

# Long Head Movement vs. V2, and null subjects in Old Romance

Maria-Luisa Rivero\*

*Department of Linguistics, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5, Canada*

## 1. Introduction

Old Romance languages such as early Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, Provençal, and Spanish show the characteristics listed in (1):

- (1) *Major Old Romance languages:*
  - (a) They have unrestricted Null Subjects.
  - (b) They are not V2 languages in the Germanic sense.
  - (c) They have Long Head Movement constructions alternating with Short Head Movement, or Incorporation, at some stage in their history.

In these Old Romance languages, unrestricted Null Subjects appear in the same environments as in their modern counterparts, and finite Vs or Aux may have similar distributions in main and embedded clauses, need not be

\* Research for this paper has been partially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under Grant 410-88-0101, the European Science Foundation under the Eurotyp Project, and the Ministry of Education and Science of Spain under its Sabbatical program for visiting scholars. Many of the ideas in this paper originate in joint work with José Lema, and I thank him. Montserrat Morales has provided invaluable help in gathering part of the Old Spanish data. These ideas were first presented at a seminar taught in the Instituto Ortega y Gasset, Madrid, in 1990–1991. A preliminary version of parts of this paper was read at the Primer Coloquio de Gramática Generativa, Miraflores de la Sierra, Spain, March 20–22, 1991; related work on Slavic LHM was presented at the 14th Glow Colloquium, Leiden, Holland, March 25–27, 1991. I thank the audiences of the seminar and the two conferences for useful questions, comments, and suggestions, and in particular H. Borer, A. Cardinaletti, C. Dobrovie-Sorin, O. Fernández Soriano, J. Guéron, A. Holmberg, M. Llinàs, C. Poletto, L. Rizzi, I. Roberts, and C. Wilder. I also thank K. Zagona for written suggestions.

second in root contexts, and may be first/last in all types of clauses. As to property (1c), I will dub Long Head Movement (LHM) constructions the traditionally labelled Analytic or Split Futures and Conditionals, with an **Infinitive** preceding a pronominal Clitic followed by a finite **Auxiliary** related to Latin *habeo*, as in the matrix sentence in Old Spanish (OSp) (2): *dezir vos he cosa* ‘(I) will tell you something’. Such Old Romance patterns contrast with so-called synthetic variants; these have pronominal Clitics preceding the **Verbal Complex** which forms a compound, and the Infinitive appears incorporated into the Aux in Baker’s sense (1988), as the result of Short Head Movement (Lema 1989). An instance of a synthetic future appears in the relative clause in (2): *vos ser-á pro* ‘(it) will be good for you’.

- (2) **Dezir-vos he** cosa que ... vos **ser-á** pro (OSp)<sup>1</sup>  
**Tell-** you **will + 1s** thing that ... you **be-will + 3s** beneficial  
 ‘I will tell you something which ... will be good for you’ (CD 146)

Traditional Romance philology manuals mention that LHM constructions are documented in early Italian (i.e. Florentine) texts, medieval Catalan and Provençal, up to the Golden Age or the 17th century in Spanish, and until the 19th century in (European) Portuguese, a language which still maintains them at a literary level.<sup>2</sup> Parallel patterns are found in present Rumanian too, within literary, archaic, or regional styles, but with Future *va* ‘will’ and Conditional *ar* ‘would’ instead. Rumanian lacks so-called synthetic Futures and Conditionals, but in other major Romance languages incorporated or compound forms are documented from the earliest documents and survive to the present (and see Valesio 1968).

Old French (OFr) contrasts with the above Old Romance languages in at least the three ways listed in (3).

- (3) *Old French*:  
 (a) It has Null Subjects, but in restricted contexts and mainly in root environments, as in the main clause in (4).

<sup>1</sup> For Old Spanish texts cited please see the appendix (p. 242).

<sup>2</sup> Other than Meyer-Lübke (1895, III), see for example Badia Margarit (1981) for Catalan, Rohlf (1949, II), Tekavcic (1972) for Italian, Dunn (1928) for Portuguese, and Menéndez Pidal (1964) for Spanish. For Rumanian LHM Perfects, Futures, and Conditionals see Lombard (1974).

- (b) It is a V2 language in the Germanic sense of the term, so the finite V or Aux is usually in second position in root contexts, but not in non-root ones, as in (4) again.
- (c) It lacks LHM constructions, or Analytic futures and Conditionals, showing Incorporation as Short Head Movement exclusively – i.e. synthetic forms – as in (5).
- (4) Einsi coururent par mer tant que il vindrent a Cademele<sup>3</sup>  
(OFr)  
Thus run + 3pl by sea until that they arrived at Cadmee  
'Thus they travelled by sea until they reached Cadmee'  
(Quoted by Hulk and Van Kemenade 1990: (34b) from Adams)
- (5a) Rois, **voudr- oies** le faire issi? (OFr)  
King, **want- would + 2s** it do here?  
'King, would you like to do it here?' (Roberts 1990: (18b), 119)
- (5b) Et jo e vos i **ir-um** (OFr)  
And I and you there **go-will + 1p**  
'And I and you will go there' (Roberts 1990: (56), 147)
- (5c) Por le douçour de li et por s' amor me **descendr- ai**  
For the sweetness of him and for his love me **come + down-will + 1s**  
je ore ici (OFr)  
I now here  
'For his sweetness and love I will now come down here'  
(Renzi 1987: (b), 296)

Following traditional ideas in French philology and spurred by the proposals of M. Adams, the recent literature on OFr has paid much attention to properties (3a) and (3b), relating them in various ways (and see Adams 1987a,b, 1988a,b, Benincà 1984, Dupuis 1988,1989, Hirschbühler 1989, 1990,1991, Hirschbühler and Junker 1989, Van Kemenade and Hulk 1990, Platzack 1990, Roberts 1990, Vance 1988,1989, Vanelli et al. 1985, among others). A core proposal this paper motivates from a different perspective is that a finite V<sup>0</sup> such as *coururent* '(they) ran' in (4) raises to C<sup>0</sup>, as in Germanic (and see the papers in Haider and Prinzhorn 1986, related references, and many later papers), and licenses under government the Null Subject in the Spec-of-IP. Thus, OFr Null Subjects appear more often in root

<sup>3</sup> Old French examples are as quoted in the secondary sources identified by author, year, number (and page); however, I gloss them morphologically in ways relevant for the purposes of this paper, and provide free translations which may not be identical to those given in the secondary source, so I bear responsibility for errors in glosses and translations.

contexts, and the embedded environments where they are found are more restricted than those of the other major Old Romance languages, a situation which undergoes important changes in Middle French.

As to the last property in (3), it is well-known that OFr Futures and Conditionals are always like those of present Romance regardless of syntactic environment; that is, they are parallel to the synthetic form with the Infinitive incorporated into the Aux/Affix in the OSp relative in (2), but unlike the analytic pattern in the matrix of that sentence. The contrasts between the Conditional *voudroies* '(you) would want' in (5a), or the Futures *irum* '(we) will go' and *descendrai* '(I) will come down' in (5b–c) and the OSp analytic patterns in the matrix in (2) and in (6) – with Infinitive split from finite Aux by the Clitic – show that in syntactic contexts for Old Romance LHM, OFr uses the compound patterns instead.

- (6a) **Poder** lo as        fazer (OSp)  
       **Can** it **will + 2s** do  
       'You will be able to do it' (*Astr* 199r54)
- (6b) Et yo **ir-te** (**he**)        ver (OSp)  
       And I **go-you (will + 1s)** see  
       'And I will go to see you' (*CD* 349)
- (6c) E por mayor firmeza **firmar-lo hemos** con el sello de nuestro  
       And for bigger firmness **sign-** it **will + 1p** with the seal of our  
       señor (OSp)  
       lord  
       'And as firm commitment we will sign it with our lord's seal'  
       (*Zif* 108)

The fact that OFr did not maintain the Auxiliary use of the Latin Future marker is traditionally attributed to the 'innovative' nature of this language, as opposed to various degrees of conservatism in the other major Romance languages, but in this paper I defend a different idea. I show that the characteristic which is behind the absence of Conditional and Future auxiliaries, or (3c), is connected to (3a) and (3b). Based on existing ideas on the relation between V2 and Null Subjects in OFr on the one hand, and the properties of LHM in (Old) Romance in (Rivero 1988, 1989, Lema and Rivero 1989a, b, 1991) on the other, I maintain that the absence of LHM constructions in OFr is not accidental, as this feature is intimately related to the other aspects in (3). As stated, Romance Futures originate in the combination of a main vrb and an auxiliary, so in more traditional terms I argue that OFr

does not show the 'older' patterns where V and Aux are still distinct, that is, the Analytic Futures and Conditionals documented in all the other major old Romance languages, because its V2 requirements made those LHM constructions impossible. Instead, OFr exhibited exclusively synthetic Futures/Conditionals, or the Short Head Movement of V as Incorporation to Aux in (5), with the 'old' free form always treated as OFr affix or bound form.

By the logic of my approach, early Northern Italian dialects, and medieval Romance varieties sharing the V2 features in (3a–b) (and see Vanelli et al. 1985) should not have Analytic Futures and Conditionals either, but only Synthetic ones, a topic I will not explore.

If the above dichotomy is correct, old Romance languages fall into two distinct typological groups as to verb position, as Vanelli et al. (1985) already suggest, with either the properties in (2), or those in (3), but not both.<sup>4</sup>

More generally, I propose that LHM is incompatible with V2, so that V2 languages such as German cannot be LHM languages at the same time. If LHM cannot coexist with Head-movement of the *Germanic* V2 type, as I assume, it is easy to understand why it has often been thought that Long Head Movement is not possible in UG, and that Short Head Movement is the only available option, an assumption which should be abandoned if LHM patterns such as (6) are treated as in my analysis.

<sup>4</sup> Benincà (1989) suggests that medieval Romance languages may all belong to the (Germanic) V2 type. Cordin (1991) adopts this proposal for early Trentino, a language quite similar to Old Spanish in that it displays the same positions for subjects and finite Vs in main and subordinate clauses, and null subjects in both environments. Also, Cordin cites early Trentino examples with main/independent clauses with finite Vs in final position, such as (i) (1991: 4 (ex. 4d, *Indulgen-ces*)), for which I provide a free translation. Similar examples are found in medieval languages like Old Spanish and Portuguese too.

(i) Ancora quel medesimo clemens papa trenta annj e trenta quarantene quatro  
 Moreover that same clement pope thirty years and thirty quarantines four  
 uolte ne lanno misericordiosamente atribui  
 times in the + year mercifully attributed  
 'Moreover, that some merciful pope gave thirty years and thirty quarantines compassionately  
 four times a year'

The V2-hypothesis requires that (i) and parallel patterns be treated as having the first four phrases as Topics external to CP, the adverb *misericosordiosamente* 'mercifully' as the Spec-of-CP, and the finite V<sup>0</sup> as the item in C<sup>0</sup>, an analysis difficult to motivate on the basis of discourse properties and of learnability. In my view, the Trentino evidence points to the traditional conclusion that Old Romance languages are of two types, as argued in this paper too, and that they should not all be considered of the Germanic V2 kind. However, the open question remains how certain varieties or stages of Old Romance are to be classified within such a dichotomy, and see fn. 6.

Intuitively, I develop two core proposals. First, it is a common assumption that a root  $C^0$  in a V2 language must be essentially associated with *finite* features (and see Den Besten 1983, Evers 1981, the papers in Haider and Prinzhorn 1986, Koopman 1984, Platzack 1986,1987, Roberts 1990, Rizzi 1990, Tomaselli 1990, among several others, for different implementations of this idea), so I propose that LHM as *non-finite* movement to  $C^0$  within a finite clause becomes impossible in this type of language, since it clashes with such a crucial aspect. Second, it is well-known that Spec-of-CP must usually be phonologically filled in V2, and I propose that such a position must be empty in LHM due to the principle of Economy of Derivation (Chomsky 1989), so this second aspect makes LHM and V2 clash too.

By relating property (3c) to (3a) and (3b), the present paper provides a different type of argument in favor of the prevalent idea that OFr V2 phenomena and restricted Null Subjects must be connected with  $C^0$  in a sense used for main Germanic V2 too, but inexistent in the other major old or present Romance languages. It also reinforces previous assumptions that LHM in (1) involves  $C^0$ .

Old Romance LHM is a last recourse rule and one of the available processes to provide a pronominal clitic with a first syntactic constituent for support, as Clitics cannot be clause-initial – an effect known as the Tobler/Mussafia Law in Romance linguistics and philology. Tobler/Mussafia effects are general in Old Romance so they are found both in LHM languages and in V2 languages, including OFr. However, I argue that in the V2 type LHM is excluded, so other options or processes must be chosen in this family to provide pronominal clitics with the required initial constituent for support.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses the properties of Long Head Movement which make it be absent in V2 languages. Section 3 shows that finite V/Aux-raising to  $C^0$  may exist in LHM languages, but with parallel characteristics to LHM, which differ from those of finite raising in V2 languages in terms of their sensitivity to Economy of Derivation. On the basis of these proposals, section 4 considers OFr in particular, comparing the contexts for V2 and Null Subjects in this language with those for LHM in Old Romance.

## 2. Long Head Movement in Old Romance

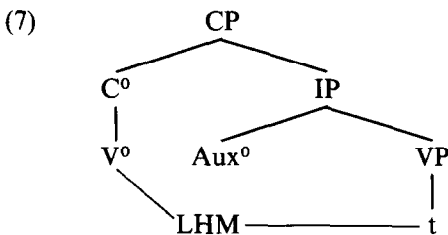
In this section I discuss the two properties of LHM relevant for the purposes of this paper. Namely, (a) the process places a *non-finite* verbal head

in the same landing site required for *finite* V2, and (b) the Spec-of-CP must be empty for LHM to produce a grammatical output, which follows from the principle of Economy of Derivation.

The analysis of Romance LHM constructions I assume has been motivated in Rivero (1988) for present Rumanian, taking a Balkan perspective, in Lema and Rivero (1989a), Rivero (1989) for Rumanian, OSp, and Portuguese from a Romance perspective, and in Lema and Rivero (1991) for OSp in detail, and I will not summarize its justification here for lack of space. The same treatment serves for present Slavic LHM, as in Bulgarian, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Slovene (for the first four languages see Rivero 1991), and possibly for Albanian. Among present Southern and Western Slavic languages, Polish resembles Old Romance in showing optional incorporation of V to Aux too, without having LHM (Borsley and Rivero 1991).

### 2.1. LHM as a root phenomenon

In essence, LHM constructions involve Head-movement to C<sup>0</sup> of the non-finite V<sup>0</sup>/Aux<sup>0</sup> complementing the finite Aux<sup>0</sup>, skipping it. Thus, the derived structure of the main clause in OSp (2) is roughly as in (7): the Infinitive *dezir* 'tell' is in C<sup>0</sup>, and the finite Future Aux *he* '(I) will' heads I<sup>0</sup>. The Clitic *lo* 'it' which is not represented in (7) is attached to the I-projection as well, perhaps adjoined to I' as in Rivero (1992). The pronominal Clitic is the item which triggers LHM of V<sup>0</sup> to C<sup>0</sup> in Old Romance, so it must be within IP, and not attached to the preposed Infinitive which moves to C<sup>0</sup>; such a position is justified in Rivero (1992: §3.2) and Lema and Rivero (1991: §2.1).



The structure in (7) complies with the ECP in view of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1989), which allows V<sup>0</sup> to antecedent-govern t across the head governor Aux<sup>0</sup> (Rivero 1988: 19ff). As proposed by Roberts (1990), Relativized Minimality is sensitive to A vs. A-bar relations not only in the case of X<sup>max</sup>

but in the the case of  $X^0$  as well; LHM is an A-bar head-movement, and the intervening  $Aux^0$  is an A-head complex which does not interrupt the antecedent-government chain between  $V^0$  and  $t$  in (7).

From this proposal, it follows that LHM has the root characteristics familiar from studies of Germanic V2, even though the LHM  $X^0$  landing in  $C^0$  is not the finite  $V^0/Aux^0$  of Germanic, but the non-finite head of the VP-complement of such item. Thus, OSp analytic Futures and Conditionals are restricted to main and independent sentences, as in (2), or less often to embedded clauses behaving like main clauses, namely the complements of bridge Vs of propositional attitude and saying, as in (8).

- (8a) Et sabudo es q <ue> quando passaren .cvj.annos **adelantrar**  
 And known is that when pass 106 years **advance**  
 se a la hora de revolución (OSp)  
 itself **will** the hour of revolution  
 ‘And it is known that when 106 years pass, the hour of the  
 revolution will advance’ (*Alb* 18v14)
- (8b) Et dixo Dios que quien se desviase del bien,  
 And said God that who himself deviates from + the good,  
**desviar-se ha** el bien de él (OSp)  
**deviate-himself will** the good from him  
 ‘And God said that virtue will abandon whoever abandons vir-  
 tue’ (*Zif* 27)

I assume that in (8), the embedded CP is recursive, with the upper  $C^0$  containing the complementizer *que*, and the lower  $C^0$  filled by the Infinitive *adelantrar/desviar* through LHM. Similar analyses have been proposed for embedded Germanic V2, including OFr, as mentioned in passing in section 4.

However, analytic Futures or Conditionals are not attested in relative or temporal clauses, nor in non-root clauses, where LHM is presently ungrammatical in Slavic and Balkan languages as well.

As we shall see, the fact that LHM applies in the same root contexts as German and OFr V2, as shown by (2), (6), and (8), and discussed in section 2.2 and section 4, is one factor behind the impossibility of this process in OFr finite clauses.

## 2.2. LHM and economy of derivation

Within root contexts, the environments for LHM are more limited than

those for V2, because LHM applies as a last recourse rule. This situation, which I will tentatively attribute to the principle of Economy of Derivation in Chomsky (1989), also plays an important role in accounting for the absence of LHM in OFr, including non-root embedded environments where V2 effects are nevertheless possible, as discussed in section 4.

Let us examine differences between LHM and V2 in root clauses. A clear-cut and crucial contrast between the two is that *full* LHM, in a sense to be specified below, is not found in direct *Wh*-questions, unlike Germanic V2 (but see fn. 5 for Rumanian *residual* LHM). This situation is exceptionless in Old Romance, and all the present Slavic languages with LHM, where raising the non-finite V<sup>0</sup> to a root C<sup>0</sup> in the presence of a *Wh*-word leads to clear ungrammaticality.

As a consequence, OSp Analytic Futures/Conditionals may be found in yes-no questions, as in (9a), but they are never documented in indirect *Wh*-questions as non-root constructions, nor in direct *Wh*-questions, which instead show Synthetic Futures, or Short Head Movement of the Incorporation type without exception, as shown by (9b).

- (9a) Señora-dixo él- **dezir** lo **hedes** al rey? (OSp)  
 Lady -said he-tell it **will + 2s** to + the king?  
 ‘Lady, he said, will you tell it to the king?’ (*Zif* 124)
- (9b) Señor, a quién nos **dar-edes** por cabdiello? (OSp)  
 Sir, (to) whom us **give-will + 2s** as leader?  
 ‘Sir, who will you give us as leader?’ (*Zif* 163)

To understand the difference between LHM and V2 within root contexts, languages where LHM has *full* or generalized status must be distinguished from those where the process is *residual*, using the terms in ways resembling those in Rizzi (1990) for V2.

In languages with *full* LHM, which include OSp (Old Romance in general), and present Slavic, this root process applies as a last recourse rule in any type of sentence regardless of illocutionary force: declaratives – (2), (6), (8), interrogatives – (9a), or exclamatives; in this sense, full LHM is comparable to the full V2 of German. With *residual* status, as in Rumanian, LHM applies in root contexts also, but only to sentences with a certain type of illocutionary force, and possibly redundantly (and see fn. 5); thus, Rumanian residual and optional LHM is reserved for interrogatives and exclamatives, with parallelisms with English V2 in this particular sense (Albanian seems to have residual LHM of a similar type too).

As stated, full LHM is triggered by the requirement for a first SS-constituent, so as to avoid having (a) an initial pronominal Clitic within IP in Old Romance and/or (b) functional (i.e. temporal) Aux in Slavic, within the minimal CP which contains it (or a Wackernagel effect) (Rivero 1986) (and see fn. 7). Notice that the class of triggering items is defined morphosyntactically, not phonologically.

For instance, in the matrix of OSp (2) (*dezir-vos he*) or (6a) (*poder lo has*), *dezir* 'say' and *poder* 'be able' have raised to C<sup>0</sup> to count as such first constituents before *lo* 'it', which is adjoined to I', or lower than C<sup>0</sup>, as stated. The same comments apply to the moved Infinitive in (8b) (*desviar-se ha*), as the Topic [*quien se desviase del bien*] 'whoever would abandon virtue' is higher than the minimal C'' in the structure (as in Chomsky 1977 for English, and Rivero 1986 for OSp Left Dislocations), so not computed as a first constituent in the relevant sense.

Full LHM as a last recourse rule will not apply redundantly. Thus, if there is a constituent within the minimal CP preceding the Clitic/Aux, such as the *Wh*-phrase in the Spec-of-CP in (9b), the non-finite V cannot be fronted in present Slavic. Likewise, constructions combining *Wh*-phrases and a fronted non-finite V are not attested in Old Romance, as already stated. As a result, LHM and *Move alpha* preposing constituents within CP never combine. This situation applies not only to *Wh*-movement<sup>5</sup> but also to the raising of the Old Romance Subject to the Spec-of IP, under the assumption that (a) Subjects originate in a VP-internal position, and (b) pronominal clitics are attached to INFL in the Old Romance LHM construction. In other words, a pre-INFL subject will count as a first constituent, preventing LHM. I return to the analysis of the initial phrases in (6b–c) later.

I tentatively propose that the above state of affairs is due to the principle of Economy of Derivation requiring that representations be minimal in length, and that shorter derivations be chosen over longer ones, in the spirit of Chomsky (1989). However, as we shall see, a number of issues relating to economy in Old Romance require clarification, due to Incorporation. The situation in Slavic, where Incorporation does not usually alternate with LHM

<sup>5</sup> When the process is residual, as in Rumanian (and possibly Albanian), LHM triggers are less clear, and the Spec-of-CP may be filled, as in (i) from Rivero (1988). If the movement 'activates' a Q operator, as I suggested in that paper, then it may apply redundantly, since *cine* will trigger Q too.

(i) Cine **spune-mi-va** poezia pe dinafară?  
 Who tell- me-will + 3s poem + the by heart?  
 'Who will tell me the poem by heart?'

is clearer, but other solutions based on the notion of chain, which I mention in passing, merit future exploration.

In languages with LHM but no Incorporation, such as Southern and Western Slavic with the exception of Polish (and Serbo-Croatian in part), the connection of this fronting process with the Principle of Economy of Derivation is unproblematic within the approach I develop. When full LHM does not apply, as in the presence of a moved *Wh*-phrase, the non-finite element otherwise affected by LHM remains in situ, heading the VP-complement. Thus, in a language like Bulgarian there are two possible options which are equally costly in terms of economy, as they each involve one rule: (1) LHM applies in isolation so the non-finite  $V^0$  is transported, as in (10a), or (2) *Wh*-movement does, as in (10b), and  $V^0$  remains in situ. If *Wh*-movement and LHM apply at the same time, as in (10c), the output is ungrammatical.

- (10) (a) LHM:  $V_i$  (Clitic) Aux<sub>r</sub> (Clitic)  $t_i$   
 (b) *Wh*-m: *Wh*-phrase<sub>i</sub> (Clitic) Aux<sub>r</sub> (Clitic) V  $t_i$   
 (c) \*LHM + *Wh*-m: *Wh*-phrase<sub>j</sub> V<sub>i</sub> (Clitic) Aux<sub>r</sub> (Clitic)  $t_i$   $t_j$

Then, it can be argued that in situations like (10c), the combined effect of LHM and *Wh*-movement on the requirement that the Clitic and/or Aux not be initial is the same as is achieved with the application of *Wh*-movement alone in (10b). Since *Wh*-movement applies for reasons other than providing an initial constituent, and independent of those for LHM, only the shorter derivation is permissible by a 'least effort principle', which gives the grammatical patterns with *Wh*-movement and no LHM in (10b). Thus, the hypothesized Economy principle requires the application of the least costly derivation, in terms of length, that is legitimate to produce an S-structure and/or PF output. One of the important effects of this situation, also seen in Old Romance, is that LHM as a last recourse rule will apply only when the Spec-of-CP is empty so as not to have a redundant effect, as discussed later.

As stated, if Subjects are VP-internal and may raise to the Spec-of-IP (Zagona 1982 and many others later), the same comments apply to the combination of this fronting and LHM, which lead to ungrammaticality as well. As a result, a Subject never *intervenes* between the non-finite V in C and the finite Aux in INFL. In other words, orders such as  $V_{\text{non-finite}} + \text{Subject} + \text{Clitic} + \text{Aux}$  are not attested in Old Romance, while those with the Subject after the Aux are. In present Slavic, an intervening Subject leads to ungrammaticality too. This does not preclude SAuxVO order from being possible

both in main and embedded clauses, if there is no LHM and the language has no second position requirements on Aux as Clitics (Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak).

Under the perspective I am developing the lack of intervention of the Subject does not seem to hinge on the possibility that LHM destroys the environment for Nominative Case Assignment, as suggested by L. Rizzi during the question period at the 14th Glow Meeting, but on Economy of Derivation. In support for my position, it should be pointed out that fronted Adverbs in Slavic have the same effect as fronted Subjects, inhibiting LHM too; in other words, subjects are not to be distinguished.

Also, my proposal does not hinge on the idea that intervening  $X^{\max}$  (preposed subjects or adverbs alike) interrupt the chain which the non-finite item in C and the finite Aux in I must somehow form. K. Zagona suggests to me that these two items must form a tense-chain, but since *Wh*-phrases are not interrupting items, as they would precede both V and Aux, a different solution would have to be proposed for the effect of *Wh*-movement on LHM. Likewise, Kraskow (1990) has proposed that (an interrogative) C must form a head-chain with T constrained by adjacency, using my analysis of LHM constructions as a case in point. Again, I do not see how this proposal could be extended to the impossibility to combine *Wh*-movement with LHM. However, chain-formation should be explored as an alternative solution to Economy of Derivation, and perhaps one treatment may be required for *Wh*-phrases and another one for subjects.

In languages where full LHM alternates with Incorporation such as Old Romance, the situation vis-à-vis Economy of Derivation is more complex. As shown by the embedded clause in (2) (*ser-á*) and the *Wh*-question in (9b) (*dar-edes*), if LHM does not apply, the non-finite  $V^0$  does not remain in the VP complementing the finite  $Aux^0$ , but incorporates into that head instead, giving the compound Future or Conditional found in OFr too. Intuitively speaking, these Old Romance Temporal Auxiliaries behave like Temporal Suffixes such as the Present, in that they must always trigger  $V^0$ -raising, while their Slavic counterparts need not (and see Lema and Rivero 1989b: §2.2.2 for a possible reason).

Although OSp patterns such as (11) contain a finite Aux *han* followed by an Infinitive *lidiar*, they are not the *in situ* counterparts of the Futures in (2) (*dezir-vos he*), (6) (*firnar-lo hemos*), (8) (*adelantrar se a*), and (9a) (*dezir lo hedes*), but Modal constructions with obligative *haber*, as Lema and Rivero (1991: §2.5) show from semantic, syntactic, and morphological perspectives.

- (11) El Campeador a los que **han lidiar** tan bien los castigó  
 The Cid to those that **have fight** also them admonished  
 'The Cid also admonished those who must fight' (*Cid* 3523)

Then, there are two options in Old Romance, as either LHM or Incorporation could combine with *Wh*-movement, but each alternative involves two rules, and at first sight appears equally costly. However, the derivation with Short Head Movement or Incorporation must be chosen over LHM, much like the *in situ* version is chosen in Slavic in the parallel situation, and with the same result for LHM: this fronting will always apply as a last recourse rule with a non-redundant effect in Slavic or Old Romance, the crucial common factor to be retained. As a consequence of this state of affairs, the Old Romance Future/Conditional sequence *Comer-emos* '(We) will eat' – with Infinitive, finite Aux, but no Clitics – must unambiguously receive an Incorporation analysis, rather than a LHM treatment, even though the two options are available.

If it was assumed that Old Romance LHM involved Incorporation of the Infinitive into the Aux, followed by its Excorporation to move to C<sup>0</sup> in isolation, a LHM derivation would always involve an extra step, as opposed to Incorporation alone, as schematically shown in (12), where the subscripts indicate steps in the derivation, and this would account for why it is chosen only as a last recourse rule.

- (12a) Incorporation:  $[V^0_2 + Aux^0] - t_1$   
 (12b) LHM as Inc plus Exc:  $V^0_3 - [t_2 + Aux^0] - t_1$

However, an analysis such as (12b) is unmotivated for Slavic LHM, since the step (12a) does not usually alternate with it, so is not as general as LHM in one step, which must be made available in UG. Second, Excorporation in the general case is problematic and unlikely to comply with UG requirements (Baker 1988, Roberts 1990). Third, the Excorporation in (12b) is not of the restricted kind entertained by Roberts (1991), but appears to be the type of movement out of a selecting head which is forbidden, as in Roberts' putative derivation (p. 212, ex. (4)) for *\*Have John does gone?* (S-structure: *have John [t -s] gone*). Thus, other alternatives should be explored, so I will outline three which are not based on chain formation, but leave the issue open.

First, Incorporation may contribute to make derivations shorter because it creates a compound which voids barriers in a way that LHM cannot. Under this view, a derivation combining Incorporation and *Wh*-movement from the

VP, for instance, could perhaps be less costly than one resorting to LHM, if extraction did not require VP-adjunction (Chomsky 1986) when combined with Incorporation. This approach would preserve the core idea I have been developing too.

Second, if Incorporation applies for aspects that can be satisfied by LHM only in an indirect way, the first could have priority over the second in a way which needs to be explored when seeking answers to the reasons why Incorporation exists in Old Romance but not in Southern Slavic, and these do not seem to relate to Economy of Derivation.

Third, if Future and Conditional Aux in Old Romance were considered bound forms which cannot remain stranded, then principles of morphological support could be developed that ensure that treating such Aux<sup>0</sup> as Suffixes, triggering Incorporation of V<sup>0</sup> like a Present morpheme, takes priority over treating them like Phonological Clitics of a preceding pronominal Clitic, with both items leaning leftward on the LHM V<sup>0</sup>. Such support principles should be more flexible than Baker's Stray Affix Condition (1988) or similar, as they must allow the coexistence of the two mentioned options.

Turning now to V2 effects from the Economy of Derivation perspective, a situation contrasting with LHM emerges from a double point of view. On the one hand, V<sup>0</sup>-raising to C<sup>0</sup> with V2 properties is intrinsically related to finiteness and the licensing of Subjects, as in the cited references, so the principle of Economy of Derivation does not prevent its combination with movement of a constituent to the Spec-of-CP, as in German *Was haben Sie gesehen?* 'What have you seen?'. On the other hand, V2 effects are connected with the requirement that the Spec-of-CP be lexically filled in most contexts, which makes Move *alpha* to such a position combine with Head-movement to C<sup>0</sup> almost obligatorily; thus, while in Germanic and OFr V2 the Spec-of-CP *must* be filled, in Old Romance and Slavic LHM it *must* remain empty, as stated above.

As a result of the above difference, a further contrast emerges, as to the analysis of preposed phrases of the non-*wh* type. On the one hand, it is well known that in V2 patterns such as Dutch (13), and OFr (4) (*Einsi coururent par mer tant que il vindrent a Cademele*), the initial Adverbs *gisteren* 'yesterday' and *einsi* 'so' are considered to be in the Spec-of-CP, much like ordinary *Wh*-phrases, so as to satisfy one of the conditions of V2.

- (13) [<sub>CP</sub>Gisteren [<sub>C</sub><sup>0</sup> heeft] [<sub>IP</sub> Hans het boek aan de man  
Yesterday has Hans the book to the man

gegevcn]] (Dutch)  
 given  
 ‘Hans gave the book to the man yesterday’  
 (Van Kemenade and Hulk 1990)

On the other hand, it must be assumed that the apparently parallel initial OSp Adverbs *depues* ‘afterwards’ and *desi* ‘so’ in the LHM constructions in (14) must be in a different slot than *Wh*-phrases, that is, external to CP like Topics – a position which is never computed for the relevant purposes, as seen in (8b). In the same vein, the OSp Subject in (6b) (*Et yo ir-te (he) ver*) and the initial PP in (6c) (*E por mayor firmeza firmar-lo hemos*) must be in Topic position, while the apparently parallel OFr Subject in (5b) (*Et jo e vos i irum*) and the initial PP in (5c) (*Por le douçour de li et por s’amor me descendrai*) are considered to be in the Spec-of-CP, so as to satisfy one aspect of V2.

- (14a) *Depues* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C<sup>0</sup></sub> *tornar*] *lo-as*      *assu*    *logar*] (OSp)  
 Afterwards    **return**    *it-will + 2s*    to + its place  
 ‘Afterwards you will return it to its place’ (*Pic* 32r21-23)
- (14b) *Desi* [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C<sup>0</sup></sub> *venir*]-*me he*      *para*    *tij*] (OSp)  
 So                    **come-**    *me will + 1s*    towards you  
 ‘So I will come towards you’ (*CD*261)

Thus, to apply within the limits of the Principle of Economy of Derivation, LHM never combines with the core instance of preposing to the Spec-of-CP, i.e. *Wh*-movement, and this is true in all the languages where LHM is non-residual, including Old Romance, and Slavic. Also, LHM does not combine with parallel frontings which have less clear properties, when their landing site is within CP. Because of different conditions, V<sup>0</sup>-raising in Germanic V2 must combine with such preposings. In other words, V-raising to C is not a last recourse rule, while LHM is. From this second perspective too, LHM appears incompatible with an important requirement in a V2 language.

In brief, in V2 languages there are two essential aspects at work, and they both conflict with LHM. The first imposes a *finite* content on a root C<sup>0</sup> as licensing head, while LHM lands a *non-finite* item in the position. The second requires that the Spec-of-CP be *phonologically non-null*, while LHM applies in the opposite situation, as its failure to combine with *Wh*-movement clearly shows.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Recently, Roberts (1991b) has proposed that Aux-to-Comp (Rizzi 1982) is LHM too: namely, the Gerund in *Avendo Gianni risolto il problema* ‘John having solved the problem’ raises to Tense, bypassing the c-commanding functional Agr<sup>0</sup> to land in C<sup>0</sup>. In his view, Aux-to-Comp

In the next section, I briefly argue that in a LHM language, finite V<sup>0</sup>-raising or Short Head Movement to C<sup>0</sup> may exist for reasons parallel to those of LHM, and be subject to the same version of the Principle of Economy of Derivation seen above.

### 3. Finite V<sup>0</sup>-raising to C<sup>0</sup> in LHM languages

Lema and Rivero (1991) show that the syntactic distribution of OSp LHM constructions is identical to that of patterns where a finite V<sup>0</sup> precedes a pronominal Clitic. In traditional terms, the environments for OSp Enclisis and OSp Analytic Futures/Conditionals are the same, that is, a subset of the root contexts where Germanic V2 is found, which seems to be the case in Old Portuguese too.

For instance, in Left Dislocations and under similar structural conditions, the OSp Topic is followed either by Vf+Clitic, as in (15a) *oyó+las* '(he) heard them', or by the LHM construction, as in (15b) *fazer-lo hedes* '(you) will do it' (on the other hand, Bulgarian Topics may inhibit both LHM and Enclisis in simple tenses, which is coherent with the assumption that they may be in the Spec-of-CP).

- (15a) E estas palabras que dezía el cavallero oyó- las  
 And these words that said the knight heard+ them  
 Grima (OSp)  
 Grima  
 'And as to the words the knight said, Grima heard them' (Zif 63)

---

constructions existed in Middle French (the example in his handout suggests Subject Inversion: *Estans a Paris les ambassadeurs* Lit. 'Being in Paris the ambassadors'). If Middle French was still V2 in the Germanic sense, under Roberts' assumptions it could represent a (perhaps transitional) V2 language and a LHM one at the same time, in apparent conflict with my assumptions. On the one hand, since Gerunds contain no overt Agr, it could instead be that this node is radically empty and used as intermediate landing site by the Gerund-with-Tense complex on its way to C, so that Aux-to-Comp is not LHM; such step-by-step analysis is proposed by Rivero (1988: 17ff.) for Balkan LHM through a c-commanding Modal (or I<sup>0</sup>) layer, which blocks the movement if lexically filled. On the other hand, if Gerunds pick up Tense, their subsequent movement to C<sup>0</sup> does not conflict with the [+finite] requirement for that node in V2, when finiteness is not intrinsically connected with Agr.

- (15b) Enpero, lo que fezierdes, **fazer-lo hedes** con  
 But, that which do + 2s, **do** it **will + 2s** with  
 mansedat (OSp)  
 calm  
 ‘But, whatever you do, you will do it peacefully’ (Zif 311)

Within root contexts, the distribution of OSp LHM and Enclisis is the same too. Enclisis is never found with *Wh*-movement, where Proclisis or the word order CL + Vf is the only attested situation, as in (16). In section 2.2 I stated that OSp LHM constructions are unattested in this context too, and that present Southern Slavic counterparts of such absent old patterns are ungrammatical.

- (16) E quién lo mató? (OSp)  
 And who him killed?  
 ‘And who killed him?’ (Zif 85)

The Proclisis pattern in (16) is common among other LHM languages too, and parallel facts are presently found in Bulgarian, where *Wh*-constructions with the Clitic after V are ungrammatical, providing a general unexceptionless case again.

With pronominal and non-pronominal preverbal OSp Subjects, Enclisis may be found, as in (17). Pattern (6b) (*Et yo ir-te (he) ver*) shows that LHM constructions are possible in this context too, so I have proposed in section 2.2 that such Subjects are in a Topic position external to CP. I first thought that preverbal subjects were always treated as internal to CP in Bulgarian, and correlated with Proclisis exclusively, but I have later found out that alternations similar to those in OSp are possible too.

- (17) Et él metió- los en ello (OSp)  
 And he placed-them in it (DLE 152)

Similar comments apply to the syntax of Enclisis in the case of compound tenses, where the Clitic follows the finite Aux, as in the Left Dislocation in (18a), parallel to (17), and (18b), parallel to (15) and (6b) in the relevant sense.

- (18a) Y esto avemos lo provado en las n<uestras> tablas (OSp)  
 And this have+1p it proven in the our tables  
 ‘And this, we have proven it in our tables’ (Jui 148r45)

- (18b) Ya don Rachel et Vidas avedes- me olvidado (OSp)  
 Already lord Rachel and Vidas have+2s-me forgotten  
 ‘Lord Rachel and Vidas, you have forgotten me already’ (Cid 155)

To account for the parallel distribution of LHM and Enclisis in finite constructions, and the alternation between Enclisis and Proclisis in such contexts – a much debated topic in Romance linguistics under the labels of Wackernagel’s, Tobler’s and Mussafia’s laws – I assume that in a LHM language Vf+CL and Auxf+CL order is the result of the finite  $V^0/Aux^0$  raising to  $C^0$ , or Short Head-Movement, while the Clitic remains attached to a projection of I (and see Lema and Rivero 1991, Wanner 1992, among others). Notice that under analyses where clitics do not form complex heads with V or Aux, or/and project to  $X^{\max}$  (Rivero 1986), moving V or Aux without the clitic does not involve Excorporation. This  $V^0/Aux^0$ -raising applies for the same reason and under the same circumstances the non-finite item lands in that position in Long Head Movement, so it is a last recourse rule.

In brief, in a LHM language, but not in a V2 language (as seen in section 4.2 for OFr), a finite  $V^0/Aux^0$  raises to  $C^0$  in isolation, but only to provide a CP-initial constituent for a Clitic which would cause ungrammaticality if it were to remain as the first item of the clause. In the LHM language, this movement is not triggered by the need to create a Government configuration for Nominative Assignment or the licensing of Null/Lexical Subjects in the Spec-of-IP, since in unrestricted Pro-drop, Subjects need not be licensed from  $C^0$ .<sup>7</sup> Thus, in a non-V2 language,  $C^0$  in a finite clause is not essentially connected with finiteness, as shown by the possibility to move a non-finite element to that position in LHM, but this does not imply that finite movement to  $C^0$  is forbidden. It seems as if the non-selected  $C^0$  lacks features or is radically empty in a LHM language, which may then show both Short and Long Movement of a  $V^0/Aux^0$  to  $C^0$ , or finite and non-finite raising respectively, while the V2 language is restricted to the first type of movement if my argumentation is correct.

Also, in the LHM language finite movement to  $C^0$  will apply as a last recourse rule, and be subject to the Principle of Economy of Derivation, just like LHM. Namely, it will not combine with another Preposing, such as *Wh-*

<sup>7</sup> It could be that the triggering factor is the need for the clitic to appear in a governed projection, as Uriagereka (1988) suggests for contemporary Portuguese (for example, in a governed IP with C as governor). However, medieval Romance is not identical to modern Portuguese as to clitic position (Rouveret 1989: 340).

movement, which has the same effect, in the sense of preventing a Clitic from being first in the clause, but which results in a longer representation, as already discussed in section 2.2. In other words, in Old Spanish the finite  $V^0$ /Aux $^0$  will remain in  $I^0$  and follow the Clitic adjoined to that projection too, unless V or Aux raising to  $C^0$  is absolutely necessary to satisfy the requirement that the Clitic not be first. Since OSp Topics, unlike some Slavic Topics, are almost always external to the minimal CP containing the Clitic and do not count in the relevant sense, V/Auxf-raising to  $C^0$  applies in Left-Dislocations, as in (15a), (17), and (18), much like LHM.

In brief, while a V2 language cannot be a LHM language, a LHM language may, but need not, show finite Vs or Aux in the same position as a V2 language. This follows from the idea that the non-V2 language does not have specific characteristics for its  $C^0$ , while the V2 language does.

#### 4. OFr and the absence of LHM

##### 4.1. V2 in OFr

In section 2 two reasons why a V2 language will not show LHM have been discussed, as in (19). Notice that (19a) is the essential one in blocking the process, if the assumption that V2 patterns have the finite V in C is adopted.

- (19) (a) Non-finite  $V^0$ -raising to  $C^0$  in LHM will clash with V2 finite constraints on  $C^0$ .  
 (b) Full LHM to  $C^0$  as a last recourse rule will clash with the usual condition that Spec-of-CP be filled in V2.

Based on the recent literature on OFr cited in the Introduction which has paved the way for my proposals, this section briefly surveys the specific OFr structures where such V2 requirements prevent LHM.

First, in matrix or independent clauses involving *Wh*-movement, full LHM is unnecessary and does not apply in Old Romance, as discussed in section 2.2. Under current proposals for OFr, the two conditions in (19) combine to make the Incorporated form the only viable alternative in this environment, excluding LHM, as in (20).

- (20a) Et qui i ser-a? (OFr)  
 And who there **be-will + 3s?**  
 ‘And who will be there?’ (Roberts 1990: (60a), 146)

- (20b) Des chevaliers que vos **dir-oie?** (OFr)  
 Of+ the knights, what you **tell-would + 1s?**  
 ‘What could (lit. would) I tell you about the knights?’  
 (Roberts 1990: (45c), 138)

As to condition (19a), if the finite  $V^0$  *dir-oie* ‘(I) would say’ in (20b) must be in  $C^0$  in order to license the Null Subject in the Spec-of-IP under government, as assumed by most of the cited authors, the Infinitive *dir-* must raise to the finite position. This position could bear the category Aux or T/Agr, but it attracts the infinitive in Old Romance futures because this item never remains in situ (Lema and Rivero 1991), and then such finite complex raises to  $C^0$ , as required. As to condition (19b), since the Spec-of-CP is filled by *que*, LHM would not apply anyway. Notice that under the assumption that OFr is not V2 in the sense of German, so that the finite complex is not in  $C^0$  in (20), it would nevertheless be possible to maintain that the presence of material in the Spec-of-CP makes full LHM unnecessary, preventing its application as a last recourse rule. I discuss the position of Clitics in these and the following Old French examples in section 4.2.

Second, in matrix or independent clauses with no *Wh*-movement, but the Spec-of-CP filled, similar conditions will obtain, as in (5b–c) repeated as (21a–b). Here, the hypothesized V2 nature of OFr prevents the preverbal constituents *jo e vos/por le douçour de li et por s’amor* from being analyzed as Topics external to a minimal CP, the common OSp strategy leading to LHM in an apparently identical context, as in (6b–c), and forces an analysis of these constituents as in the Spec-of-CP. It could nevertheless be maintained that these preverbal items are in the Spec-of-IP, if the finite  $V^0$  is in  $I^0$  after the Infinitive has incorporated to the  $Aux^0$ . This is because the presence of a constituent within IP would be sufficient to disallow LHM under the last recourse clause, a strategy which is seemingly found in languages such as Bulgarian at present.

- (21a) Et jo e vos i **ir-um** (OFr)  
 And I and you there **go-will + 1p**  
 ‘And I and you will go there’ (Roberts 1990: (56), 147)
- (21b) Por le douçour de li et por s’amor me **descendr-ai**  
 For the sweetness of him and for his love me **come + down-will + 1s**  
 je ore ici (OFr)  
 I now here  
 ‘For his sweetness and love I will now come down here’  
 (Renzi 1987: (b), 296)

Third, in matrix or independent clauses where the Spec-of-CP need not be filled phonologically, or so-called V1 patterns, such as the yes–no Questions in (5a=22a) and (22b), clause (19a) alone prevents LHM in OFr, since if the process could apply in this type of environment, it would not be redundant. The same comments apply to narrative style with V1, as in (23).

- (22a) Rois, **voudr-oies** le faire issi? (OFr)  
 King, **want- would + 2s** it do here?  
 ‘King, would you like to do it here?’ (Roberts 1990: (18b), 119)
- (22b) **Plair-oit** vos oïr un son d’ Aucassin ...? (OFr)  
**Please-would + 3s** you hear a sound of Aucassin ...?  
 ‘Would it please you to hear a song of Aucassin?’ (Roberts 1990: (18a), 119)
- (23) **Succurr-at** nos li reis (OFr)  
**Help -will + 3s** us the king  
 ‘The king will help us’ (Hirschbühler and Junker 1988: (4b), 66)

In contexts parallel to (22) and (23), OSp shows Analytic Futures and Conditionals almost exclusively,<sup>8</sup> as in (9a) (*Señora- dixo él- **dezir** lo **hedes** al rey?*) and (2) (***Dezir-vos he cosa***), since this language lacks the restriction that C<sup>0</sup> contain a finite element, as discussed before. Also, in this environment, Slavic shows LHM exclusively.

On the one hand, if LHM in Old Romance and V2 in Old French both involve C<sup>0</sup>, the observed contrast between French and Spanish constructions follows along the lines of the ideas in section 2. On the other hand, if V2 phenomena (and Null Subjects) in OFr fail to involve C<sup>0</sup>, but are connected to I<sup>0</sup>, as suggested in Hirschbühler (1990), the difference is unexpected, since OFr should have developed/maintained Analytic Futures/Conditionals at least in the context under consideration, as all other major Old Romance languages did.

In my view, the fact that only incorporated/compound forms are attested in environments of types (22)–(23) provides an additional argument for the frequent claim that some instances of V2 in OFr are similar to V2 in German,

<sup>8</sup> Some OSp synthetic Futures/Conditionals followed by Clitics are found too, as in (i), but they are rare. In structures such as (i), Infinitive incorporates into Aux, with the two as X<sup>0</sup> raising to C<sup>0</sup>, leaving the Clitic within IP, as in Enclisis with a simple tense (Lema and Rivero 1991: §2).

(i) E si durmieren dos, **escalentar-án-** se uno a otro  
 And if slept two, **warm- will + 3p-**themselves one to other  
 ‘And if two slept together, they will warm each other’ (Rossi 1975)

in the sense of involving movement by the finite  $V^0$  to  $C^0$ , and unlike V2 in languages like Yiddish, in the sense of involving raising of the verbal item to  $I^0$  exclusively (Diesing 1990).

When embedded V2 contexts in OFr are considered, two situations must be distinguished in relation to Old Romance LHM.

On the one hand, OFr V2 is possible in the complement to bridge verbs (Adams 1987b and later work), as in (24), and I mentioned in section 2.1 that OSP allows LHM in this environment too (as in (8a): *Et sabudo es q <ue> quando passaren .cvj. annos adelantrar se a la hora de revolución*).

- (24) Et disent que molt avoient bien fait (Ofr)  
 And say + 3p that much had + 3p well done  
 'And they say that they had acted very well' (Dupuis 1988: (12), 48)

It has been assumed that structures such as (24) involve two C-levels (Vance 1988 for OFr among others), that the lower Spec-of-CP is filled, and that the finite  $V^0$  raises to the lower  $C^0$ , licensing a Null Subject in the particular example under consideration. Since this OFr pattern is not an embedded V1 structure, I assume that the two clauses in (19) combine to make LHM impossible in this environment. Namely, a non-finite item cannot raise to  $C^0$  since there is a finite requirement, and LHM would be unnecessary in view of the presence of material in the Spec-of-CP.

For V1 clauses embedded under bridge Verbs, the reason for the absence of LHM would be identical to the one discussed for (22)–(23). As seen in (8b) (*Et dixo Dios que quien se desviase del bien, desviar-se ha el bien de él*), in this context OSP opts for structures with two C-levels, often with embedded Left Dislocations, or a phonologically null lower Spec-of-CP, and material external to that CP not computable for the relevant purpose, in order to comply with the last recourse clause in LHM.

On the other hand, unlike the main Germanic languages, OFr shows embedded V2 phenomena and Null Subjects in non-root clauses including *wh*-complements, as in (25). This situation is unexpected under the assumption that the finite  $V^0$  must raise to  $C^0$  to license the empty Subject in the Spec-of-IP, and has caused an important and still ongoing debate about the analysis of such constructions (Adams 1988a,b, Dupuis 1988,1989, Hirschbühler and Junker 1988, Hirschbühler 1989,1990, Hulk and Van Kemenade 1990, Roberts 1990, Vance 1989).

- (25) L'espée dont s' estoit occis  
 The sword with + which himself was killed  
 'The sword which he killed himself with' (Adams 1988b: (11), 6)

In contexts such as (25), LHM constructions are not attested in OSp, either (a) because the only available  $C^0$  position is filled, or (b) because the presence of material in the Spec-of-CP is incompatible with LHM under the last recourse clause. Extending these proposals to OFr, I conclude that LHM should be impossible in this environment, irrespective of the specific treatment which is adopted to account for its Null Subjects. In brief, examples such as (26) show the type of Old Romance future found in LHM languages in this environment too:

- (26) Quant vos pler- a  
 When to + you please- will + 3sg  
 'When it will please you' (Hirschbühler 1990: (8b) cited from Vance)

In brief, in most environments for OFr V2, the two conditions in (19) obtain, preventing LHM from a double perspective. In non-embedded V1 contexts, condition (19a) is behind the absence of LHM, providing support for the hypothesis that OFr V2 must in part be analyzed like German V2.

In the previous discussion I have proposed that in LHM Old Romance languages, while finite and non-finite  $V^0/Aux^0$  raise to  $C^0$  in Short and Long Head Movement respectively, (complement) Clitics remain attached to a projection of I. In the literature, the V2 nature of OFr has led to a different treatment of its complement Clitics in Vf + CL sequences, so I briefly explore the consequences of this situation next.

#### 4.2. OFr Clitics in V2

Under the assumption that the finite complex raises to  $C^0$  and licenses a Null Subject in the Spec-of-IP, it must be the case that the OFr Clitic raises to  $C^0$  forming a cluster with the verb in situations like (20b) or (27), as Adams states (1987b). It has been suggested that in V2 languages,  $C^0$  has clitic-like properties (Tomaselli 1990), so the Clitic raising to  $C^0$  in OFr V2 is consistent with such a situation. Under this approach, in (27) *si = ainsi*, 'so' is in Spec-CP and *t(e) guardarai* is the complex in  $C^0$ .

- (27) Si-t      **guardar-ai**      pur amur Alexis  
 So-you protect- will+ 1s for love Alexis  
 'So I will protect you for the love of Alexis' (Adams 1988b: (29c),  
 cited from Wagner)

However, notice that for similar orders in LHM Old Romance languages, I have assumed instead that the CL+Vf sequence results when Vf remains within I where the Clitic is adjoined too, as nothing forces the movement to C<sup>0</sup>.

It is well-known that OFr Clitics are subject to the constraint against being CP-initial also, but given requirements that the Spec-of-CP be filled in V2, an OFr Clitic in C<sup>0</sup> will not be initial in most circumstances, as (27) shows. In other words, one of the requirements of V2 avoids the initial Clitics which could arise from the application of the other requirement. In similar situations, the other major Romance languages resort to non-redundant V<sup>0</sup>-raisings of two types, among other preposings, if my analysis is correct.

However, OFr V1 contexts such as yes–no questions and lively narrative style show the Vf+CL orders which arise from the need for a Wackernagel effect, as in (23) and most probably (22b). Since OFr V1 patterns are quite restricted, such orders are much more infrequent than in non-V2 Old Romance, where V1 is more common. An important question at this point, which I leave open, is how the OFr order in (22b)–(23) arises, in view of the evidence that the complex CL+Vf is in C<sup>0</sup> in cases like (27).

For Old Romance, and some present Slavic languages such as Bulgarian, I have assumed that similar patterns arise from Short Head Movement of Vf<sup>0</sup> to C<sup>0</sup>, without the Clitic, which remains within IP. For such non-V2 languages this treatment has several advantages, so it should be maintained. First, the hypothesized raising is an unproblematic case of Head Movement, and is coherent with analyses of Clitics in which they do not form clusters with verbs (Kayne 1989a, Rivero 1988, 1992). Second, it reflects the parallel distribution of LHM constructions and Vf+CL patterns not only in Old Romance but in extant languages such as Bulgarian. Third, it makes the trigger and conditions for Vf or Vnon-f Head-movements to C<sup>0</sup> very similar, establishing a clear parallelism between long and short movements of verbs in languages where aspects familiar from discussions of Germanic V<sup>0</sup>-movement are not pertinent, as seen in the previous discussion.

However, the previous list of factors is not relevant to the less common and more isolated OFr Vf+CL orders, due to the V2 nature of this language, so I see two possible alternatives as to the differences between OFr and the other major Romance languages in this area.

It can be assumed that the option of raising Vf to C<sup>0</sup> in isolation from the Clitics is nevertheless used in OFr when the Spec-of-CP is phonologically null, since the alternative of raising CL+Vf leads to an ungrammatical output in such a context. Under this view, OFr has the same analysis as the other major Old Romance languages for its Vf+CL sequences. However, under my proposals it differs from Old Romance as to how CL+Vf sequences are treated. In OFr V2 contexts such sequences are in C<sup>0</sup>, while in OFr non-V2 contexts they are presumably within IP, while this dichotomy is not found in Old Romance.

Alternatively, it could be proposed that once the OFr complex CL+V<sup>0</sup> raises to C<sup>0</sup>, V<sup>0</sup> adjoins to C<sup>0</sup>, or perhaps to C', non-redundantly, that is, when the Spec-of-CP is phonologically null (and see Kayne (1989b, 1991) on Romance Vinf+CL formed by adjoining V to some projection of I – IP in the first article and I' in the second; the suggestion that V<sup>0</sup> raises from C to Spec-CP (Benincà 1989) is more problematic). If this perspective is taken, under my proposals OFr differs from Old Romance in how it treats both CL+Vf and Vf+CL sequences, since some OFr CL+Vf sequences will be in C<sup>0</sup> and others within IP, while the OFr Vf+CL sequence will have CL in C<sup>0</sup>.

Non-V2 Old Romance languages are not a homogeneous group as to principles for (pronominal) Clitic position either. For instance, Old Spanish and Portuguese show Interpolation, or the optional presence of Clitics in the second position of the clause, away from V or Aux; this is treated as adjunction to IP in Rivero (1986, 1992), within an analysis where OSp non-tonic pronouns are phonological clitics but X<sup>max</sup> items in syntax. Among present LHM languages, partially parallel phenomena are found in Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian in the presence of Negation. Other old Romance languages have no significant Interpolation, which is also absent in Bulgarian, among present Slavic LHM languages.

LHM languages such as Slovak and Czech always place pronominal Clitics after the LHM finite Aux, and the cluster must be in second position in the clause, which is also the case in Serbo-Croatian in the absence of Negation. This has no equivalent in Old (or present) Romance.

Thus, while principles of Long and Short Head Movement of V/Aux are invariant in the languages I have discussed, principles of Clitic position, whether pronominal or Aux, show many important variations.

## 5. Summary and conclusions

Major Old Romance languages exhibit Long Head Movement, which gives

rise to finite constructions traditionally known as analytic Futures and Conditionals. Long Head Movement is absent in Old French, which has synthetic Futures and Conditionals exclusively. In this paper I have argued that this difference is not accidental, but principled.

The major Old Romance languages have unrestricted Null Subjects and no V2 properties of the Germanic type, while Old French is a V2 language with Null Subjects in restricted environments. This different typology is behind the absence of LHM in Old French.

In a V2 language, a root C<sup>0</sup> must satisfy finite requirements, while LHM places a non-finite element in C<sup>0</sup>, so from this perspective a V2 language cannot have LHM. Also, in a V2 language, the Spec-of-CP must usually be filled, while LHM applies in the absence of material in that position, so from this perspective too LHM is problematic for a V2 language.

Therefore, among major Old Romance languages, LHM will be impossible in OFr due to its hypothesised V2 nature, but it will be viable in Old Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, Provençal, and Spanish as non-V2 languages. As a consequence, all major Old Romance languages exhibit analytic Futures and Conditionals at some point in their histories, with the exception of Old French. More generally, while LHM finite constructions are common in several present Slavic and Balkan languages, they could not exist in the main Germanic languages, in view of their V2 characteristics, if the proposals in this paper are correct.

## Appendix

### *Old Spanish texts cited*

Alb = (13th c.) *Canones de Albateni*. In: *Concordances*.

Ast = (13th c.) *Libro del Saber de Astronomía*. In: *Concordances*.

CD = (13th c.) *Calila e Dimna*, ed. by J. Cacho Bleuca and M. Lacarra, Madrid, Castalia 1984.

Cid = (c. 13th c.) *Cantar de mio Cid*, ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 4th ed. 1964.

*Concordances and Texts of the Royal Scriptorium Manuscripts of Alfonso X, el Sabio*, ed. by L. Kasten and J. Nitti, Madison, Wisc., Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Spanish, 1978.

DLE = *Documentos Lingüísticos de España*, ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, CSIC 1966.

- Juic = (13th c.) Aly Aben Ragel. *El libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas*. In: *Concordances*.
- Pic = (13th c.) *Picatrix*. In: *Concordances*.
- Zif = (14th c.) *Libro del Caballero Zifar*, ed. by J. González Muela, Madrid, Castalia, 1982.

## References

- Adams, M., 1987a. From Old French to the theory of prodrop. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5, 1–32.
- Adams, M., 1987b. Old French, null subjects, and verb second phenomena. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles.
- Adams, M., 1988a. Embedded pro. *NELS* 18, 1–21. GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Adams, M., 1988b. Les effets V2 en ancien et en moyen français. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique Théorique et Appliquée* 7(3), 13–39.
- Badía Margarit, A., 1981. *Gramàtica històrica catalana*. Barcelona: Tres i Quatre.
- Baker, M.C., 1988. *Incorporation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Benincà, P., 1984. Un'ipotesi sulla sintassi delle lingue romanze medievali. *Quaderni Patavini di Linguistica* 4, 3–19.
- Benincà, P., 1989. L'ordine delle parole nelle lingue romanze medievale. To appear in: *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Romance Linguistics and Philology*, Santiago de Compostela, Spain.
- Besten, H. den, 1983. On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules. In: W. Abraham (ed.), *On the formal syntax of the Westgermania*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Borsley, M.D. and M.L. Rivero, 1991. Clitic auxiliaries and incorporation in Polish. Paper read at the Eurotyp clitics and complementation meeting, Vienna 1991.
- Chomsky, N., 1977. On Wh-movement. In: *Formal syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, N., 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N., 1989. Some notes on economy of derivation and representation. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 10, 43–74.
- Cordin, P., 1991. Some notes on the evolution of agreement in Trentin dialect. Ms., University of Trento. Paper read at the Workshop on Null Subjects. Xth ICLH. Amsterdam 1991.
- Diesing, M., 1990. Verb movement and the subject position in Yiddish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8, 41–81.
- Dunn, J., 1928. *A grammar of the Portuguese language*. Washington, DC: National Capital Press.
- Dupuis, F., 1988. Pro-drop dans les subordinées en ancien français. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique Théorique et Appliquée* 7(3), 41–62.
- Dupuis, F., 1989. L'expression du sujet dans les subordinées en ancien français. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Montreal.
- Evers, A., 1981. Two functional principles for the rule "Move V". *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 19, 96–110.
- Haider, H. and M. Prinzhorn (eds.), 1986. *Verb second phenomena in Germanic languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Hirschbühler, P., 1989. On the existence of null subjects in embedded clauses in Old and Middle French. In: J. deCesaris, C. Kirschner (eds), *Studies in Romance linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hirschbühler, P., 1990. La légitimation de la construction VI a sujet nul en subordonnée dans la prose et le vers en ancien français. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique* 19(1), 33–55.
- Hirschbühler, P., 1991. Null subjects in VI embedded clauses in Philippe de Vigneulles' *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. Ms., University of Ottawa. Paper read at the First Generative Diachronic Syntax Conference, York 1990.
- Hirschbühler, P. and M.-O. Junker, 1989. Remarques sur les sujets nuls en subordonnée en ancien et en moyen français. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique Théorique et Appliquée* 7(3), 63–84.
- Kayne, R., 1989a. Null subjects and clitic climbing. In: O. Jaeggli, K. Safir (eds.), *The null subject parameter*, 239–261. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kayne, R., 1989b. Romance clitics and PRO. *NELS* 20, 255–302. GLSA, University of Massachusetts.
- Kayne, R., 1991. Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 647–686.
- Kemenade A. van and A. Hulk, 1990. Licensing V2, case systems and pro-drop. Ms., University of Amsterdam. Paper read at the First Generative Diachronic Syntax Conference, York 1990.
- Koopman, H., 1984. *The syntax of verbs*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kraskow, T., 1990. On multiple questions in Slavic. Paper read at the Conference on Scrambling, Tilburg 1990.
- Lema, J., 1989. Morphologization of the Spanish future and conditional: Synchrony and diachrony. Ms., University of Ottawa.
- Lema, J. and M. Rivero, 1989a. Inverted conjugations and verb-second effects in Romance. To appear in: C. Laeufer, T. Terrell (eds.), *Theoretical analyses in contemporary Romance linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lema, J. and M. Rivero, 1989b. Long head movement: ECP vs. HMC. *NELS* 20, 333–347. GLSA. University of Massachusetts.
- Lema, J. and M. Rivero, 1991. Types of verbal movement in Old Spanish: Modals, futures, and perfects. *Probus* 3(3).
- Lombard, A., 1974. *La langue roumaine*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Menéndez-Pidal, R., 1964. *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Texto, gramática y vocabulario. 4th ed. Espasa-Calpe, Madrid.
- Meyer-Lübke, W., 1895. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, III. Leipzig: Reisland.
- Platzack, C., 1986. Comp, Infl, and Germanic word order. In: L. Hellan, K. Christensen (eds.), *Topics in Scandinavian syntax*, 185–234, Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Platzack, C., 1987. The Scandinavian languages and the null subject parameter. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5, 377–401.
- Platzack, C., 1990. The loss of verb-second in French and English. Ms., University of Lund. Paper read at the First Generative Diachronic Syntax Conference, York 1990.
- Renzi, L., 1987. Essor, transformation, et mort d'une loi: La Loi de Wackernagel. In: *Mélanges offerts à Maurice Molho, Linguistique – Volume III. Les Cahiers de Fontenay* 291–302.
- Rivero, M. L., 1986. Parameters in the typology of clitics in Romance and Old Spanish. *Language* 64, 774–807.
- Rivero, M.L., 1988. The structure of IP and V-movement in the languages of the Balkans. Ms., University of Ottawa. Revised version to appear in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.

- Rivero, M.L., 1989. Estructura flexional y movimiento(s) de verbo: Futuros, condicionales y perfectos en rumano y español medieval. To appear in: Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Romance Linguistics and Philology, Santiago de Compostela, Spain.
- Rivero, M.L., 1991. Long head movement, and negation: Serbo-Croatian vs. Slovak and Czech. *The Linguistic Review* 8, 319–351.
- Rivero, M.L., 1992. Clitic and NP climbing in Old Spanish. In: H. Campos, F. Martínez-Gil (eds.), *Current studies in Spanish linguistics*, 241–282. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Rizzi, L. 1982. *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, L., 1989. *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L., 1990. Speculations on V-second. In: J. Mascaró, M. Nespó (eds.), *Grammar in progress*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Roberts, I., 1990. *Verbs and diachronic syntax*. Ms., University of Geneva. To appear with Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Roberts, I., 1991a. Excorporation and minimality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 209–218.
- Roberts, I., 1991b. Head government and the local nature of head-movement. Paper read at Glow 14, Leiden, March 1991.
- Rohlf, G., 1949. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, II. Torino: Piccola Bibliotheca Einaudi. [1968.]
- Rossi, M.T., 1975. Formas de futuro en un romanceamiento bíblico del siglo XIII. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 91, 386–402.
- Rouveret, A., 1989. Cliticisation et temps en portugais européen. *Revue des Langues Romanes* 43(2), 337–371.
- Tekavcic, P., 1972. *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Tomaselli, A., 1990. COMP as a licensing head – An argument based on cliticization. In: J. Mascaró, M. Nespó (eds.), *Grammar in progress*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Uriagereka, J., 1988. *On government*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Connecticut.
- Valesio, P., 1968. The Romance synthetic future pattern and its first attestation. *Lingua* 20, 113–161 and 279–307.
- Vance, B., 1988. L'évolution de pro-drop en français médiéval. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique Théorique et Appliquée* 7(3), 85–109. English version in: J. deCesaris, C. Kirschner (eds), 1989, *Studies in Romance linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Vance, B., 1989. *Null subjects and syntactic change in Medieval French*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Vanelli, L., L. Renzi and P. Benincà, 1985. Typologie des pronoms sujets dans les langues romanes. *Actes du XVII Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes*, Vol. 3, 163–176. Marseille: Jean Lafitte.
- Wanner, D., 1992. The Tobler-Mussafia law in Old Spanish. In: H. Campos, F. Martínez-Gil (eds.), *Current studies in Spanish linguistics*, 313–378. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1991.
- Zagona, K., 1982. *Government and proper government of verbal projections*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.