UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
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Structural deficiency across phases
Oblique pronouns in Old Tuscan varieties

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Modern Italian oblique *loro* (Cardinaletti 1991)

ModIt dative plural pronoun *loro* exhibits a deviant behaviour w.r.t. other oblique pronouns, both clitic and free pronouns.

- It appears before DOs (found also with intransitives = no Dative Shift);

(1)   Ho portato **loro** il regalo.
           have.1s brought them the present
           'I've brought them the present.'

- It can occur in the IP layer, preparticipially, (2a), or before low Voice adverbs (Cinque 1999) like *spesso* 'often', (2b)*.*

(2)   a.   Ho **loro** portato il regalo.
           b.   Ho parlato loro spesso.
                     I.have talked to.them often
                     'I've talked to them often.'

Old Italian oblique *loro* and *lui* (Cardinaletti 2010)

OIt *loro* distributes for the most part as ModIt *loro.*

This distribution was found also with some other oblique pronouns, in particular oblique *lui* 'to him'.

(3)   k'è quella ke noi demo lui la metade
        that is that which we gave him the half
        (OFlor., 1290; *Ricordi di compere*, p. 227)

In a Parametric Hierarchies approach (Roberts 2012 and works of the ReCoS group), the distribution of *loro* could result from a specific "nanoparameter" regarding only the lexical item *loro* (see Vanelli 1999 on *loro* as a relic).

In previous stages the parameter regarded the class of personal pronouns = the process could be a case of the familiar cline "microparameter" > "nanoparameter"

Research questions

Changes in the different settings of parameters trigger diachronic change; nanoparameters can be considered a 'relic' of former micro- or macroparametric settings. Thus, we investigate the synchronic variation in the distribution of *loro* and related forms in Old Tuscan varieties.

?? How can we formulate this parameter?
Is it sufficient to say that *loro* behaves like it does because it is an oblique weak pronoun or are there more abstract properties?
More in general, is structural deficiency always regulated by a (nano)parameter?
?? Can structural deficiency be prametrized?

Short answer: NO

Roadmap

- Modern Italian *loro* and its well-known analysis as a *weak* element (Cardinaletti 1991; Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

- (Not so) weak *loro* in Old Florentine

- (Not so) clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese

- A parametric approach to structural deficiency: why is it not possible?

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Clitic, weak, strong (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

- Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) in a nutshell: pronominal elements come in three possible forms corresponding to three different levels of structural complexity. This tripartition is found across different languages and across different language items hence the tripartition is universal

- Structural deficiency = lack of a set of functional projections

(4)

CP (strong)

C° ΣP (weak)

Σ° IP (clitic)

I° L
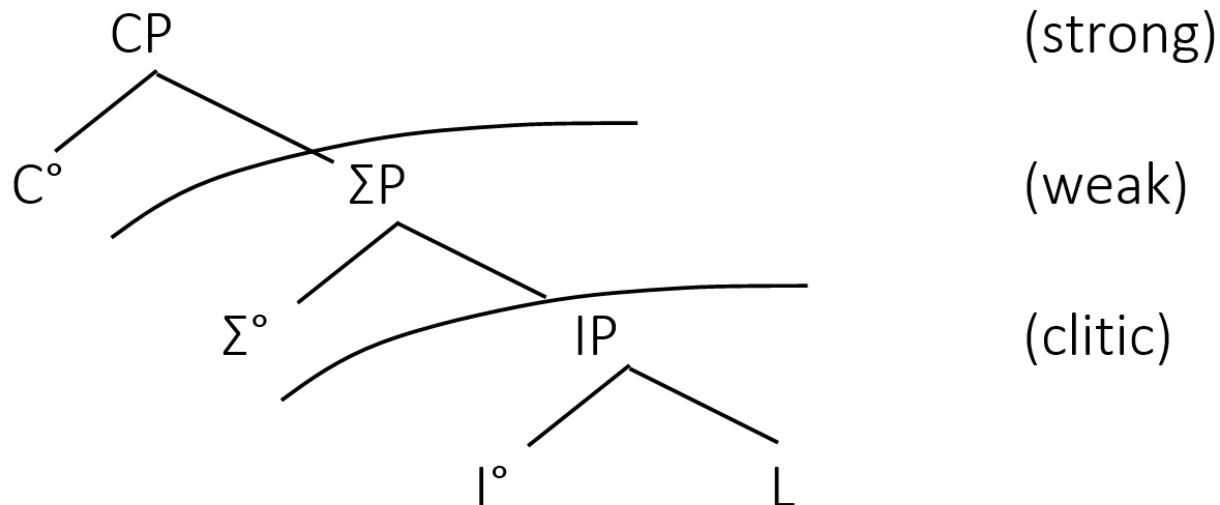
Clitic, weak, strong (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

Grammatical properties associated with the three pronominal classes:

	Strong	Weak	Clitic
Morphophonologically reduced	-	+/-	+
Can have inanimate referent	-	+	+
Positionally dependent	-	+/-	+
Can be coordinated, focused, dislocated	+	-	-
Non linguistic antecedents	+	-	-
Used in isolation	+	-	-

Modern Italian *loro* as a weak pronoun

Italian presents the complete series only for 3pl datives:

- clitic *gli* = X° in a head in the clitic space around T

- weak *loro* = XP hosted in the specifier of a lower AgrP

- strong *a loro* = XP may remain in its position or move to A'-postions

The choice between these forms is regulated by a Choice principle:

"Choose the most deficient possible form"

Hence:

(5)   strong > weak > clitic.

Weak pronouns in diachrony

Egerland (2010) argues that the cline in (5) is also *diachronic* → e. g. for 3sg.masc.nom. Lat. strong ILLE > Old and Modern Italian *egli* > clitic *e'* in some Old and Modern Italian varieties.

Egerland (2010): the diachronic cline holds for *loro* as well:

(6) weak *loro* in Old Florentine > clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese (and other varieties).

Under this view, the trigger for this categorial reanalysis is a morphoponological 'weakening'.

This approach does not fully address the problem of why we do not find complete series for all dative pronouns in Italian or at least in a consistent number of dialectal varieties.

Where do we go from here?

If parameters are "attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g., the functional heads) in the lexicon" (the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (BCC); cf. Biberauer 2008 for a discussion), can we hypothesise a parameter regulating the structural deficiency of specific categories?

If this assumption is correct, weak pronouns are expected to have a predictable behaviour, *independently from the properties of other categories or clausal phenomena*.

This is not the case in Old Tuscan varieties, where items like *loro* do not have a clear distinctive distribution.

Pescarini (2016): "the crucial point is how to disentangle properties hinging on the internal structure of pronouns from phenomena attributable to external, clausal factors."

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Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

Differently from ModIt, OIt *loro* could appear pre-T, usually before negation:

(7) … da che **lor** non piacessi….
       …. from that to.them not please.you '… since they do not like you…'
       (OFlor, 1274; Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto,* v. 1754)

Similar examples of pre-T dative *loro* are still marginally possible in ModIt with a small group of verbs, like *piacere* 'to like' or *occorrere* 'to be necessary', where *loro* has an experience-like interpretation. They can be analysed as:

- Manzini (2014): oblique "quirky" subjects.

- Cardinaletti (2003): relics of Stylistic Fronting (see Franco 2009 on OIt Stylistic Fronting) and which has survived only in specific embedded clauses.

→ In general, in these cases *loro* is straightforwardly analyzable as the first constituent in Old-Romance-type V2 environments.

Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

Nonetheless, Old Tuscan varieties present also clear cases of pre-T dative *loro*, also with diatransitves.

(8)   a.   e **loro** ha donato podere delli altri giudicare.
                    and to.them has given power of.the others to judge
                    'and he gave them power to judge over others'
                    (OFlor., 1310; Zucchero Bencivenni, *Esposizione*, p. 27).

        b.   se la potestà de' tribuni **loro** non fosse renduta.
                    if the power of the tribunes to them not were given.back
                    '... if the tribunes' power was not given back to them.'
                    (OFlor., 1350, *Deca prima di Tito Livio Volgarizzata*, L. 3, cap. 52, p. a317)

        c.   ... e se per convenevole modo puoi declinare a fare che **loro** non favelli
                    ...and if by convenient way can.2sg make to do that to.them not spoke.2sg
                    '... and if, with adequate manners, you can bring yourself to not speak to.them..'
                    (OTusc., 1348; Simone Fidati da Cascia, *Regola,* part. III, pag. 240)

Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

Loro can sometimes be found after negation (and before object clitics):

(9) a.   …che, quelle che pèrdono la vergogna, e' non **loro** rimane nessuno bene.
            … that those that lose the shame, it not to.them remains no good.
            'that, no good remains to those who lose their dignity.'
            (OSien., 1288, *Reggimento de' principi*, L. 2, pt. 1, cap. 15, p.149).

   b.   che alcuno male non **lor** possa avenire, …
            that any harm not to.them might happen
            'so that no harm might happen to them…'
            (OFlor., 1310, Libro de le virtudi de le pietre preziose, pag. 321).

   c.   se voi non **loro** lo date.
            if you not to.them it give
            'if you do not concede it to them'
            (OFlor., 1350, *Deca prima di Tito Livio Volgarizzata*, L. 7, cap. 14, pag. b169)

Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

Indirect evidence that oblique pre-T *loro* is in the clitic space comes from ordering restrictions with the CP operator *sì*, which following Benincà (2006) and Poletto (2014) is hosted in SpecFocus and triggers proclisis. There are cases of *sì loro V,* but no cases of *loro sì V.*

(10)   a.   Sì **loro** avviene come per ammonestamento di natura, che…
                    So to.them happens how by lesson of nature, that…
                    'It happens to them, as if by a lesson taught by nature, that…'
                    (OFlor., 1300; *Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato*, b. 5, chap. 54, pag. 172)
         b.   sì **lloro** rienpie le ciervella.
                    so to.them fills the brains
                    'It fills their brain'
                    (OFlor., 1310; Zucchero Bencivenni, *Santà del corpo*, pt. 1, chap. 16, pag. 111)
         c.   sì **lor** domandaro e inchiesero che **lor** dicesero la verità
                    so to.them asked and questioned that to.them said.3pl the truth
                    '… they asked them and inquired that they told them the truth …'
                    (OFlor., 1325; *Storia del San Gradale*, chap. 261, pag. 179)

Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

There is also a case of resumptive *loro* of a dislocated full-DP indirect object:

(11)   A tutte le creature hae Idio data **loro** virtù e sufficienzia di potere venire…
        To all the creatures has God given to.them virtue and sufficiency to be.able to.come…
        'God has given to all his creatures the power in themselves to go…'
        (OPis., 1306; Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino (1305-1306),* 60, pag. 297)

Notice that in ModIt. doubling is not permitted with weak *loro* (cf. Cardinaletti 1991, ex. 32):

(12)   *Ai miei amici, diedi **loro** un bacio.
        To.the my friend gave.1sg to.them a kiss

Old Florentine *loro* ≠ ModIt *loro*

Cardinaletti (2010) and Egerland (2010) report cases in which *loro* appears in a very low position, after DOs or lower adverbs:

(13)   a.   Molte terre donò Cesare **loro**,
             much land gave C. to.them
             (OSien., 1300; *Fatti di Cesare,* book 7, chap. 37, pag. 254)
         b.   Allora dissi queste parole **loro**…
             Them spoke.1sg these words to.them
             (OFlor., 1293; Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, chap. 18, par. 1-9, pag. 69)
         c.   … e dirai così **loro** …
             … and will.say.2sg so to.them
             (OFlor., 1300; *Novellino*, 36, pag. 211)
         d.   cominciossi monna Agnesina alle più sfacciate, e domandò prima **loro**.
             began lady A. to.the most cheeky, and asked first to.them
             (OFlor., 1300; *Novellino,* 57, pag. 249)

Oblique *lui* in Old Italian

Old Tuscan dative *lui* had a very similar distribution to dative *loro:*

(14)   a.   lo qual non perde alcun, se non **lui** piace.   (Pre-T; Neg > *lui*)
                 the which not loses anyone, if not to.him pleases
                 'which no one loses, if he does not like it.'
                 (OTusc., 1294; Guittone d'Arezzo, *Rime*, poem 49, pag. 133)

        b.   … partimo le tterre: **lui** rimase il podere da Marcigniano a me i Botoli …
                 divided.1pl the land: to.him remains the land from M. to me the B.
                 (OFlor. 1312; *Ricordanze di Guido Filippi dell'Antella*, 811)

(15)   a.   e lla pulciella promise **lui** fede e lealtade.   (postparticipially, pre-DO)
                 and the girl promised him faith and loyalty
                 (OFlor. 1300; Libro della distruzione di Troia, 179)

        b.   Ma Ettor diede **lui** sì forte colpo, che …
                 But E. gave him so hard blow, that …
                 (OFlor. 1300; Libro della distruzione di Troia, 173)

As noted in Cardinaletti (2010), these cases disappeared in later texts.

Pre-T direct object *lui* in Old Italian

There are also a few cases of accusative *lui* in the pre-T position, again appearing after Neg:

(16)   a.   … disse a loro ch' uno non lui toccasse come amasse la vita.
              … said.3sg to them that one not him touch how he loved the life
              '… told them not to touch him if they held their life dear.'
              (OAret., 1300; *Conti di antichi cavalieri,*21 pag. 153)

        b.   né non ***lui*** lasciò stare infino che confessasse li peccati
              and.not not him left be until that confessed.3sg the sins
              'and let him not rest until he confessed his sins …'
              (MFlor, 1400; Leggenda Aurea, chap. 22, pag. a213)

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Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese (Egerland 2010)

Like ModIt clitics, *lo'* can be found both in proclisis to finite Vs in T and in enclisis to non-finite Vs; in proclisis, Neg > *lo'*:

a. Allora **lo'** donò una pietra di grossezza d'una nocella…
    Then to.them gave.3sg a stone of size of a nut
    'Then he gave to them a gem the size of a nut…'
    (OSien., 1300; *Fatti di Cesare (I)*, book 3, chap. 9, pag. 118)

b. Partissi da' frati senza fare **lo'** motto;
    left from frairs without to.do to.them word
    'He left the monks without a word.'
    (OSien., 1376; Giovanni Colombini, Lettere, 80, pag. 197)

c. e mai no **lo'** volse dare udienza
    and never not to.them wanted to.give hearing
    ' .. but he never agreed to hear them'
    (OSien. 1362; *Cronaca senese dall'anno 1202 al 1362*, pag. 70)

Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese (Egerland 2010)

But, like OI clitics, *lo'* distributes according to the Tobler-Mussafia's Law:

(18)   a.   Iddio ***lo'*** dia più conoscimento che non ànno; ò ***lo'*** scritto…
             God to.them give more sense that not have.3pl; have.1sg to.them wrtitten…
             "God may give them more sense than they have; I have written to them…'
             (OSien., 1367; Giovanni Colombini, *Lettere*, 56, pag. 163)
        b.   sì ***lo'*** convenne ritrare arietro
             so to.them was.convenient to.retreat back
             (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La storia di Troia*, chap. 169)   (c)

Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese (Egerland 2010)

Lo' forms clitic clusters, with the modern order dat. > acc. (lo'l, lo' la, cfr. ModIt. glielo). But with the partitive/ablative ne 'of.it/from there' and the reflexive/impersonal clitic se the order is generally ne/se lo' (similar orders are attested also with other dative clitics in Old Florentine, cf. ne gli 'of.it to.him').

(19) a. e coloro che mandati vi furo la chiesero a lo re Priamo, ed egli ***lo' la*** donò
          and those that send there were it asked to the king P, and he to.them it gave
          'and those who were sent there, asked king Priamus for it, and he give it them.'
          (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, chap. 312)

  b. ché ***ne lo'*** conveniva partire
          since from.there to.them was.convenient to.leave
          'since they had better flee.'
          (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La storia di Troia*, chap. 518)

Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese: other properties

Before tensed verbs and auxiliaries beginning with a vowel, *lo'* becomes *l'* (cf. ModIt. *Lo vedo*, lit., him see.1sg 'I see him', but *L'amo*, lit. him love.1sg 'I love him', along with *Lo amo*).

(20)   a.   Sì lo' dice che … Poi *l*'à detto che si mantenghino insieme
    so to.them says that after to.them has said that themselves keep.3pl together
    'He said to them… Then he said to them tthat they should stay together'
    (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, chap. 404)

    b.   Sì *l*'andò a la 'ncontra e combatté contra loro molto vigorosamente
    so to.them went to the towards and fought against them very hardly
    'He went towards them and fought them very vigorously.'
    (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, chap. 111)

Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese: other properties

In some cases, *lo'* seems to double a dative DP: notice again that this is not possible with weak *loro* in ModIt, while it is acceptable with clitics:

(21)   a.   la matina vegniente **lo'** farebe a tutt' e quattro mozare la testa.
           the morning following to.them would.make to all and four sever the head
           'The following morning he would have the head of the four of them severed.'
           (OSein., 1362; *Cronaca senese*, pag. 116)
        b.   *Il mattino seguente farà **loro** a tutti e quattro tagliare la testa.   (ModIt)
        c.   ? Il mattino seguente **gli** farà a tutti e quattro tagliare la testa.   (ModIt)

Like ModIt. clitics, it is repeated in coordination:

(22)   che lo' ruppero li scudi e lo' dismagliaro gli asberghi e lo' fanno piaghe
        that to.them broke the shield and to.them broke the hauberks, and to.them made.3sg wounds
        'that they broke their shields and their armours, and they wounded them'
        (OSien. 1322; Binduccio dello Scelto, *La Storia di Troia*, chap. 324)

Clitic *lo'* in Old Sienese: other properties

Lo' however has just one outstanding non-clitic characteristic: it does not seem to be subject to PCC effects (example from Egerland 2010).

(26)   Cristo mai non **me lo'** parta dall'anima.
          Christ never not me to.them divide from.the soul
          'May Jesus never take me away from their soul'
          (OSien., 1367; Giovanni Colombini, *Lettere*, 28)

→In Old Sienese though many distributional characteristics hint at the clitic nature of the 3pl dative pronoun, there are still traces of 'weak' properties. It should be pointed out moreover, that clitic *lo'* developed in the course of the 14th century (see Egerland 2010).

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'Weaker' pronouns surface higher

The empirical evidence indicates that the clitic/weak divide is rather blurry in the diachronic development across Old Tuscan varieties.

It seems that 'weak' elements were generated in the lower clausal portion and then moved under the V2 constraint to the Left Peripheries as XPs (as expected under C&S's tripartition).

There is a clear and early tendency to reaccomodate these items according to a systematic and predictable (and thus more easily learnable) strong vs. clitic partition.

In the clausal domain, clitics occur in the higher phase, while strong pronouns occur in the lower lexical phase, from where they can undergo XP movement.

'Weaker' pronouns surface higher

In a nutshell:

(22)   The more deficient a pronoun, the higher it surfaces in the sentence structure.

- **Clitics/Weak**: in the C/T domain
- **Strong:** the v/V domain

→Old English: only pronouns in CP exhibit distributional restrictions, pronouns in vP pattern like DPs (Pintzuk 1999; Koopman 1997).

Tendency visible not only with pre-T *loro,* but also with pre-T *lui* (and possibly with other pronouns with dative interpretation).

BUT the "special" position of items like *loro* is not related to their internal construal, but to movement requirements of the clause syntax = V2.

Develpoment

Pre-Romance stage	strong pronominal datives, as DPs, they should appear VP internally /A'-positions
Early Tuscan varieties	*loro* and correlate forms are subject to V2 in both the lower (preparticiple) and higher (pre-T) Peripheries. They move as XPs to specialized positions (OpPs), from here they start to interact with the clitic domain: more deficient forms appear higher in the functional domain only - Clitic-like *loro* in OFlor. appears after negation - Fully-fledged clitic in OSien.
Late Early Stage	Macro-parametric change disrupts micro-parameters = V2 starts to weaken in both Peripheries: in 15th cent. Florentine, CP V2 was marginal and pre-T oblique *loro* is never attested (Ricci 2005). *Lui* no longer available as a dative pronoun, only *loro* maintains a dative interpretation (*loro* is still perceived as dative case marked, see Manzini 2014 on l-oro): - pre-T loro either disappears or becomes a fully-fledgd clitic in other varieties (eventually lost); - lower *loro* undergoes reanalysis from OpP to AgrP, while it starts to appear more and more post-participially as past-participles start to move higher than in OIt (Cinque 1999, Poletto 2014).
Modern Stage	Nano-parameter just for the clausal distribution of *loro* - Pre-T *loro:* with 'quirky subjects' under COMPs (i.e., Left Periphery has to be active); - lower dative loro retains the properties of the previous stage.

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Structurally

1st stage = Movement of dative pronouns:

(23)　　[CP　[OpP *loro/lui* Op° (non) Vfin/Aux　[TP … [OpP *loro/lui*　Op°　Vpastpart　[vP ….]]]]]

2nd stage = Pre-clitic phase of *loro* during macro-parametric change:

(24)　　[CP [OpP Op° (non) *loro/lui* Vfin/Aux [TP … [AgrP *loro* Agr° [OP Op° Vpastpart [vP ….]]]]]

3rd stage = Nano-parameter on loro:

(25)　　[CP　[OpP　　Op°　　[TP T° Vfin/Aux … [AgrP　*loro*　Agr° [OP Op° Vpastpart [vP ….]]]]]

NO microparameter for *loro*

Hence:

No *microparameter* targeting a small lexically definable subclass of functional items ('oblique' pronominals) subsequently reduced in the passage to ModIt to a *nanoparameter* of an individual grammatical item (3rd pl oblique *loro*).

→ the 'nanoparameter' for *loro* is a 'nanoparameter' of clausal distribution resulting from the loss of the V2 syntax, not a 'nanoparameter' on internal structure of pronouns, i.e., on deficiency.

Conclusions

- We have argued that the syntactic distribution of ModIt *loro* is the result of a historical process by which a major macroparameter change (V2 loss) has triggered a series of linear order reinterpretations.

- Manzini (2014): "If the crossing of a particular morphology with a particular distribution, … is a valid criterion for establishing a categorization, one obtains essentially the same paradigms as in a descriptive or normative grammar, with a proliferation of syncretisms and homophonies." → the diachronic and synchronic distribution of *loro* depends on sentence phenomena, not on its internal construal, i.e., not on its categorical status.

- The present study lends support to the idea that major linguistic changes are not always the product of the sum of small steps (*pace* Kayne 1996), but rather, microvariation arises from the resetting of small parameters following a 'great leap' (Ledgeway to appear), i. e. a macro-parametric change.

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