

Scrambling phenomena in the Old Italian DP

In this work I investigate a phenomenon which up to now has gone completely unnoticed in the literature, namely scrambling within the DP in Old Italian (OI). I will show that the phenomenon is captured by the (by now) standard assumption that the structure of the DP is parallel to the one of the CP in a straightforward way: OI has a V2-like property which manifests itself both in the CP and in the DP layer, allowing for orders in both layers that are not possible in modern Italian. The empirical basis of this work is the online data base of the OVI corpus containing all texts for Old Florentine (i.e. Old Italian) from 1200 to 1350.

I will discuss four phenomena: a) PP preposing to the left edge of the DP, as in (1), b) preposing of an adjective modified by the adverb *molto* ‘much’ c) prenominal restrictive adjectives as in (3) d) prenominal genitive of ‘costui’ (4):

(1) Facestilo tu per dare **di me esempio** alle genti? (B.G. 2,1) Did.it you for give of me example to the people?

(2) li quali fuoro **molto bella** gente (Paolino Pieri, 45) Who were very beautiful people

(3) Mi parve sentire uno mirabile tremore incominciare nel mio pecto dalla **sinistra parte**
me seemed to-hear a wonderful tremble start in.the my breast from-the left side (Vita Nuova 71, 3)

(4) Al **costui** tempo (Doc. Fior, 90,1) To.the of.whom time ‘In his time’

The first two examples can be assimilated to one and the same phenomenon, as in both cases the preposed constituent (either a PP or an AdjP modified by *molto*) never cooccurs with the definite determiner. This is so, because the preposed constituent targets the SpecDP position, blocking the realization of the D° head in virtue of a requirement that bans the lexical realization of a head and of a specifier of the same projection as in what used to be called the ‘doubly filled comp filter’. Evidence in favor of a movement analysis is provided by cases where only part of the postnominal constituent is preposed:

(5) e di **gentile** aspetto **molto** and of kind appearance very (Dante, *Vita Nuova*, cap. 8, par. 1, v. 11)

Assuming Cinque’s (2005) analysis of the DP and Giusti’s (2006) structure of its left periphery I will argue that the structure of cases like (1) and (2) is illustrated in (6):

(6) [DP[AdjP molto grande] [D°].[TopP.[OpP] [dFILOSOFO [AgrP [SpecAgrP ~~molto-grande~~] filosofo... [NP [N ~~filosofo~~]]]]]]

Here the modified AdjP moves to SpecDP, (which corresponds to ForceP in the nominal domain) banning the realization of the determiner, while the head noun moves to the head of a lower projection d, (which corresponds to Fin°). The movement of N to d is parallel to the movement of V to Fin in V2 contexts (see Benincà (2006) a.o.) and is also a reflex of the parallel between the CP and the DP. Cases like (3), which are extremely frequent in the corpus but completely impossible in modern Italian, cannot be analyzed in the same way as (1) and (2) because it does not respect the ban against the occurrence of the definite determiner. According to Cinque (2005), restrictive adjectives originate in a Specifier higher than non restrictive ones in the structure of DP, as the basic order is + restrictive ADj followed by – restrictive, as in the Germanic languages. Hence, the occurrence of restrictive adjectives in postnominal position after –restrictive ones in languages like Italian is completely unexpected. Cinque claims that the reason why prenominal restrictive adjectives are impossible in modern Italian and why they must occur postnominally after – restrictive ones has to do with the obligatory movement of the whole AgrP containing the head noun and non restrictive adjectives to the SpecDP position, which leaves the +restrictive adjective stranded behind. In the talk I propose that restrictive adjectives can be found in a prenominal position in OI because they can be moved to a Topic position in the left periphery of the DP, while the head noun targets d° as illustrated in (7), thus banning the movement of the whole AgrP proposed in Cinque (2005). As for the last type of preposing, which only involves the genitive elements like ‘costui’ ‘colui’, I will argue that here the left periphery of the DP is not involved at all, and that the genitive raises to the corresponding position in the DP that is occupied by the nominative subject in the IP.