head SI is an alternative (Ledgeway 2008:452-465) or complementary (Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002:18-23) strategy to V-to-C movement.

- Problems:

  - SI co-occurs with Germanic inversion, showing that V-to-C movement does obtain in the presence of si. It therefore cannot be a Head (pace Ledgeway 2008:444-445) and must be a phrasal category::[5]

  (18) Quant eles furent   faites, si **fu**   <u>la chose</u> teüe   que on
       when they be.3PL.PST do.PTCP SI be.3SG.PST the thing keep-quiet.PTCP that one
       iroit en Babilloine
       go.3SG.IMPV to Babylon
       'When they [the covenants] were completed, it was kept secret that we would go to Babylon' (*Villehardouin1*, 30, 3)

- Advantages:

  - Expletive-like analysis fits with semantically vacuous nature of SI (Foulet 1928:§300; Ménard 1968:81; Moignet 1973:287-288; Skårup 1975:238-239; Jensen 1990:472-473; Roberts 1993:330; Vance 1995:185; 1997:53).[6]

  - Accounts for SI's near-total absence in embedded contexts (Marchello-Nizia 1985:15; Lemieux & Dupuis 1995:96; Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002:11, 2003:113) where V2 is generally not operative (Adams 1987a, 1987b et seq.).

  - Fits with observation that SI declines at the same time as V2 (Compare Roberts 1993:220-227; Vance 1995, 1997:350-351; Steiner 2014:260 with Marchello-Nizia 1985:200 and Fleischman 1991:278).

- But questions remain:

  - What actually is 'last-resort'?

  - How do we reconcile such an analysis with the clear discourse-pragmatic effects SI has in certain texts?

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[5] As Ledgeway (2008:439, n.3) highlights, Ferraresi & Goldbach's (2002) claim that SI is merged in Fin in addition to the finite verb makes the incorrect prediction that the finite verb will precede SI, following left adjunction to the particle in Fin. As such I do not pursue this account here.

[6] Poletto (2005:218-227) also puts forward an analysis of Old Italian SI as an expletive element, a claim Benincà (1995:333, 2004:266-267, 2006:64-65, 2013:72) also makes for Medieval Romance in general.

3. OLD FRENCH SI - CONTINUITY AND VARIATION

- TABLE 1 overleaf summarises the main findings of the corpus analysis, showing that the data are far from the homogeneous many treatments of SI would lead us to expect.

- In what follows, I outline some of the main observations that emerge from the corpus analysis, both in terms of points of continuity and variation.

Table 1. Overall Distribution of SI

	Et + SI		SI		DO DP + SI		Subject + SI		Adv + SI		PP + SI		Clause + SI		XP + XP + SI		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Roland, 1100	13	6.47%	138	68.66%	1	0.50%	2	1.00%	22	10.95%	11	5.47%	8	3.98%	6	2.99%	201
Thèbes 1150	28	13.02%	119	55.35%	2	0.93%	9	4.19%	11	5.12%	3	1.40%	39	18.14%	4	1.86%	215
Eneas, 1155	17	13.60%	69	55.20%	1	0.80%	2	1.60%	3	2.40%	4	3.20%	26	20.80%	3	2.40%	125
Charrette, 1177-1181	63	21.43%	135	45.92%	0	0.00%	14	4.76%	19	6.46%	3	1.02%	56	19.05%	4	1.36%	294
Villehardouin 1199 - 1213	32	7.98%	156	38.90%	3	0.75%	32	7.98%	23	5.74%	16	3.99%	122	30.42%	17	4.24%	401
Clari 1205	30	10.53%	113	39.65%	0	0.00%	4	1.40%	26	9.12%	1	0.35%	109	38.25%	2	0.70%	285
Queste 1225 - 1230	15	5.00%	97	32.33%	0	0.00%	6	2.00%	0	0.00%	4	1.33%	177	59.00%	1	0.33%	300

3.1. SI-INITIAL AND CLAUSE + SI CONFIGURATIONS

- All texts show orders where:

    - **1**: SI **is the only preverbal constituent** (cf. also Marchello-Nizia 1985:Ch.1 and Van Reenen & Schøsler 1992:117-122, 2000:104-105).

    - **2**: SI **is the only preverbal constituent and co-occurs with a discourse-OLD or NEW postverbal subject** (on which see also Fleischman 1991:271-274; Van Reenen & Schøsler 1992:121; Vance 1997:204):

(19) Et   si y   **fu**   li abbes de Los en Flandres, qui estoit   de maisons
     and SI LOC.CL=be.3SG.PST the abbot of Los in Flanders who be.3SG.PST from houses
     de l'ordre   de Chistiax
     of the-order of Chistiax
     'And the abbot of Los in Flanders, who is from the house of the order of Chistiax was there'(*Clari* 1, 27)

    - **3**: SI **occurs after an initial clause** (Moignet 1973:288; Ménard 1973:186; Marchello-Nizia 1985:152-153; Fleischman 1991:271; Van Reenen & Schøsler 1992:106-107, 2000:86; Vance 1997:65; Vance, Donaldson & Steiner 2012:308-312; Salvesen 2013:147-148):

(20) Dolent estoient et   pensif// si **descendirent**   souz un if
     pained be.PST and thoughtful SI go-down.3PL.PST under a   yew
     'Feeling sorrowful and deep in thought, they went [and sat] under a yew tree' (*Thèbes2* 6789-6790)

(21) Quant il   vinrent   la,   si **parlerent**   au   marchis…
     when they come.3PL.PST there, SI speak.3PL.PST to-the marquis
     'When they arrived there, they spoke to the marquis…'(*Clari* 5, 4)

> One of the most striking corpus findings is the concomitant decline in the relative frequency of the SI-initial pattern and rise in the CLAUSE + SI configuration (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. SI-Initial vs. Clause + SI Configurations
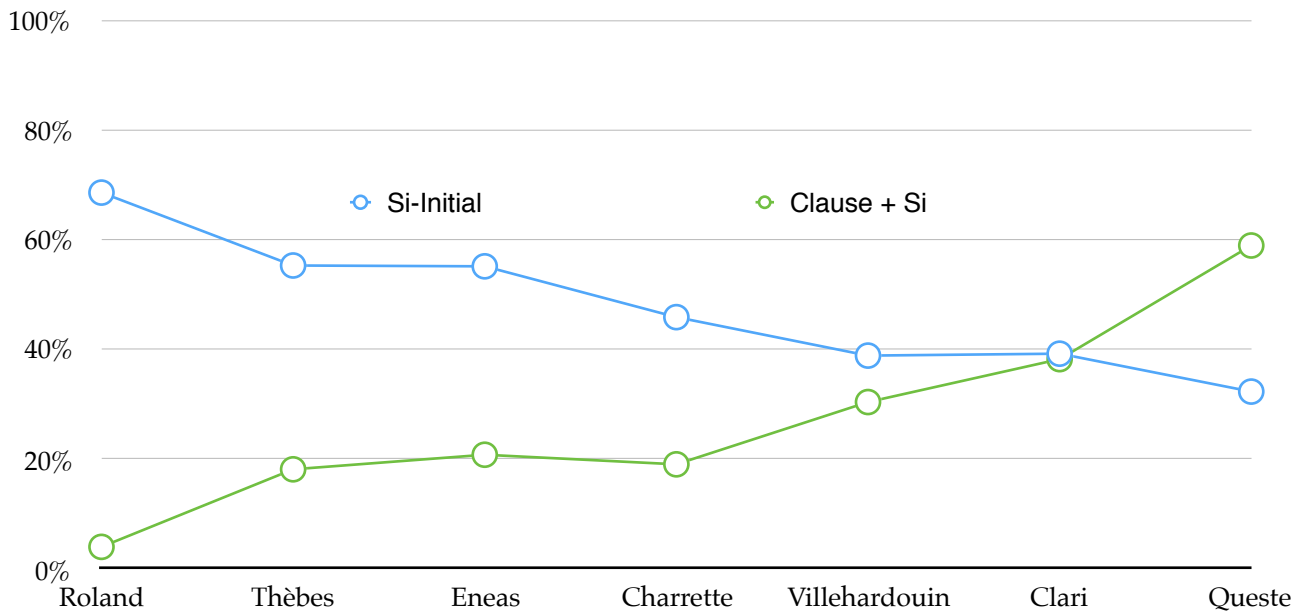
- **This clearly warrants discussion:**

  - In the paradigm case SI is often described as a competing strategy to the use of a Null Subject (Marchello-Nizia 1985:164-166; Fleischman 1991:258; Buridant 2000:§411).

  - We therefore might expect the exact opposite pattern to obtain (i.e. a rise in the SI-initial orders) as Null Subjects become near-entirely absent in initial position in 13th century French prose (Simonenko & Hirschbühler 2012:30; Wolfe 2016b).

  - The rise in clause-initial configurations also doesn't follow naturally from any of the existing accounts of SI outlined above.

3.2. Subjects

- In line with Fleischman (1991:265) and Marchello-Nizia (1985:169-178) there is a gradual increase in the proportion of SI-clauses which feature an overt postverbal subject in Figure 2, but the diachronic progression isn't entirely neat (Figure 2).

- In terms of discourse status, *Roland*, *Thèbes* and *Charrette* show a tendency for postverbal subjects to be informationally new, whilst *Clari* and *Queste* show more numerous discourse-old postverbal subjects (Table 3).
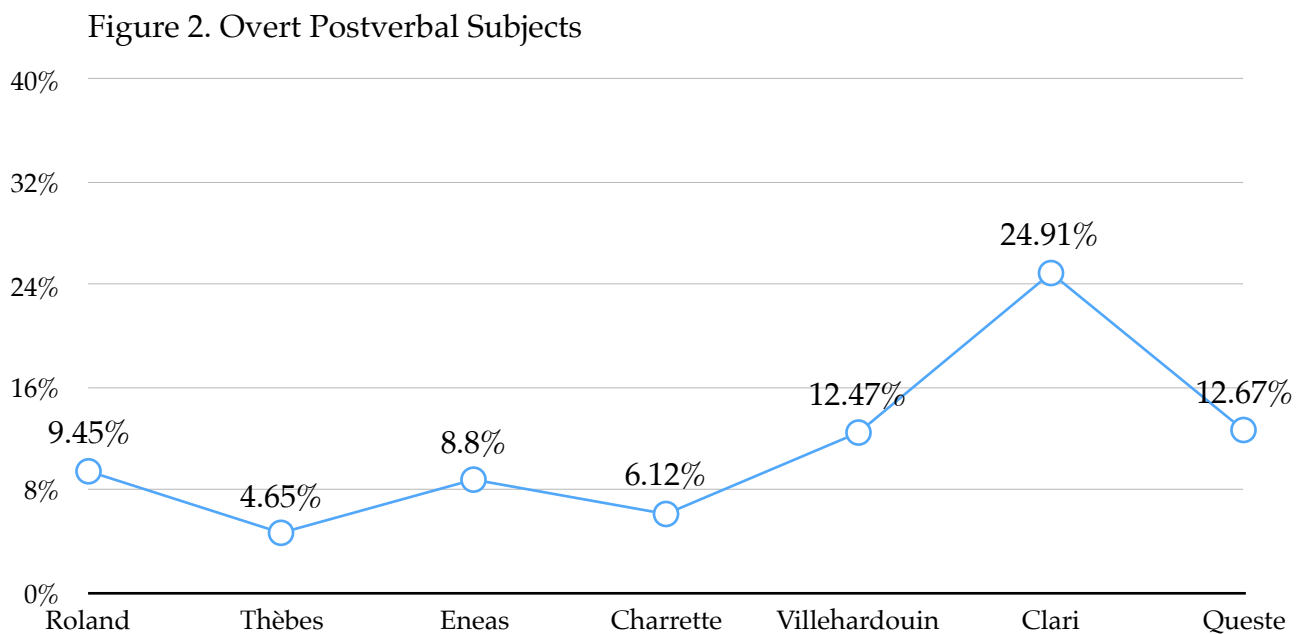
Figure 2. Overt Postverbal Subjects

Table 2. Proportion of SI Clauses with Overt Postverbal Subjects

	Postverbal Subjects	Total SI Clauses	% Postverbal Subjects
Roland, 1100	19	201	9.45%
Thèbes 1150	10	215	4.65%
Eneas, 1155	11	125	8.80%
Charrette, 1177-1181	18	294	6.12%
Villehardouin 1199 - 1213	50	401	12.47%
Clari 1205	71	285	24.91%
Queste 1225 - 1230	38	300	12.67%

- Preverbal subjects also show some variation:

  - *Roland*, *Eneas*, *Clari* and *Queste* > SUBJECT + SI clauses account for between 1 and 1.6% of all attestations.

  - In *Thèbes* this is 4.19%, 4.76% in *Charrette* and a high of 7.98% in *Villehardouin* (Table 1). It does not appear coincidental that these are also the three texts which Table 3 shows have the high proportion of NEW information postverbal subjects.

3.3. PP + SI CONFIGURATIONS

- All the texts show PP-initial SI clauses.

- Adverbial and locative PPs (22, 23) are more uniformly attested than Indirect Object PPs which are only found in *Roland*, *Eneas* and *Charrette*, three of the 12th century texts:

(22) De cele estoire si **fu**   <u>chevetaines</u> Johans de Neele
     of that fleet   SI be.3SG.PST chief   Johan de Neele
     'Johan de Neele was head of this fleet'(*Villehardouin1* 3, 48)

(23) Sur l'erbe   verte si **est**   caeit   envers
     on the-grass green si be.3SG fall.PTCP on-back
     'He has fallen down on his back on the green grass' (*Roland* 2269)

(24) Au   roi, si li   **comance** a dire
     to-the king SI him.CL=start.3SG to say.INF
     'He starts to say to the king…' (*Charrette* 27d, 85)

Table 4. PPs

	PPAdverbial	PPLocative	PPIndirectObject	Total SI Clauses	% PPs
Roland, 1100	2	8	1	201	5.47%
Thèbes 1150	1	2	0	215	1.40%
Eneas, 1155	0	3	1	125	3.20%
Charrette, 1177-1181	0	2	1	294	1.02%
Villehardouin 1199 - 1213	8	8	0	401	3.99%
Clari 1205	1	0	0	285	0.35%
Queste 1225 - 1230	2	2	0	300	1.33%

3.4. Adverbial + SI Configurations

- Adverbials are found before SI in all texts except *La Queste.*

- However in the *Roland* these can be VP-level manner adverbials (25) (Marchello-Nizia 1985:157-160), whereas in all other texts they serve a frame-setting function, anchoring the clause in terms of locative or temporal coordinates (Poletto 2000: 100; Benincà & Poletto 2004: 66; Öhl 2010: 62) (26):

(25) a. Durement en halt si **recleimet**   sa culpe
       strongly   on high SI profess.3SG his sin
     'He loudly professes his sins' (*Roland* 2014)
     b. Cunquerrantment si finereit   li   bers.
        conquering.ADV   SI end.3SG.COND the nobleman
     'The lord would end his life as a conquering hero' (*Roland* 2867)

(26) a. puis si se   **departirent**
        then SI REFL.CL=leave.3PL.PST
     'Then they departed' (*Clari* 4, 2)
     b. Aprés si s'en   **alerent**   en Venice
        after   SI REFL.CL=LOC.CL=go.3PL.PST to Venice
     'Afterwards they went to Venice' (*Clari* 7, 5)

3.5. Direct Object + SI Configurations

- As predicted by Marchello-Nizia (1985:158) these are shown in Table 1 to be rare.

  However, they are found in several texts:

(27) a. Reis Vivien si **succuras**   en Imphe
        King Vivien SI help.2SG.FUT in Imphe
     'help King Vivien there in Imphe' (*Roland* 3995-3996)
     b. Les forteresces, les citez, si les **aiez**   et   departez
        the fortresses   the cities SI them=have.2PL.SBJV and leave.2PL.SBJV
     'Sack the fortresses and cities and leave' (*Thèbes1* 3807-3808)
     c. et   tote la terre si **tenoit**   Toldres li Ascres
        and all the land SI hold.3SG.PST Toldre l'Ascre
     'And Toldre l'Ascre held all the land' (*Villehardouin2* 196, 387)

- Intertextual variation:

  - The *Roland* is the only text showing an informationally NEW direct object (27a).

  - In all other texts they are discourse-OLD.

  - The example in the Roland may therefore be the only instance of a preverbal informationally-focalised object occuring with SI (Benincà & Poletto 2004:58; Cruschina 2006:368-373, 2008:21-22, 2011:102-107; 2012:Ch2).

3.6 SI-THIRD CLAUSES

- Table 1 > SI-third clauses are **never numerous** (N=1-17). Nevertheless deserve attention as **V3, and V4* orders have become a controversial topic** within historical Romance linguistics.[7]

  (28) Quant la dame   ot   piece ploré,//son duel et   son complaint
       when the woman have.3SG a-little cry.PTCP her grief and her complaint
       mené,// si **apela**   un escuier
       show.PTCP SI call.3SG.PST a   squire
       'When the lady had cried a little and shown her grief and sorrow, she called upon a squire' (*Eneas1* 3385-3388)

- There is a small-scale decline for V3, but *Villehardouin* does not follow this pattern, with the highest amount of V3. There are only two examples in *Clari* and one in *La Queste*.

Figure 3. SI-Third Clauses
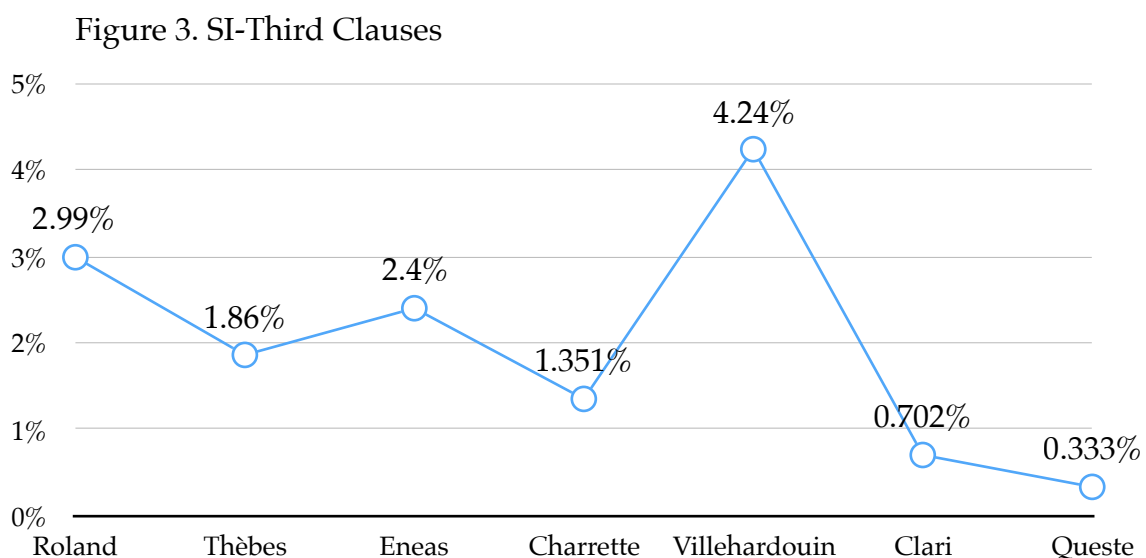
[7] The literature is truly vast here, but see for French Skårup (1975:435-459), Vance (1997:61-62), Labelle (2007:303), Donaldson (2012:1038), Mathieu (2012:339-341) and Salvesen (2013). For Medieval Romance in general see Benincà (2004:273-282, 2013:73-77) and Wolfe (2015c, 2016a).

4. SI IN THE OLD FRENCH LEFT PERIPHERY

4.1. THE DATA TO ACCOUNT FOR

- Lots of accounts have viewed SI as a relatively homogeneous entity (Foulet 1928; Moignet 1973; Skårup 1975; Jensen 1990) and more recent treatments (Fleischman 1991; Vance 1995, 1997; Buridant 2000; Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002).

- But any account actually needs to account for the following variation:

  i)   Topic continuity contexts, but others where this does not fit the data.

  ii)   A link with the V2 property that characterises all texts under discussion

  iii)   The fall in SI-initial clauses and rise of CLAUSE + SI configurations.

  iv)   The tendency in 13th-century texts for postverbal subjects to be discourse OLD.

  v)   The decline of focussed elements before SI.

  vi)   The small decline in V3* orders in *Clari* and *La Queste*

4.2. SI IN *LA CHANSON DE ROLAND*

- The case where the Topic continuity analysis looks appropriate (the analysis of Fleischman 1991, Skårup 1975, Blumenthal 1989, Van Reenen & Schøsler 1992, 1993, 2000, Buridant 2000).

  ‣ Majority of attestations > SI only preverbal constituent > Fits with idea that in a V2 language the first constituent is frequently a 'default Topic' (Vikner 1995:41; Westergaard 2009:36; Jouitteau 2010:203; Holmberg 2015:376; Biberauer, Wolfe & Woods forthcoming).

  ‣ Low proportion of overt preverbal (1%) and postverbal (9.45%) subjects > expected under this account.

- But CLAUSE + SI is still found in the *Roland,* where this analysis doesn't seem the right fit:

  (29) Quant l'ot   Rollant, si **cumençat**   a rire
       when it.CL=hear.3SG Roland SI begin.3G.PST to laugh.INF
       'When Roland heard this, he began to laugh' (*Roland* 303)

- **Proposal:** SI has been reanalysed from a temporal deictic adverbial in Latin (Ledgeway in press a, b) to a marker of Topic continuity

  - Like other adverbials it can optionally satisfy the V2 constraint, by raising into the left periphery.

- In contexts where there is an initial clause, it may be that certain clauses in Old French do not 'count' for V2 (Donaldson 2012)

  - Under standard Relativised Minimality assumptions (Rizzi 1990, et seq.) the adverbial SIC's high position within the inflectional layer may mean its the closest available constituent to satisfy V2.

  (30) $[_{\text{Frame}} [_{\text{Force}} [_{\text{Topic}} [_{\text{Focus}} [_{\text{Fin}} \underline{\hspace{2em}} [_{\text{Fin}°} \textbf{V}] [_{\text{T}_{\text{Deixis}}} \textit{\textbf{si}} [_{\text{SubjP}} \ldots [_{v\text{P}} \ldots [_{\text{VP}} \ldots]]]]]]]]]$

- But where does SI move to within the articulated left periphery assumed for Early Old French (Benincà 2004, Rouveret 2004, Labelle 2007, Wolfe 2016a)?

  - A position within the Topic layer would be a natural fit on pragmatic grounds, but SI can be preceded by topical constituents suggesting Spec-TopP would not be free to host SI.

  - SI can also be preceded by focal elements (new information objects and VP-adverbials) as seen above. If the dedicated position for Information Foci is directly above Fin Cruschina (2006:377-378; 2012:219), SI must be in SpecFinP.

  - This fits with recent accounts of Early Old French V2:

    ‣ V-to-Fin movement and merger of a phrasal constituent in Spec-FinP (Salvesen 2011, 2013:134; Wolfe 2016a:478-479).

- Rise in CLAUSE + SI configurations, which, as noted above, jump from a mere 3.98% in the Roland, to ~20% in *Thèbes*, *Eneas* and *Charrette* > Supports expletive analysis.

- **Hypothesis for 12th-century SI**: SI is first-merged in Spec-FinP when no other constituent can satisfy V2 via internal merge (i.e. movement).

- Evidence:

  - SUBJECT + SI clauses which increase in frequency in all three texts, though most notably in *Thèbes* and *Charrette.*

  - All these subjects tagged as discourse-OLD > constituents in the Topic layer base-generated there (Benincà & Poletto 2004:71; Ledgeway 2010:39-40) > SI is merged in Spec-FinP *not* to encode Topic continuity but to satisfy Fin's EF.

  - Si can occur with adverbials, but all of them are frame-setting or speaker-oriented adverbials assumed to be base-generated high in the left periphery (Cinque 1999:§1.2; Ernst 2009:§3; Woods 2014:§4-5; Cruschina & Ledgeway 2016:31.2.2.1; Ledgeway in press c:§1.3):

(31) a. et   nequedant si s'an   **gardot**…
      and however   SI loc.CL look.3SG.PST
    'however, he looks at it…' (*Eneas* 9255)
   b. et   nepourquant si li   **est**   tart
      and nevertheless SI him.CL=be.3sg late
    'and nevertheless it is late in coming to him…' (*Thèbes2* 8084)

  - In these texts we see a clear syntax-pragmatics mapping: preverbal subjects are consistently discourse-old, new information subjects seem to only occur post-verbally:

vii)   [Frame [Force [Topic Subject$_{OLD}$ [Focus [Fin *si* [Fin° **V**] [SubjP… [vP Subject$_{NEW}$… [VP…]]]]]]]]]
  - **Why?** Growing incompatibility of Foci with SI:

    ‣ No focussed direct objects in texts other than the Roland and only on focused Indirect Object PP in Charrette and Eneas.

    ‣ No VP adverbs in texts other than the Roland.

‣ Given that French loses preverbal Information focus around 1200 Labelle 2007: 302–305; Labelle & Hirschbühler 2012: 15, 19–21; Mathieu 2012: 341; Wolfe 2016a:480, we could speculated that the incompatibility of foci with SI contributes to its demise.

- **Summary**:

  - Lots of variation between texts, but progressive attestation of grammar where SI loses unambiguous Topic continuity role and increasingly acts as a last-resort mechanism to satisfy V2.

  - Therefore following typical grammaticalisation path where constituent originally moved to a higher functional position come to be base-generated there (Roberts & Roussou 2003:195-202; Van Gelderen 2004:28, 2009:290, 2011:Ch.1; Roberts 2012b: 353).

4.4. SI IN 13TH-CENTURY FRENCH

4.4.1. Villehardouin

- Fits more with the 12th century texts than the other 13th century ones. A FinP expletive analysis fits the data best:

  - No evidence of VP-adverb or Indirect Object focalisation; increase in CLAUSE + SI configurations; increase in overt postverbal subjects.

  - Highest proportion of SUBJECT + SI clauses in the whole corpus at 7.98% (n=32).

  - Shows 4.24% (n=17) of SI-third clauses where Frame-Setter co-occurs with a thematic expression:

(32) En icel termine, <u>li   marchis   Bonifaces de Monferrat</u> remut   de
     on that time   the Marquess Boniface of Montferrat move.3SG.PST from
         Salenique, si s'en   ala   a la Serre
         Salenica   SI REFL.CL=LOC.CL=go.3SG.PST to the saw
     'Then at that time, Marquess Boniface of Montferrat who had come from Salenica, moved into the saw formation' (*Villehardouin2* 270, 456)

4.4.2. Clari and La Queste

- Show major changes in the syntax which appear to suggest the expletive has been reanalysed upwards within the left periphery, in keeping with the Force-V2 hypothesis for 13th century French (Rouveret 2004:220; Wolfe 2016a:478-484):
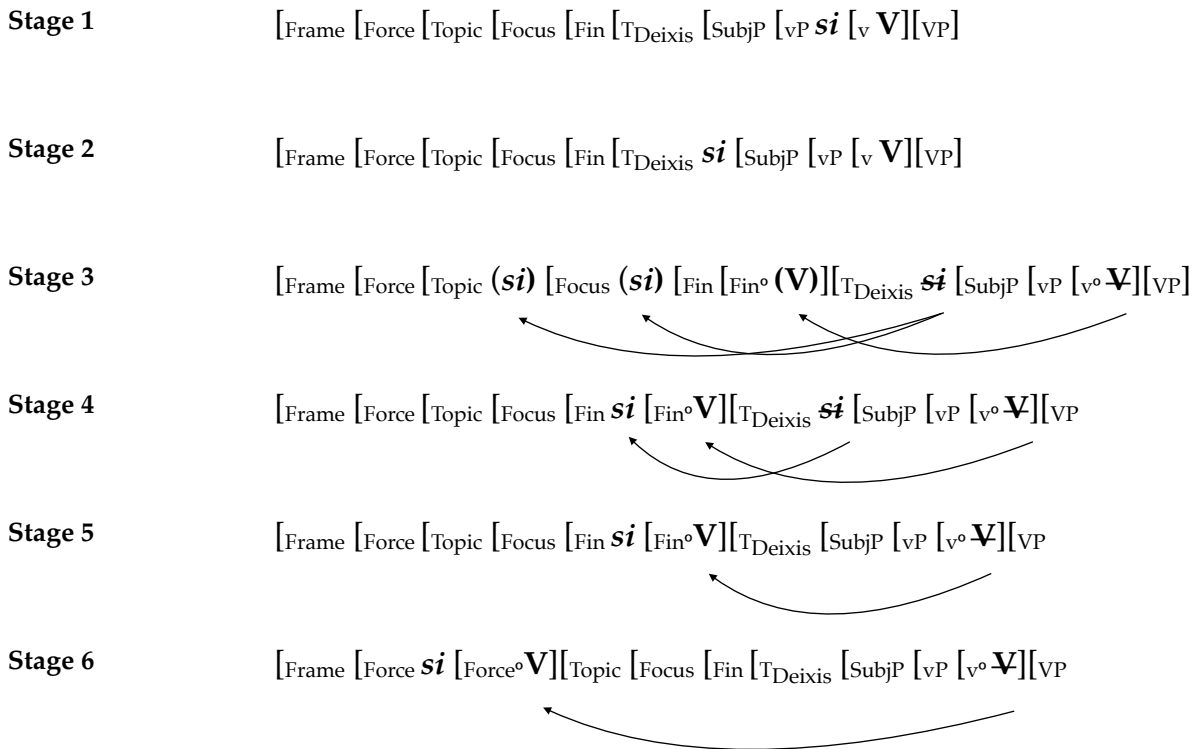
    viii) [$_{\text{Frame}}$ [$_{\text{Force}}$ *si* [$_{\text{Force}^o}$ **V**][$_{\text{Topic}}$ [$_{\text{Focus}}$ [$_{\text{Fin}}$ …]]]]]

- Evidence for diachronic change:

    - Only one instance of SI-third order in *La Queste* and two in *Clari*, but numbers are small across the board.

        ▸ Restrictions would fit with other work on French V3* though (Foulet 1928: 311; Skårup 1975: 435–459; Jensen 1990: 539–540; Roberts 1993: 144; Vance 1995: 183, 1997: 61–62; Wolfe 2016b:293-298).

    - Accounts for rise in CLAUSE + SI > 59% in *La Queste*, 38.25% in *Clari* if wh, adverbial and circumstantial clause are typical Frame-Setters (Haiman 1978:585; Chafe 1984; Jacobs 2001:655-658; Sarda, Carter-Thomas, Fagard & Charolles 2014:279; Borreguero Zuloaga 2014:353f)

    - Total absence of indirect and direct objects predicted under the account if fronted objects target positions within the Topic-Focus layer.

5. THE BIG PICTURE

- In terms of SI's position within the clausal spine, it seems we can identify multiple stages:

    - A VP manner adverbial stage in Classical Latin

    - A temporal deictic adverbial stage in post-Classical Latin

    - A Topic continuity adverbial stage in the *Roland*

    - A FinP expletive stage in 12th century verse

    - A ForceP expletive stage in some 13th century prose.

Figure 4. The Diachronic Progression of SI

Stage 1   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ [$_{Topic}$ [$_{Focus}$ [$_{Fin}$ [$_{T_{Deixis}}$ [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ *si* [$_{v}$ **V**][$_{VP}$]

Stage 2   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ [$_{Topic}$ [$_{Focus}$ [$_{Fin}$ [$_{T_{Deixis}}$ *si* [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v}$ **V**][$_{VP}$]

Stage 3   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ [$_{Topic}$ (*si*) [$_{Focus}$ (*si*) [$_{Fin}$ [$_{Fin^{o}}$ **(V)**][$_{T_{Deixis}}$ *si* [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v^{o}}$ ~~**V**~~][$_{VP}$]

Stage 4   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ [$_{Topic}$ [$_{Focus}$ [$_{Fin}$ *si* [$_{Fin^{o}}$**V**][$_{T_{Deixis}}$ *si* [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v^{o}}$ ~~**V**~~][$_{VP}$

Stage 5   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ [$_{Topic}$ [$_{Focus}$ [$_{Fin}$ *si* [$_{Fin^{o}}$**V**][$_{T_{Deixis}}$ [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v^{o}}$ ~~**V**~~][$_{VP}$

Stage 6   [$_{Frame}$ [$_{Force}$ *si* [$_{Force^{o}}$**V**][$_{Topic}$ [$_{Focus}$ [$_{Fin}$ [$_{T_{Deixis}}$ [$_{SubjP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{v^{o}}$ ~~**V**~~][$_{VP}$

- This is also one of many cases of grammaticalisation in the passage from Latin to Romance:

  - SI shows the **shift from a lexical to functional element** (Meillet 1912; Heine & Kuteva 2002:2; Hopper & Traugott 2003:4-6; Fischer 2003; Ledgeway 2011)

  - SI becomes increasingly '**bleached' of previous pragmatico-semantic content** (Hopper & Traugott 2003:94-98; Roberts 2010:§5; Lehmann 2015:134-136)

  - SI shows a **widening of distribution** > 'defining factor of grammaticalization' (Lehmann 2015:7).

  - Is a straightforward case of successive **upwards reanalysis** (Roberts & Roussou 2002:202; Van Gelderen 2008:247, 2011:Ch1; Roberts 2010:49-50, 2012:353).

- We can schematise these reanalyses as follows:

  ix)   Adv$_{Manner}$ > Adv$_{Temporal}$ > Adv$_{TopicContinuity}$ > Expletive$_{Fin}$ > Expletive$_{Force}$

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

- At first sight SI seems a fairly boring, parochial topic with relatively little 'external significance'. But that is clearly not the case:

    - Empirically, it contributes to the growing view that Old French was subject to extensive internal variation in morphosyntax, aside from phonology and morphology where this is generally acknowledged (Price 1971:7-12; Einhorn 1974:Ch.13 and the contributions in Holtus et al. 1995).

    - Theoretically, SI is an engaging case of upwards grammaticalisation (Roberts & Roussou 2002; Van Gelderen 2008, 2009) and *may* be unusual in providing a case where a constituent has been successively reanalysed along the entire length of the clausal spine, from a VP-adverbial to an expletive in the very highest reaches of the CP.

    - A thorny issue remaining in the historical syntax literature is how to capture the relatedness of certain clusters of change: a topic which was central in Lightfoot 1979, 1989, 1991) amongst others. SI is pertinent here as changes in its syntax are contingent upon changes in the V2 property, but SI itself may also have manifestations on other areas of the syntax.

    - There are fundamental morphosyntactic splits between Gallo-Romance and (Southern) Italo-Romance in terms of the ease with which constituents are moved into the left periphery and the licensing of left peripheral Focus (see in particular Belletti 2008; De Cat 2009; Rowlett 2007:172-188 Haegeman 2012:Ch.2-3; Cruschina & Ledgeway 2016:§31.2):

        ‣ Given SI's ubiquity in Old French texts and growing incompatibility with other moved elements in the left periphery, we may have an answer as to why.

        ‣ If this hypothesis is correct, Old Southern Italo-Romance si should not show the same properties. This seems to be correct (Ledgeway 2008; Wolfe 2015).

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