Word orders in the Old Italian DP

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1. Laying out the problem

In this article I examine the structure of the DP in Old Italian (OI) and show that some of its marked word orders can be interpreted as instances of a scrambling phenomenon which allows a series of DP internal elements to move in front of the head noun. I show that scrambling in the DP displays the same properties as those found in the vP and the CP layers, properties which suggest an analysis in terms of left peripheral movements in a way similar to the one usually assumed for the V2 property of OI.[1] Although I will not analyze in detail scrambling in the vP phase or V2 in this article (see Poletto (2006), (2009) for a detailed discussion), the structure of all phases can be hypothesized to be completely parallel in particular with respect to the formal properties associated with their left periphery.[2] What I intend to concentrate on here is rather the fundamental distinction between the Old and the Modern Italian DP: in OI the nominal head can move to the lowest X° position in the left periphery of the DP phase, while in Modern Italian this is not possible. This accounts for a number of determinerless instances when the head noun is preceded by a PP or modified adjective, cases of this sort are ungrammatical in Modern Italian, but are found in OI texts.

In section 1. 2 I summarize some recent work on the DP structure that will be relevant to my analysis of OI. In section 2 and 3 I investigate those scrambling cases in which a PP originated inside the NP or an adjective modified by *molto* 'much' is moved to a prenominal position.

On the basis of the empirical generalization stating that whenever an object PP is preposed, the definite determiner is never realized, I will propose that the preposed PP is located in the specifier of a DP-peripheral position (probably the highest one corresponding to

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[1] The idea that there is a parallel between sentential structure and DP structure is rather old and goes back at least to Siloni (1995). Here I will make extensive use of Giusti's (2006), who explicitly assumes a parallel between the DP and the CP structure, though the exact make of all the projections is still to be investigated.

[2] I am aware of the fact that there has been a recent debate concerning the status of the DP as an independent phase or not, but I will keep the idea that DP is indeed a phase, because it can have a thematic grid and because of the well known similarities between the DP and the CP. For a more detailed discussion on this issue see Giusti (2006).

ForceP in the CP) whose head is usually occupied by the definite determiner, which is not realized if its Specifier is occupied according to an economy principle. I will then analyze the numerous cases of prenominal adjectives modified by *molto* as movement to the same position targeted by PPs (namely the highest one in the internal left periphery of the DP) as the alternation between a preposed adjective modified by *molto* and a definite determiner suggests.

Further evidence for assuming movement of adjectives to a DP internal left periphery is provided by cases of extraction of quantifiers modifying a postnominal adjective like *molto/i* 'much/many', or *viceversa* prenominal bare adjectives which leave a postnominal modifier in their original postnominal position.

In section 4 I investigate another typical feature which distinguishes Old and Modern Italian, namely the fact (as already noted by Giusti (2010) and Thiella (2008)) that restrictive adjectives, which can only be postnominal in Modern Italian, can also occur in prenominal position in Old Italian. I will treat also these cases as movement of the adjective to a left peripheral position, a hypothesis already put forth by Giusti (2006) for the (pragmatically very restricted) Modern Italian cases. This possibility will also be tied to the V2-like property of the OI DP, which allows for movement of the N° to the DP internal left periphery. I will show that the position targeted by restrictive adjectives is not the same which hosts '*molto*+adjective' and preposed PPs, but a lower one, as a definite determiner is compatible with and precedes prenominal restrictive adjectives.

This constitutes further confirmation that OI allows for a very general scrambling phenomenon which is not more possible in Modern Italian. I will argue that all these cases are to be treated as movement of the prenominal element to different positions in the DP left periphery starting from a lower postnominal position.

I propose that all cases of movement within the left periphery are to be explained as a consequence of the fact that in OI the DP left periphery is accessible to elements which are left in situ in modern Italian. Giusti (2006) shows that Modern Italian does have an active left periphery as Topic movements of adjectives are indeed possible. However, the basic distinction between the Old and the Modern Italian DP is the same that is well known from work by Benincà (1985) (2006) for the CP layer: it is indeed possible to move XPs to the CP layer both in Modern and Old Italian. What has changed is not the accessibility of the internal left periphery to XPs per se, but rather head movement, which in OI has to reach the head to the lowest position in the left periphery, either of the CP or of the DP, while this is not the
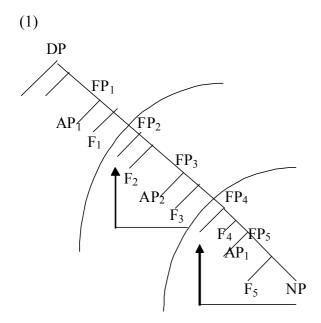
case in modern Italian. Therefore, the basic difference between Old and Modern Italian is not in the activation of the CP, vP or DP left peripheries, but in the possibility of I°, V° or N° movement to the lowest left peripheral position.

1.2 The structure of the DP phase

In what follows I summarize recent work done on the internal structure of the left periphery on which I ground my analysis of OI.

Cinque (1994) proposes that the DP internal structure is made up by several functional projections whose specifiers are occupied by different classes of adjectives, in a vein similar to the proposal put forth in Cinque (1999) for the positioning of adverbs. In (Modern) Italian the head noun can move to a functional projection in the IP-like space of the DP triggering agreement with the corresponding adjective.

In more recent work Cinque (see Cinque (2005), (2009)) entertains the hypothesis that the movement of the noun is not to be analyzed as head movement but as the displacement of the entire NP to all the specifiers of the various functional projections in the IP-like space of the DP[3] or of successively higher XPs into higher specifiers giving rise to what is called "snowballing movement" and thus reversing the order of the adjectives as shown in (1).

(1)

Cinque (2005) observes that in Modern Romance languages, whereas in prenominal position

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[3] I will follow here Giusti (2006), who proposes that the highest projection in the IP-like space of the DP is a NumberP.

the adjective receives only one interpretation, which corresponds to individual level, non-restrictive and absolute reading, in postnominal position it can have two interpretations: the same of the adjective in prenominal position, or another interpretation, corresponding to stage level, restrictive and relative reading. Cinque (2005) illustrates his claim with the following examples:

(2) Le invisibili stelle di Andromeda sono molto distanti.

The invisible stars of Andromeda are very far

a. 'Andromeda's stars are all invisible and very far'

(3) Le stelle invisibili di Andromeda sono molto distanti.

The stars invisible of Andromeda are all far

a. 'Andromeda's stars are all invisible and very far'

b.'there are some stars of Andromeda's which are invisible and these are very far'

(4) Le noiose lezioni di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti.

The boring lessons of Ferrari refl - obj. pron *remember all*

a. 'Ferrari's lessons were all boring and all remember them'

(5) Le lezioni noiose di Ferrari se le ricordano tutti.

The lessons boring of Ferrari refl - obj. pron *remember all*

a. 'Ferrari's lessons were all boring and all remember them'

b.'all remember those lesson of Ferrari's which were boring (but not all were so)'

absolute / relative

(6) Volevano scalare solo le alte e ripide montagne dell'India.

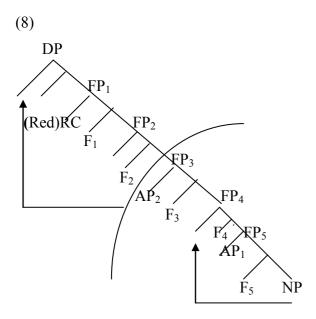*They wanted to climb only the tall and steep mountains of India*

a. 'the mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'

(7) Volevano scalare solo le montagne alte e ripide dell'India.[4]

They wanted to climb only the mountains tall and steep of India

a. 'the mountains of India are all tall and steep and they wanted to climb them all'

b. 'they wanted to climb only those mountains of India which are tall and steep'

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[4] On the interpretation of the focalizer, see Munaro (this volume).

He further notices that this is the opposite of what we find in English, where restricted adjectives can only be found in prenominal position. The explanation Cinque (2005) proposes for this difference is illustrated on the basis of the following structure: he starts from the assumption that the order we observe in English, as is generally the case in languages where modifiers precede the head, is the basic order of the adjectives. In Romance restrictive adjectives can only be postnominal because there is movement of the whole FP containing the noun and non restrictive adjectives to the Spec of the highest position in the DP, a movement which leaves the restrictive adjectives, which in their basic order are the highest, as shown by languages like English, in a postnominal position:

(8)

In what follows I will claim that this movement does not necessarily apply in OI because of the V2 property of the Noun.

Giusti (2006) also follows the idea that the CP and DP have similar properties and analyzes prenominal adjectives as movements to a DP internal left periphery. The only distinction between the CP and the DP is that this lacks Tense, hence there is no TP inside the DP, all the rest being similar. She assumes that Cinque's hierarchy of the adjectives is universal and can only be violated by A'movement of an adjective. She proposes the following more detailed left periphery of the DP, where the DP position corresponds to Force (and realizes the Case feature), while the lower dP corresponds to FinP in the CP layer and can host the head noun in some languages like Albanian, where the N moves rather high bypassing all adjectives. The

intermediate Kon(trastive) position is a Topic-like position where adjectives can be located when they are contrastive (creating a contrastive Topic):

(9)   [DP Kase [KonP [dP Number [AgrP ... [NP]]]]]

Giusti assumes that there is no internal Focus position in the left periphery of the DP, because Focus is unique in the sentence and mapped only in the structure of the CP.[5] Lower than dP there is also an IP-like space with several Agreement projections whose specifiers host adjectives as Cinque (1994) proposes.

So, cases like the following one are to be analyzed according to the structure in (2):

(10)   Le lunghe sue trecce bionde
        The long+agr her braids blond+agr
        'Her long blond braids'

(11)   [DP [D°Le] [KonP [ADjP lunghe] [dP Number [AgrP sue [AgrP trecce [AgrP bionde... [NP ~~trecce~~]]]]]]

Starting from this hypothesis of the internal structure of the DP layer, I will propose that the difference between Modern and Old Italian is the same that we find in the CP layer, (modulo the different labelling):

a) as the inflected verb raises to the lowest C projection, namely Fin, when it is empty, the N can raise to d. This means that the N can cross adjectives located in the IP-like space of the DP that are prenominal in Modern Italian, where the N does not raise to d.

As the inflected verb can also raise to higher positions in the CP, (see Benincà (2006) who shows that the inflected verb can raise up to Topic, creating enclisis of object clitics), there can be cases in which the N does not only raise to d but also higher up to D. This idea thus predicts that when N raises to the lower d or the higher D the corresponding "complementizer" does not occur, as it happens with the inflected verb. Determiners are the most probable counterpart of complementizers in the nominal domain. Like complementizers, they are "multifunctional" in providing the connection to the phase external structure and at the same time providing the "type" of phase (in the case of the DP, the determiner expresses features like referentiality, specificity and also case). Moreover, complementizers come in

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[5] Notice however that the projection usually identified as FocusP is most probably not only related to Focus but is a more general position for Operators, and as such it should be available.

two "flavors": the complementizer of inflected complement clauses is located in Force, the complementizer of infinitival clauses is located in Fin. The same type of dichotomy can be found in the nominal domain with definite and indefinite determiners: definite determiners are located in D°, while indefinite determiners (when they are not analyzed as real quantifiers) are located in d°. Hence, if there is noun movement to the left periphery of the DP, we predict an alternation between the N in d/D (depending on how high the N raises) and the definite or indefinite determiner. It is a well known observation that OI has "less determiners" than Modern Italian requires, but this rather impressionistic view has to be made more precise concerning the exact contexts in which the determiner can be absent.[6]

b) As there are XPs moved to OpP without being contrastively focussed, the same happens in the DP. Hence, we predict that in OI cases of left peripheral XPs should be much more frequent than in Modern Italian. As we will see, this is actually the case.

2. PP scrambling as movement to the DP left periphery

In order to prove that the DP syntax of OI is different from the one of Modern Italian, I will first take the most striking phenomenon and examine cases of preposed PPs belonging to the internal structure of the DP.

Old Italian, like modern Italian generally has the order noun-PP:[7]

(12)   e a Seleuco, figliuolo d' Antioco, ee data **la segnoria dell' oste**.   (B. G. Or. 181)
        And to S. son of A. had given the power of the control of the army

Although this is by far the more widespread option, as noted by Giorgi (2010), OI also displays some striking cases of prenominal PPs, as the following cases show:

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

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[6] In what follows I will base my analysis on the empirical generalizations found in Renzi (2010) and in Thiella (2008), who provides a very detailed description of the distribution of determinerless DPs in OI. It is clear that not all cases of determinerless DPs can be analyzed as I propose here in section 3.1, as there are several other factors involved (as Thiella (2008) clearly shows). However, one of the structures where determiners are not realized is the one I discuss here.

[7] Several of the cases I present here are no real complement of the Noun, some authors assume that Nouns do not actually have a thematic grid, except for deverbal nouns. For my argument about scrambling to go through I actually do not need to assume that all Nouns have a thematic grid, but only that there are PPs internal to the DP, even though they are predicative PPs and not real arguments.

b. Fanno **di loro gente un capitano** c'ha nome Umiltà (B.G. 27, 18)

Do of their people a captain who has name Umility

c. **Di dolor madre** antica   (Dante Vita nuova 42, 2)

Of sorrow mother ancient

d. per una porta che vi è intalglato **di marmo uno angelo**[8] (Doc. Fior.113, 11)

through a door that there is carved of marble an angel

e. gli altri c'han **d'amor neente**.   (Ch. Davanzati, 11, 14)

the others who have of love nothing

Giorgi (2010) notices that cases of real PP complements are only to be found in poetry or are attributed to latinisms (for instance in the translation of Latin texts). In the texts I used for the inquiry (which is a subset of the texts used by Giorgi and by the whole Grammatica dell'Italiano antico) there are several cases of PP preposing, though few of them are real complements of the noun though they clearly belong to the internal structure of the DP; some of them are neither translations from Latin nor poetry. Giorgi is indeed correct in stating that preposed real PP complements are very rare in non poetic texts, but there are a lot of other PPs internal to the DP that are located in a prenominal position, as shown in (13).

In what follows I will try to bring arguments in favor of the idea that the recent theory of left peripheries provides us with the means to analyze both (12) and (13) within the same grammar, without resorting to the hypothesis that speakers require two grammars (an "Italian" and a "Latin" one) to produce (12) as well as (13).

More specifically, I propose again to interpret prenominal object PPs as the effect of a scrambling process that moves the PP to either an OpP or a TopicP position in the left periphery of the DP area similar to the one already noticed for the other phases, CP and vP. Hence, following Giusti (2006) the derivation of cases like (13) would be the following one:

(14)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{TopicP}$ [$_{PP}$ di me]...[$_{OpP}$] [dP esemplo [$_{AgrP}$ ~~esemplo~~... [$_{NP}$ [$_{N}$ ~~esemplo~~ [$_{PP}$ ~~di me~~]]]]]]]

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[8] As P. Benincà (p.c.) points out to me, this example might be dubious, as the PP 'of marble' could be interpreted as an independent PP and not part of the DP 'uno angelo' with the meaning of 'out of the marble/ made of marble'. As there are other clear cases, I do not think that the phenomenon can be denied and leave the interpretation of cases like this open.

As standardly assumed for the Romance DP, the head noun in Italian moves out of the NP to reach an IP-like position. However, according to the hypothesis that phases are parallel put forth in Poletto (2006), and being OI a V2 language, then the V2 property applies to all phases. This means that the Noun can move to the lowest position in the left periphery of the clause, if this position is empty. Notice that here we have a case without the determiner, which is precisely the context in which Longobardi (1991) shows that proper nouns and some special nouns like *casa* 'home' move to D° bypassing adjectives and possessives.[9] Therefore, on a parallel with the CP layer, I assume that the head noun moves up to the dP and this is the reason why the determiner may not be lexically realized. Here, the PP internal to the NP has also moved to a left peripheral position causing the inversion of the order noted above. In principle the PP could also have moved to the OpP position, as it is rather difficult to distinguish between the various movements being OI a dead language. [10]

There is however one empirical generalization that leads me to think that the left peripheral position in question here is not a Topic (or an Op) position, but rather the SpecDP itself, namely the highest position in the DP phase:

(15)   When an XP is preposed in front of the N, the N never has a definite determiner

In the sample of examples there are cases of indefinite articles, quantifiers (see above), but no cases of definite determiners. This suggests that the complementary distribution between PP preposing and definite determiners can be captured by assuming that the Specifier position targeted by the PP is the same in whose head is merged the definite determiner, namely the highest DP projection. [11]Therefore I will discard the structure in (14) and rather propose that the analysis of cases of PP preposing in OI is the following one:

(16)   [DP[PP di me] [D°.][. TopP.[OpP] [dP esemplo [AgrP ~~esemplo~~... [NP [N ~~esemplo~~ [PP ~~di me~~]]]]]]]

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[9] Longobardi makes no distinction between D° and d°, because his analsis precedes the one of the split left periphery first proposed by Rizzi (1997).

[10] However, the fact that a pronoun is used here hints at the TopicP rather than the OpP.

[11] If the definite determiner is similar to the complementizer of inflected clauses, according to Rizzi's (1997) original proposal, it should be merged in the highest left peripheral position. However, there has been recent work (see among other Ledgeway (2003) (2007))) which shows that the complementizer can be merged lower and be raised. This could also be extended to the definite determiner, however at the moment I have no test to distinguish between the two hypotheses.

Additional evidence in favor of a movement analysis of cases like (13) along the lines in (16) are examples like the following, where the object PP has moved further on out of the DP, examples of this type are indeed found (notice that also in these cases of further extraction no definite determiner is present with the head noun):

(17)   E **delle genti del mondo** quetare una parte, B.G. 78, 9
         And of.the people of.the world calm one part

This shows that it is indeed possible to move the PP, actually the DP-internal movement most probably constitutes a preliminary step feeding the subsequent movement into the left periphery of the clause, as it happens in other cases of extraction in the Germanic languages (see van Riemsdjik (19??) for the 'wat voor' construction in Dutch).[12]

A stronger argument in favor of a movement analysis for PP-N cases is constituted by cases like the following:

(18)   coloro che son oggi e che per innanzi nasceranno possano avere verace fede e **di Dio**
those who are today and who in future will.be.born can have real faith and of God

         perfetto intendimento B.G. 69, 17
         perfect understanding

Notice that in this case the preposed PP is located in front of an adjective:[13] as adjectives are the specifiers of FPs located in the IP-like space of the DP, this means that the PP must have been moved higher than this IP-like space.

One more interesting argument is the fact that preposed PPs can have an indefinite article or a quantifier and the preposed PP is always located in front of them, showing that the movement is really peripheral:

(19)   a.   Chi **d'infamia d'alcuna macula** si sozza, ... (B.G. 29, 17)
               Who of infamy of any spot himself gets.dirty

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[12] Notice that these cases never occur with a definite article, as expected according to the analysis presented above, where movement to SpecDP feeds futher movement outside the DP-phase.
[13] Notice that this looks like a real case of PP complement preposing, and this is clearly not a poetic text neither a translation from Latin.

b.   nei cor' villan' **d'amore un gelo**   (Dante Vita Nuova 98, 4)[14]

         in.the hearts bad of love a frost

In cases like (19b), where the indefinite determiner is present are cases in which the indefinite determiner occupies the d° position and, as a consequence, the head noun does not move to dP, but remains lower; however movement of the XP to the left periphery is still possible (as it also is in the CP layer in OI).

On this basis I conclude that OI has movement of a DP internal PP to the SpecD position, which explains why in these cases no definite determiner occurs, why the PP occurs on the left side of all other DP internal elements and why further movement into the CP left periphery out of the DP is possible without violating subjacency (or any principle accounting for it).

One other striking case of DP-internal preposing, though most probably not of the same type, is the one exemplified here by sentences from the "Documenti Fiorentini":[15]

(20)   a.   Al costui tempo (Doc. Fior, 90,1)

           To.the of.whom time

      b.   Nel costui tempo (Doc. Fior. 93, 27)

           In.the of.whom time

Here the complement *di costui* is preposed, and notice that the preposition *di* has disappeared. I surmise that this construction is not analogous to the one illustrated in (13) and analyzed in (16) precisely because here the preposition is deleted. The construction suggests some kind of genitive, which is however not marked by any special morpheme (like English Saxon genitive *'s*). Probably in this case the movement of 'costui' is not to the left periphery of the DP, but to a dedicated genitive position located in the IP-like space of the DP and similar to SpecT for the subject of tensed clauses, which, following Giusti (2008) could beSpecPoss(essive)P. Therefore I will not consider these cases as instances of left peripheral movement like those illustrated in (13) but as cases of movements internal to the IP-like zone of the DP. One further reason to doubt that preposition-less pronoun preposing like (20) are to be treated in

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[14] This example is in the part in poetry of the work, however all the other examples are not. The most reliable case is the one from the 'Documenti Fiorentini', a collection of non literary texts, where the Latin influence is very unlikely.

[15] The prenominal position is not the only one with an element like *costui*, on the contrary this position is rather limited in relation to the postnominal one. However, what is interesting here is that the possibility of having *costui* in prenominal position exists, while it does not in modern Italian.

the same way as (13) is the fact that here we have a definite determiner, which never occurs in the cases of PP preposing. If this type of movement is to a Genitive case checking position, then the structure corresponding to (20) is the one in (21):

(21)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{D°}$ il] [$_{TopicP}$...[$_{OpP}$] [$_{dP}$ [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{DP}$ costui]...[$_{AgrP}$ tempo [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ ~~tempo~~ [$_{DP}$ ~~costui~~]]

         ]]]]]

These cases are probably rather to be related to cases like those of construct state constructions examined by Longobardi (1991) and actually found also in the OVI corpus:[16]

(22)   a.   in casa i Frescobaldi (Giovanni Villani 8, 49)

                 In home the F.

         b.   In casa gli Orciolini (Doc. Fior. 126, 22)

                 In home the O.

Following Longobardi (1991), I propose that in these cases the N *casa* 'home' has moved to the D°, as the absence of the determiner indicates, bypassing its genitive, which is also not expressed with the preposition *di*.

(23)   [$_{DP}$ [casa] [$_{TopicP}$.[$_{OpP}$] [$_{dP}$ [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{DP}$ gli Orciolini]...[$_{AgrP}$ ~~casa~~   [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ ~~casa~~ [$_{DP}$ ~~gli Orciolini~~]]]]]]]

Here the noun *casa* can move to the highest position in the DP leaving on the right all elements, as Longobardi (1991) shows for Old and Modern Italian.[17]

Notice that cases like (20) and cases like (22) have one property in common: given that the complement of the noun has no preposition *di* 'of', it is probably located in the same position where we see *costui* in (20), namely a genitive case assignment position (as Longobardi himself proposes on the basis of languages like Hebrew where construct state nouns are productive). Therefore cases of (pre or postnominal) genitives without the preposition *di* are

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[16] There are examples of this construction with casa with the prepositions *da*, ‚from' *di*,'of *a* , ‚to/at' *in* ‚in.

[17] This is also the view accepted by Renzi (2010) and Thiella (2008), who shows that in Old Venetian the name barca 'boat' behaves the same. Moreover, they all notice that casa is representative of a small class of geographical nouns which all share the same structural property of being able to move to D. Given that this only concerns a small class, while I am rather concerned with the „standard" DP-internal movements, I will leave this topic aside and refer to the literature mentioned above for further details.

to be treated differently and are not instances of the movement depicted in (16), while examples like (13) are.

In the following sections I will show that there are other elements (adjectives and modifiers) that can move in front of the head N.

3. Scrambling of prenominal adjectives modified by *molto*

One further instance of movement that is impossible in Modern Italian is the one represented in examples like the following ones, where an adjective modified by the quantifier *molto* occurs in prenominal position:

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

   b.   *Democrito   fue   **molto grande** filosofo.*
               Democrito   was very   great   philosopher   (*F.V.F.*, p. 106, r. 2)

   c.   e di **molto grande** apparecchiamento in su le carra guerniti (B. G. Orosio, 45)
               and of very big setting in on the carts outfitted

   d.   e vennero **a molto grande** isforzo   (Itinerario luoghi santi 162)
               and came to very big effort

   e.   Cornacchie sono di molto grande vita   (Tesoro volg. 21, 114)
               Crows are of very long life

Preposing an adjective modified by *molto* has the same effect that PP preposing has: there are not cases of definite articles combined with preposed "molto+adjective".[18]

The OVI corpus contains 150 example of *molto grande*, 'very big' more than the half of the relevant ones[19] is in prenominal position. I could not find one single case of prenominal *molto grande* which occurs with a definite determiner. I also tested the case of *molto bella* 'very beautiful', in the OVI corpus there are 130 examples, the relevant ones are 38 (the other being in postcopular position). Among the relevant cases, I found 25 prenominal and 13 postnominal cases, among the prenominal cases there was no definite article; all the cases with the definite article have the modified adjective in postnominal position:

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[18] I have checked all the cases of *molto grande* 'very big' in the OVI data base and there are no cases of definite article followed by molto grande, while there are several cases in which the indefinite article is combined with a preposed modified adjective.
[19] I have excluded cases where 'molto grande' occurs after the copula.

(25)   la quale iera **molto bella** reina   (Tristano Ricc. 300)
          Who was very beautiful queen

(26)   E allora fecie fare la nave **molto bella**   (*TristanoRicc. 41)*
         And then made make the ship very beautiful

Given that prenominal adjectives modified by *molto* have the same restriction concerning the definite article that we observed for preposed PPs, I will adopt the same analysis and propose the following structure for cases like (24) and (25):

(27)   [$_{DP}$[$_{AdjP}$ molto grande] [$_{D°}$.][. $_{TopP}$.[$_{OpP}$] [$_{dP}$filosofo [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{SpecAgrP}$ ~~molto grande~~]

        ~~filosofo~~... [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ ~~filosofo~~]]]]]]

Further evidence that prenominal cases of adjectives modified by *molto* are cases of movement are examples like the following one, where only the adjective has moved leaving the modifier stranded:

(28)   a   *e*   di **gentile** *aspetto* **molto**

         and   of kind appearance very   (Dante, *Vita Nuova*, cap. 8, par. 1, v. 11)

Other cases of movement through the left periphery of the DP are shown by examples like the following, where the modifier *molto* is extracted with the adjective stranded in prenominal position:

(29)   Molto è bella creatura questa Fede (B.G. 38, 23)

        Very is beautiful creature this Faith

(30)   Molto ne sarebbe gran disonore (B. G, 96, 17)

        Very of.it were big dishonour

4. Prenominal restrictive adjectives

If we now turn to the order of adjectives, we see that there are several differences between OI and Modern Italian, which I will try to reduce to a single one, namely the one already illustrated in (9): the DP in OI has an active left periphery, where PPs and adjectives can move to Topic (or possibly OpP) positions, and where also the head noun moves to the lowest position in the left periphery, if no determiner occupies it.

A well known feature of Old Italian with respect to Modern Italian (see Giusti (2010), and Thiella (2008)) is the fact that prenominal adjectives can have a restrictive interpretation in

OI, while in Modern Italian prenominal adjectives can only be appositive (see section 1.2 where Cinque's analysis of this phenomenon is presented). This phenomenon is represented in (31) and (32), which are ungrammatical in Modern Italian:

(31)   S'era svegliato nel **distrutto cuore** (Dante, Vita Nuova, 195, 1)

Del **passato tempo** molto stava pensoso (Dante Vita Nuova 196, 4)

Camarlingo delle **iscritte cose** (Doc. Fior. 64, 4)

Dinnanzi alla **mastra porta** di levante (Doc. Fior. 95, 14)

(32)   a.   la quale guardava   al   figliuolo piccolo del   **morto** fratello,

whom   looked.3sg at-the child   young   of-the dead brother

(BG, Or., p. 148, r. 7)

b.   e   dagli   **usati**   uomini

and from-the experienced men

(BG, Veg., p. 167, r. 167)

c.   il   **ben usato**   cavaliere disidera battaglia

the well behaved knight   wants   battle

(BG, Veg., p. 70, r. 6)

d.   Che li nomi seguitino le **nominate cose**,   (Dante Vita Nuova,

66, 3)

that the nouns follow the mentioned things

e.   Mi parve sentire uno mirabile tremore incomincaire nel mio pecto dalla

sinistra parte (Dante Vita Nuova 71, 3)

me seemed to-hear a wonderful tremble start in.the my breast fro-the left side

f.   Facendo **grassa vita** (Doc. Fior. 108, 9)

leading fat life

Cases like the ones above are extremely frequent, but we also find cases of modified or coordinated adjectives with an interpretation that is impossible in Modern Italian: the examples in (33) illustrate cases of prenominal coordinated adjectives that are ungrammatical in Modern Italian, (34) cases of modified adjectives:

(33)   a.   Uno gentile e potente uomo (Doc. Fior. 85, 20)

A gentle and powerful man

b.   Questi fu savio e valente uomo (Doc. Fior, 97, 19)

            Who was wise and skilled man

c.   Era grande e gentile huomo di suo paese (Doc. Fior. 108, 2)

            was big and gentle man of his country

d.   Come gentile e cortese huomo (Doc. Fior. 120, 20)

            like gentle and noble man

e.   Il famosissimo e nobile huomo messer Guilglelmo di Belgiuoco (Doc. Fior. 137, 13)

            the most.famous and noble man Mister G. of B.

f.   Di là da mare rei e pericolosi passi, (B .G. 100, 19)

            of there from sea guilty and dangerous steps

(34)   a.   domandò se avesse   **più**   **care**   pietre

            asked   if had.subj.3sg   more   valuable stones

            (Novellino, p. 123, 54)

b.   qual   ti   sembra di **più ricca** valuta?

            which to-you seem   of more rich   value?

            (Novellino, p. 127, 28)

c.   E avessimo posto in più oscuro e selvatico luogo (B.G. 2, 7)

            And had placed in more obscure and savage place

The analysis I intend to put forward here still derives from the same property that explains why OI allows for prenominal PPs and prenominal adjectives modified by *molto'* very', which can only be postnominal in Modern Italian, namely the V2 property.

Recall that Cinque's analysis of Modern Italian places restrictive adjectives in the highest position in the IP-like space of the DP internal structure, as their order with respect to other adjectives in the Germanic languages attests. The fact that in Italian the highest adjectives can only occur postnominally, while lower non-restrictive adjectives can occur both pre and postnominally is explained by assuming that Modern Italian has movement of the whole FP containing the NP and non restrictive adjectives to the SpecD position, thus crossing restrictive adjectives (and relative clauses), which thus surface in postnominal position. Given that Cinque does not consider a split left periphery of the DP, I will "translate" his analysis into the more detailed framework adopted by Giusti (2006) by assuming that the FP targets

the lowest position in the left periphery, namely SpecdP, so that the head of DP is still available to the definite determiner, which occurs before the whole FP.

The distinction between Old and Modern Italian is thus due to the fact that in OI the head noun can raise to the d° position when d° is empty, thus preventing movement of the whole FP (including the head noun) to its specifier. The V2-like property of the OI DP also allows for restrictive adjectives to move to the internal left periphery, thus yielding the prenominal order of the restrictive adjective.

Cases like the one above are thus to be analyzed as follows:

(35)   [DP [D°.il][. TopP.[distrutto] [OpP] [dP cuore [AgrP ~~cuore~~... [NP [N ~~cuore~~]]]]]]

We have already seen that in all cases of movement it is possible to find examples where a part of the original XP is stranded in postnominal position: for instance cases of movement of *molto*+adjective are analyzed as movement because we also find cases of *molto* being moved alone and stranding the adjective in postnominal position, or viceversa cases of the adjective in prenominal position with *molto* stranded below the head noun. Similar cases are found also for restrictive adjectives when they are coordinated or modified:

(36)   ch'ella era ricchissima donna e di gran possessioni (Doc. Fior. 87, 23)
         That she was very-rich woman and of big possessions
(37)   Sono chavallerosa giente e dotta (Doc. FIor. 157, 15)
         are chivalrious people and knowledgable

Here the adjective *ricchissima* 'very-rich' is coordinated with the PP di gran possessioni 'of big possessions', but the PP remains stranded after the noun, showing that those prenominal cases illustrate in (30) to (34) are indeed cases of movement of the adjective to the left peripheral position. The same is true in (37) where *chavallerosa* 'chivalrious' is coordinated with *dotta* 'knowledgable', which remains in postnominal position.

Another argument that shows that we have to assume leftward movement of the adjective is the fact that in some cases the adjective has a PP complement which is left on the right side of the head noun:

(38)   a.   Se io pensava di voler cercare una **comune** via **di costoro** (Dante Vita Nuova,
                 66, 9)

If I thought of want look.for a common way of them

b   e ciò non è **propia** natura **di cavallo** (*Novellino*, p. 128, r. 67)

        and this not is own   nature of horse

        'and this is not the nature typical of a horse'

In this case the adjective *comune* 'common' is on the left of the head noun *via* 'way' but its complement 'of them' is on the right of the head noun. The phrase cannot be interpreted other than 'a way common to them'. The same is true in (38b), where 'own' can only be interpreted as taking the PP *di cavallo* 'of horse' as its complement.

Notice furthermore that OI also has the possibility to extract the moved XP to a higher CP-left peripheral position, a possibility that is clearly tied to the one of DP-internal movement, because subextraction is also banned in Modern Italian:

(39)   a.   **Molto** fue cotesto a dire **grande** ardimento B.G. 99, 1

            Very was this to say big courage

    c.   **Molto** sono **male** partiti B.G. 44, 15

            Very are badly left

    d.   **Molto** fece il re Pelleus **grande** festa al nepote (Doc. Fior. 157, 3)

            Very made the king P. big feast to-the nephew

    e.   Giason, che **molto** era **bello** e pieno di vertù (Doc. Fior. 151, 10)

            G. what very was beautiful and full of virtue

    f.   Molto fue bella e nobile la città di Troya (Doc. Fior. 166, 27)

            Very was beautiful and noble the city of T.

The cases presented in (39) can only be interpreted if we assume that the modifier marked in bold is to be interpreted with the following adjective. Notice furthermore that these cases are not only found with copular constructions, but also with other verbs (as in (38b) and inside the DP (as in (39d)).

Further cases of extraction of modifiers from the DP are those like the one reported in (39), where the modifier *solamente* 'only' modifies the PP co le pettora de' nostri cavalli 'with the breasts of our horses', showing that there had to be left peripheral movement internal to the DP (or PP) in order to allow for further extraction, which is no longer possible in Italian.

(40) a.   Che **solamente** vi faremo cadere co le pettora de' nostri cavalli B.G. 96, 20

               That only you will.make fall with the breasts of our horses

Moreover, given that cases of prenominal restrictive adjectives can be combined with the definite determiner, as minimal pairs like the following one display, I will not assume the same analysis I put forth for cases of PP preposing and prenominal adjectives modified by *molto*, which are both incompatible with the definite determiner, thus suggesting movement of the PP/AdjP to the highest SpecD position, but movement to a lower position located in the Topic space of the DP-internal left periphery:

(41) a.   Quella che ha i più ricchi fedeli B.G. 39, 5

               That which has the more rich believers

      b.   E aveva più ricchi fedeli B.G. 40, 10

               and had more rich believers

The examples discussed above, which shows that a) it is possible to coordinate a prenominal adjective with a postnominal one, that b) restrictive adjectives can be prenominal and that c) it is possible to further extract modifiers into the CP, support the idea that the internal left periphery of the DP allows for movements in OI that are banned in Modern Italian, like it is the case in the CP and vP layers.

Hence, we can conclude that there is actually no difference in the basic positioning of the adjectives between Old and Modern Italian in the IP-like space of the DP internal structure, the only difference is that the left periphery of OI can attract adjectives which maintain their restrictive reading, while this is not the case in Modern Italian.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that some scrambling phenomena found in the DP area in OI can be analyzed in a way parallel to V2 in the CP phase. We have seen that there are at least three types of movements in the DP area that have gone lost: a) the movement of a PP or of an adjective modified by *molto* to the highest position in the DP yielding scrambling as well as the non occurrence of a definite determiner b) the movement of adjectives (or portions of the adjectival structure) to a left peripheral position lower than SpecDP which keep their original

interpretation and can be either restrictive or non restrictive c) the movement of a genitive phrase to a specifier located most probably in the IP-like area of the DP, a position which licenses genitive case and thus prevents the occurence of the preposition *di* 'of'.

All three movements have disappeared in modern Italian. Moreover, in OI restrictive adjectives can remain in a prenominal position avoiding "snowballing" movement of an XP including the noun and non restrictive adjectives as assumed by Cinque (2005). Here I have argued that this is so because snowballing is blocked by the V2 property of the noun in OI which allows for N to d. This analysis does away with the idea that languages like OI have two different grammars and explains the cases of reordering found at different levels of the structure like cases of movement which can be reduce to one single property of the language, namely V2.

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