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## Embedded Pro

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EMBEDDED Pro\*

MARIANNE ADAMS

UCLA

1. Standard Old French (c. 1100-1300)

The usual distribution of null and overt subjects in Old French (OF) is illustrated in (1). The examples show that pro is limited to postverbal position and that V(S) order typically occurs only in main clauses.<sup>1,2</sup>

- (1) a. Einsi partirent \_\_\_ del port de Venise com vos  
avez oï.  
thus left (they) from the port of Venice as you  
have heard  
"Thus they left from the port of Venice as you  
have heard." (Vil. XVI)
- b. Les drás suzlevet \_\_\_ dunt il esteit cuvert.  
the cloths removed (he) with which he was covered  
"He removed the cloths with which he was  
covered." (Alexis 346, cited by Wagner 80)
- c. Une aventure vus dirai \_\_\_ /Dunt li Bretun firent  
un lai.  
a story will (I) tell you of which the Bretons  
made a lai  
"I will tell you a story of which the Bretons  
made a lai." (Marie de France, Laüstic 1-2)

## MARIANNE ADAMS

- d. De venoison ont \_\_\_ grant plenté.  
of meat have (they) plenty  
"They have plenty of meat." (Bér. 1773)
- e. Tant ont François chevauchié.  
long have the French ridden  
"The French have ridden a long time."  
(Ch.N. 1070)
- f. L'escu, fet il, vueill ge bien veoir.  
the shield, said he, want I well to see  
"The shield," said he, "I very much want to see."  
(M.A. 25)
- g. Tu m'a amé celéement et jou toi.  
you me-have loved in secret and I you  
"You have loved me in secret and I you."  
(R.Gr. 29)

The pattern in (1a,b,c) holds even when the embedded subject is the same as that of the main clause. This is shown in (2):

- (2) a. Lors deviserent \_\_\_, comment il, le prendront.  
then discussed (they) how they him-will-take  
"Then they discussed how they will take him."  
(R.Gr. 20)
- b. Encor ne sai \_\_\_, ou q', en doie trover.  
still not know (I) where I should find some  
"Still I do not know where I should find some."  
(Ch.N. 84)

The word order sequences illustrated in (1) and (2) are summarized in (3):

- |     |                    |                        |
|-----|--------------------|------------------------|
| (3) | <u>Main clause</u> | <u>Embedded clause</u> |
|     | XV(S), SV(X)       | SV(X)                  |

As can be seen from the examples and the summary, OF observes a Germanic-type verb second (V2) constraint in main clauses: any XP may come first, but the inflected verb ( $V_1$ ) is always second. Examples (1e,f) show that the subject is indeed postverbal when some XP other than the subject maintains V2, and (1g) shows that the subject itself could maintain V2. In subordinate clauses the base order of OF, SVO, is retained. V2 effects are typically derived in terms of two rules. One rule preposes  $V_1$  to the head of Comp ( $C^0$ ), the other moves some XP to Spec,CP. The derivation of (1d) is given in (4):

- (4) [<sub>CP</sub> De venoison, [<sub>0</sub> ont, [<sub>IP</sub> pro [<sub>I</sub> t, grant plenté t, ]]]]

## EMBEDDED Pro

In previous work (Adams 1987a,b) I argued that the restrictions on pro can be explained in terms of directional government: agreement is equally rich in all clauses, but only in main clauses does  $V_1$  govern pro in the canonical direction. In short, pro must be both (i) governed by Infl (or Tense), the head which identifies pro's position, and (ii) coindexed with rich agreement, the antecedent which identifies pro's content. In addition, government is directional, and direction is determined in terms of the position of a head with respect to its complements.<sup>3,4</sup>

### 2. Pro in complement clauses

Although one can account in this way for a large amount of data, pro is sufficiently common in complement clauses as to cast doubt on the directional condition. Since some form of directionality is assumed by many linguists to be a universal condition, the matter is not unimportant.

The existence of pro in complement clauses has been pointed out recently in Hirschbühler (to appear), Hirschbühler and Junker (1987), Depuis (1987), and Vance (1987a,b). None of these papers deny the accuracy of the generalizations summarized in (1)-(3); what they do make clear is that the generalizations are far from absolute. Hirschbühler and Hirschbühler and Junker have compiled examples of subordinate clause pro spanning the 13th through the 16th centuries. The initial impetus of the present work was the attempt to explain data of the sort put forth in these papers. Depuis and Vance have looked at similar facts and have proposed theories to account for them; their theories differ both from each other and from the one offered below.<sup>5</sup>

An examination of the distribution of null subjects in complement clauses shows that their distribution is predictable and cannot be laid to chance or to poetic license. Thus it should be possible to find an explanation. The solution I propose continues to rely on directional government. In addition, it supports the base structure proposed by, Fukui and Speas (1986), Koopman and Sportiche (1986), Kuroda (1986), and others,<sup>6</sup> which places the underlying position of the subject within VP. Finally, it makes certain claims about specifier positions--what they may contain and when they may be empty.

#### 2.1. $V_2$ Complements

Pro occurs in several types of OF complement clauses. One of its most common occurrences is in what

## MARIANNE ADAMS

might be called V2 complements. The structure of these clauses exactly matches that of main clauses. That is, they observe V2 effects. V2 complements in OF are usually introduced by bridge-type verbs, shown in (5), and sometimes by expressions of degree, shown in (6).

- (5) a. Or voi ge bien, [ plains es \_\_\_ de mautalant ].  
now see I well (that) full are (you) of ill-will  
"Now I see well that you are full of ill-will."  
(Ch.N. 295)
- b. Et il respondirent que [ de ceste nouvele sont il  
moult lié ].  
and they replied that about this news are they  
very happy  
"And they replied that they are very happy about  
this news." (M.A. 45)
- c. Ço sent Rollant [ de sun tens n'i ad \_\_\_ plus ].  
that felt Rolland (that) of his time not was  
(there) more  
"Rolland felt that his time was up." (Rol. 2366)
- (6) a. Jo ai tel gent [ plus bele ne verreiz \_\_\_ ].  
I have such an army (that) more beautiful not  
will (you) see  
"I have an army such that you will never see a  
finer one." (Rol. 564)
- b. Tel duel en a \_\_\_ [ le sens cuide \_\_\_ changier ].  
such grief of it has (he) (that) his wits thinks  
(he) to lose  
"He has such grief over it that he thinks he will  
lose his mind." (cited by Einhorn 102)
- c. Il estoit si soupris de l'amour d'elle que  
[ tousjourns convenoit il qu'il fust en lieu ou il  
la peüst veoir ]  
he was so surprised with the love of her that  
always was-necessary it that he be there where he  
her could see  
"He was so taken with love for her that he always  
arranged to be there where he could see her."  
(Bérinus 12, cited by Offord 221)

Since the complement clauses are structured like main clauses, it is reasonable to assume that they license pro in a similar manner, that is, by verb fronting to Comp, as illustrated in (7) for (5a) (cf. (4)):

- (7) ...[<sub>CP</sub> plein<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C</sub> es<sub>j</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> pro [<sub>I</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  
de mautalent ]]]]

EMBEDDED Pro

Empirical evidence for the configuration in (7) is found in (5b) and (6c), which show a lexical subject in post-V<sub>1</sub> position. Notice that the complementizer que 'that' is optional in OF. When it is present in this type of clause, I suggest that it takes a CP complement. For further discussion of this type of complement see Adams (1987b, to appear).

The V2 complement survived throughout the Middle French (MidF) period until V2 effects were lost generally in main and complement clauses alike. The only significant difference between OF and MidF usage in this respect is that in MidF the complementizer came to be almost always expressed.

## 2.2. WH and adverbial complements clauses

If (7) is a correct analysis then it is clear that the V2 complement poses little difficulty for a theory of directional government. But pro also occurs in other kinds of complement clauses in OF. These fall into two main groups, WH complements and adverbial, or adjunct, complements. Although the majority of both have the familiar structure common to Modern French (ModF), that is, SVO order with a lexical subject (examples can be seen in (1a,b,c) and (2a,b) above), those with null subjects are sufficiently numerous as to require attention. Hirschbühler (to appear) finds several such examples in Foulet's grammar, Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français, and notes that they are of two types, subordinator VY and subordinator XVY (p. 3). My study corroborates this observation: V<sub>1</sub> is either first or second in these complements. The examples in (9) and (10) illustrate V1 and V2 WH complements, those in (11) and (12) corresponding adverbial complements.

WH complements

(Indirect questions and relatives pattern alike in relevant respects.)

- (9) a. Je sui le sire a cui [ \_\_\_ volez parler. ]  
 I am the master to whom wish-3p to speak  
 "I am the master to whom you wish to speak."  
 (Ay. 4041)
- b. L'espee dont [ \_\_\_ s'estoit ocis. ]  
 the sword with which himself-was-3s killed  
 "The sword with which he killed himself."  
 (Chast. 913)
- (10) a. ...la parfaite amour que [ sans deshonneur lui  
 pourtez ]  
 the perfect love which without dishonor  
 to-her-bear-2p

## MARIANNE ADAMS

"...the perfect love which he bore to her without dishonor." (Saintré 16, cited by Vance 1987a, 20)

- b. ...je me plaing d'une amor/ ke [ longuement ai servie. ]  
 I weep over a love which long have-1s served  
 "...I weep over a love which I have long served."  
 (C.M. XI, cited by Foulet 314 and Hirschbühler 6)

Adverbial complements

(e.g. se 'if', com 'as', quant 'since' 'when', ainz que 'before')

- (11) a. Ainz que [ \_\_\_ m'en aille en France ]  
 before go-1s to France  
 "Before I leave for France..." (Ay. 204)
- b. Quant [ \_\_\_ vit le roi ]  
 when sees-3s the king-acc  
 "When he sees the king." (Ay. 702)
- (12) a. ...por ce que [ chevalier me face ]  
 in order that a knight-acc me make-3s  
 "...in order that he make me a knight."  
 (Cligès 113)
- b. Il vaut grant argent, quant [ latin parole ]  
 it is worth a lot of money since latin speaks-3s  
 "It is worth a lot of money because it speaks Latin."  
 (Fabliaux 7, cited by Einhorn 104)

The WH and adverbial complement clauses differ from main clauses and from the V2 complements discussed above in two respects. One, they are often verb-initial, as illustrated in (9) and (11). Two, they do not ordinarily give evidence of verb-fronting, that is, VS order with a lexical subject is not common (but see below). Therefore, unlike the V2 complements, there is little to suggest that they are CPs (i.e. that the verb is in Comp), or that they are anything other than IPs. The fact that they license pro thus seems to call into question any theory based on directionality. Any such theory is threatened, however, only if pro is in Spec,IP. Notice in (10) and (12) that some other XP appears to occupy Spec,IP. If this is so, then pro must be elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

## 3. Analysis

3.1 The base position of pro

As noted above (see also note 6), several scholars have argued that the base, or  $\theta$ , position of the subject

EMBEDDED Pro

is universally within the maximal projection of VP, and that languages do not differ from one another in the hierarchical organization of their constituents (although linear order may vary). The structure Koopman and Sportiche propose is shown in (13), in which NP' is the subject and VP' the maximal projection of V:

(13) Universal Base: [<sub>NP</sub> e [<sub>VP</sub> Infl [<sub>VP</sub> NP' VP ]]]

VP' is structurally equivalent to a small clause with NP' as subject and a VP predicate. NP' receives its  $\theta$ -role from its sister VP, and Spec,IP is expletive. If (13) is a correct hypothesis, it provides us with a first step towards explaining the sentences in (9)-(12).

## 3.2. Conditions on specifier positions

Whereas some languages, such as ModF, Dutch, and English, require that the subject raise from its base position to Spec,IP, others, such as Japanese, do not. Still other languages, such as Irish, may lack Spec,IP altogether in tensed clauses. The distinction may be parametric, as Koopman suggests. But if so, on what the parameter depends is uncertain. Although I do not have a complete explanation, the data of OF can provide us with some clues. In addition to supporting (13), OF data suggest (14).

(14) Conditions on specifier positions

- a. Universal Grammar makes specifier positions available to languages. If a language chooses a specifier position for a given category, that position must either be filled or it must satisfy conditions on empty categories (ECP).
- b. Specifier positions are not reserved by universal principle for any particular constituent. In principle, any XP may occupy any Spec.

I assume that the ECP comprises two independent conditions:

(15) Conditions on empty categories (ECP)

- a. An empty category must be governed in the canonical direction by a lexical head. This identifies the empty category's position.
- b. An empty category must be c-commanded by a coindexed antecedent. This identifies the empty category's content.



## MARIANNE ADAMS

This simplified statement of the ECP draws on the results of several studies (e.g. Aoun, et al. (1987), Jaeggli (1985), Stowell (1985), Travis (1984)).

Unfilled specifier positions, being expletive, have no content and therefore need no antecedent, (15b). They must however be lexically governed, (15a). The governing head of Spec,IP is the head of Comp, C°. I assume that C° is lexical when it is indexed by a WH phrase, as in (9) and (10), or when it contains an element with semantic content, as in (11) and (12). Comp is neither indexed nor lexical when it contains only the common, semantically empty, complementizer que.

Given (13)-(15), (9)-(12) fall into place. Provided Spec,IP is filled or lexically governed, the subject can be pro, and if it is pro it remains in VP' where it is governed and identified by V<sub>i</sub> in Infl. Hence the canonical order [V<sub>i</sub> pro] is attained in subordinate clauses, for although V<sub>i</sub> does not prepose to Comp, pro does not raise to Spec,IP. Thus the crucial factor in the licensing of pro is not whether the clause be independent or dependent, but the position of the empty subject with respect to the inflected verb.

If the antecedent relation requires c-command but not government, as is assumed in (15b), the question arises as to whether pro could be in Spec,IP in (9) and (11), where it would be head governed by a lexical Comp but c-commanded and identified by Agr in Infl. The answer depends upon at least two factors. One is the definition of c-command; whether or not Infl c-commands the subject depends upon the definition one adopts. The other is whether or not a special relation exists between Infl and the subject such that only Infl can serve as governor of pro. Borer (1986) has argued in favor of such a relation. In the absence of contrary evidence I will assume, following Borer, that the relation exists, that pro is both governed and identified by Infl, and that pro in (9) and (11), as in (10) and (12), is in VP'.

The configurations in (16) and (17) summarize what has been proposed thus far. They are given for (9a,10a) and (11a,12a), respectively:

- (16) a. ...[<sub>CP</sub> a cui<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C°</sub> e<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> e [<sub>I'</sub> v<sub>olez</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> pro  
[<sub>VP</sub> parler t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]
- b. ...[<sub>CP</sub> que<sub>i</sub> [<sub>C°</sub> e<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> sans deshonneur<sub>j</sub> [<sub>I'</sub>  
lui-pourtez [<sub>VP</sub> pro [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]

EMBEDDED Pro

- (17) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Ainz que [<sub>IP</sub> e [<sub>I</sub> m'en aille [<sub>VP</sub> pro  
 [<sub>VP</sub> en France ]]]]]
- b. ... [<sub>CP</sub> por ce que [<sub>IP</sub> chevalier<sub>i</sub> [<sub>I</sub> me face  
 [<sub>VP</sub> pro [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]

In (16) the WH phrase, a cui, is in Spec,CP and a coindexed empty category is in C°. Several proposals have been made in the literature as to how this empty category acquires its index from the WH phrase (e.g. Aoun, et al. (1987), Jaeggli (1985), Stowell (1985)).<sup>2</sup> The particular mechanism is not important to our theory. What is important is that C° be indexed, for the assumption is that the head, by sharing the index of the WH phrase properly governs the empty Spec,IP in (16a)/(9a,b).<sup>3</sup> Notice that we are dealing only with short distance movement in all of our examples; long movement (ModF: Qui crois-tu qui viendra. 'Who do you think will come.') is a separate problem in OF and not addressed here. In (17), I assume that the complementizer, simple or complex (e.g. se 'if', com 'as' vs. por ce que 'in order that', ançois que 'before'), is in C° and properly governs directly the empty Spec,IP in (17a)/(11a,b). It may be an oversimplification to say that complex complementizers are entirely in C°. OF had dozens of complex adverbial complementizers built upon que, and it is unclear how much 'fusion' had taken place between their various components. In any event it is the semantic content of the ensemble which lexicalizes the head of Comp.

If it is correct, as stated in (14b), that any XP may occur in any Spec, then the restrictions we find in certain languages and the differences among languages must lie outside UG or in the interactions between UG and language particular rules. In OF almost any XP could occur in Spec,IP; only some of the possibilities are shown in (10) and (12). The same is true of Spec,CP, as illustrated in (1). In Adams (1988) I argue that OF had a Spec,VP position and that it too was open to a variety of constituents.

Let us now turn to various arguments in support of the analysis just proposed.

### 3.3. Supportive arguments

When the subject is overt I assume some principle makes it the favored candidate for Spec,IP because overt postverbal subjects are infrequent in WH and adverbial

## MARIANNE ADAMS

complements. This principle may have to do with a general tendency for specifier positions, or phrase-initial positions, to be reserved for topics or themes, and an overt subject is very often one of these. This can only be a tendency, however, even if it is correct. Thus when we find an expletive pronoun, for example, in Spec,IP it must be for another reason, such as the need to fill the empty position.<sup>10</sup>

But although overt subjects are infrequent in VP', they are nonetheless attested, and their existence provides the analysis proposed above with empirical support. Examples are given in (18). Notice that the word order in (18) cannot be due to Stylistic Inversion, which moves the subject to the right of V' or VP. In (18) only V<sub>i</sub> and the subject are reversed.

- (18) a. [Quant l'ot li chapelain escrit]...  
 when it-had the chaplain written  
 "When the chaplain had written it..." (Bér. 2649)
- b. ...[se reançon n'en vialt an prendre.]  
 if ransom not-for-it-wants one to-take  
 "...if one does not want to take a ransom for it." (Yvain 5262, cited by Skarup 197 and Hirschbühler and Junker 3)
- c. Sire, [s'a la vostre bonté/ vousist mon pere prendre garde...]  
 Sir, if against your good will wished my father to take precaution  
 "Sir, if against your good will my father wished to take precautions..." (V.P. 378-9)
- d. ...[dont les devons nous bien abhominer]  
 for which them-ought we well to abhor  
 "...for which we ought to abhor them very much." (Saintré 43, cited by Martin 330 and Hirschbühler 15)
- e. Ce jour meisme [dont ci vous parle on.]  
 this very day on which here to-you-speaks one  
 "This very day on which one speaks to you here." (Adenet 5137, cited by Skarup 215 and Hirschbühler and Junker 3)
- f. ...[si comme anciennement soloient les roys faire.]  
 just as formerly used the kings to do  
 "...just as the kings used to do in the old days." (Froissart 240, cited by Price 1961, 37)

EMBEDDED Pro

Since the clauses are subordinate I assume that they entail WH but not  $V_x$  movement to Comp. One might still think it at least possible that in (18)  $V_x$  is in Comp and the subject in Spec,IP. But notice in (18b,c,e,f) that some other XP appears between Comp and  $V_x$  (reançon, a la vostre bonté, ci, anciennement). If this XP is in Spec,IP, as I am arguing,  $V_x$  must be in Infl.

A second piece of evidence in favor of the analysis is less direct, but suggestive nonetheless. In clause-initial position OF uses the full, tonic, forms of the object pronouns instead of the clitic forms. The full forms show up in complementary distribution with full NPs. The contrast is illustrated in (19) vs. (20) (note that lui was a full pronoun in OF, not a clitic).

- (19) a. Lui pri je que...  
to-him pray I that  
"I pray to him that..." (Queste 139)
- b. Moi doiz tu dire ton afere.  
to-me must you tell your affaire  
"You must tell me of your affaire." (Erec 2694)
- (20) a. Raison me semble \_\_\_ que...  
reasonable to-me seems (it) that  
"It seems reasonable to me that..."  
(R.Tr. 14, cited by Einhorn 101)
- b. Tu l'a ocis.  
you him-have killed  
"You have killed him." (Ad. 732, id. 66)

Therefore when we find the full form at the beginning of a complement clause, as in (21), it is reasonable to assume that it is in the initial constituent position, Spec,IP:

- (21) a. Je voi tel chose don, moi poise t,  
I see such a thing which on-me weighs  
"I see a thing which weighs on me." (Bér. 4455)
- b. Quant lui plaira \_\_\_  
since him pleases (it)  
"Since it pleases him." (Queste 167)

If the underscored object pronouns in (21) are in Spec,IP, then the empty subject or subject trace must be someplace else. Its logical position, then, is in VP'.

A third argument in favor of the proposed theory is also based on complementary distribution. Assume for a moment that the underscored XPs in (10) and (12), which I

## MARIANNE ADAMS

am suggesting are in Spec,IP, are actually adjoined to IP. This leaves Spec,IP empty, which could therefore contain pro. But if it could contain pro, it could equally well contain an overt subject, in which case we should expect to find some WH phrase or adverbial complementizer followed by some adjoined XP complement followed in turn by the subject NP. That is, the sequence shown in (22) should be freely available:

(22) ...WH/Adv [ XP NP' V<sub>i</sub> ... ]

As far as I know, however, this sequence is not attested: in OF only one constituent shows up between the subordinate Comp and V<sub>i</sub>.<sup>12</sup> Instead of (22), then, what one finds is complementary distribution between the subject and some other XP. This can be seen clearly in the pairs of verse lines in (23a,b), but the phenomenon is general. (Recall that in OF subject pronouns were full constituents.)

(23) a. s'a li n'eüst \_\_\_ grant acointance  
if with her not-had (he) close acquaintance  
"If he was not closely acquainted with her

et s'il ne l'amast sanz doutance  
and if he not-her-loved without doubt  
and if he did not love her without a doubt"

(Chast. 741-2)

b. Quant merci n'i puis \_\_\_ trouver  
when mercy not-there-can (I) find  
"When I can find no mercy there

et je muir por bien amer, ...  
and I die for well loving  
and I die for loving well, ..."

(Colin Muset X, cited by Foulet 294)

There is one exception to (22). Its order is not quite as shown, but rather [NP' XP V<sub>i</sub>], i.e. SOVI. For discussion of this older alternative base in OF, see Adams (1988).

### 3.4. Subject relatives

The proposed analysis has interesting implications for the derivation of subject relatives. Consider the examples in (25), in which some XP shows up in Spec,IP:

(25) a. L'an remorut Gisleberties, Qui de Borgoigne ert  
sire e dus...

EMBEDDED Pro

that year died Gilbert who of Bourgogne was lord  
and duke

"That year Gilbert died who was lord and duke of  
Bourgogne..." (Benoit 22335, cited by Wagner 121)

b. Li gars, qui le bacon ot pris...

the boy who the ham had taken

"The boy who had taken the ham..."

(Fabliaux 9, cited by Einhorn 129)

c. Guillaume, qui preus fu et sages...

William, who good was and wise

"William, who was good and wise..." (V.P. 739)

d. Les hommes qui le batiau gouvernoient...

the men who the boat steered

"The men who steered the boat..."

(Froissart 27, cited by Price 1961, 41)

e. Boines gens, ensi fui jou pris

good people thus was I taken

"Good people, I was taken

par Amours, ki si m'ot souspris.

by Love, who so me-had surprised

by Love, who had surprised me so."

(Feuillée 165-6, cited by Foulet 300)

What the examples show is that the subject pronoun qui,  
in moving from VP' to Comp, need not pass through  
Spec,IP. It cannot do so in these sentences, because  
Spec,IP is filled by something else.

Some OF scholars view relative clauses of this type  
(i.e. qui XP V) as having underlying SOV order. This has  
a curious result: it brings the percentage of subject  
relatives with SOV order entirely out of proportion to  
the percentage of other relatives and other types of  
clauses with SOV order. Price (1961), who classifies  
subject relatives in this way in his analysis of the  
Chronicles of Froissart, gives the following surprising  
figures (p. 43): clauses with SOV order comprise 1.3% of  
main clauses, 0.9% of non-relative subordinate clauses,  
0.9% of non-subject relative clauses, and 23.8% of  
subject relatives. He concludes: "SCV se rencontre très  
souvent en proposition relative introduite par qui,  
rarement ailleurs" (p. 46). ("SCV is found very often in  
relative clauses introduced by qui, rarely otherwise.")  
The disproportionate statistical results suggest that the  
SOV analysis is incorrect.

## MARIANNE ADAMS

In addition to the statistical argument, there are two empirical arguments against an SOV analysis of (25). One is the relative position of auxiliary and participle in (25b,e); true SOV clauses in OF are Infl-final. The second is that VP material occurs on both sides of  $V_1$  in (25a,c); this is unexpected under the assumption that the clauses are verb-final.

## 4. V1 clauses (VSO)

## 4.1. V1 in Old French (c. 1100-1300)

A word order not yet discussed is one which begins with the inflected verb. Apart from yes/no questions and imperatives, V1 is uncommon in the OF period, particularly in prose. When it is attested, it is usually in a poetic or expressive context. Some examples are given in (26):<sup>12</sup>

- (26) a. Ce fu en mai, el novel tens d'esté;  
this was in May in the new time of summer  
"This was in May, the beginning of summer;  
  
Feuillissent gaut, reverdissent li pré.  
covered with leaves became the woods green again  
grew the meadow  
the trees in the woods sprouted leaves, the  
meadows grew green." (Ch.N. 14-5)
- b. Pleurent Franceis pur pitet de Rollant.  
weep the French for pity of Roland  
"The French weep out of pity for Roland."  
(Rol. 3120)
- c. Empeint \_\_\_ le ben, fait li brandir le cors.  
spears (he) him well makes it brandish the body  
"He spears him well and brandishes his body."  
(Rol. 1203)

In recent work (Adams 1987b, to appear) I suggested that  $V_1$  preposes to Comp in these clauses just as it does in V2 clauses; but because here the verb is in some sense focused, there is no further need for an XP to precede it. My suggestion was that  $V_1$  in these clauses, as in yes/no questions and imperatives, moves into Spec,CP. Another possibility is that there is some kind of focus operator in Spec,CP which licenses the configuration. That  $V_1$  fronting does take place is suggested by the postverbal position of the subject in (26a,b).

## 4.2. V1 in late Middle French (c. 1450-1550)

In the late MidF period one is surprised to find a

EMBEDDED Pro

noteworthy, albeit short-lived, increase in V1 clauses with null subjects. Vance (1987a) observes that verb-initial clauses are more common in late MidF than in OF. She does not point out however that the contexts of V1 are different. Unlike V1 in OF, V1 in late MidF is not at all restricted to clauses with expressive content. This is illustrated in (27) (cf. (26)):

- (27) a. Ce faict, vint à Paris avecques ses gens.  
 this done, came (he) to Paris with his people  
 "This done, he came to Paris with his people."  
 (Rabelais, Pantagruel 7, cited by Gougenheim 254)
- b. ...se pensa que en meilleure saison ne pourroit  
 il faire desplaisir au Roy d'Espaigne  
 thought (he) that in a better season not-could he  
 displease the king of Spain  
 "...he thought that in a better season he  
 wouldn't displease the king of Spain."  
 (Marguerite de Navarre, id. 254-5)
- c. Peut bien estre que n'en avez point.  
 may (it) well be that not-of-it-have (you) any  
 "It may well be that you have none."  
 (Saintré 8, cited by Vance, 13)

Interestingly, these clauses become frequent just when V2 effects and pro are disappearing. Let me suggest that the increase in V1 at the end of the Middle Ages is a consequence of the stepwise loss of V2 effects. That is, under common analyses V2 effects are the result of two independent operations, one moving  $V_1$  to  $C^0$ , the other some XP to Spec,CP (cf. (4)). There is no a priori reason why a language should need to lose both rules simultaneously. I have argued elsewhere that the conditions which ultimately led to the loss of obligatory movement to Spec,CP--that is, which induced learners to assume that their language did not obligatorily select Spec,CP--began well before the loss of V2 effects themselves (Adams 1987b, to appear).<sup>13</sup> It is reasonable to assume therefore that the V1 clauses in (27) retain the rule of  $V_1$  fronting to  $C^0$  but have lost the rule moving some XP to Spec,CP. In other words, unlike the V1 clauses in (26) those in (27) have no Spec,CP. Thus their structure would be that shown in (28):

- (28) [<sub>CP</sub>  $V_1$  [<sub>XP</sub> pro  $t_1$  ... ]]

Under this analysis V1 clauses in late MidF illustrate simply the loss of one rule involved in the V2 derivation, that which obligatorily moves some XP to



## MARIANNE ADAMS

Spec,CP. Empirical support for this analysis is provided by post-V, lexical subjects in late MidF V1 clauses:

- (29) a. Se esveilloit Gargantua environ quatre heures du matin.  
 awoke Gargantua around four o'clock in the morning  
 "Gargantua awoke around four in the morning."  
 (Rabelais, Gargantua 23, cited by Gougenheim 254)
- b. Dura ce carnage jusques à la dernière goutte de sang qui se trouva expandable, ...  
 lasted this carnage until the last drop of blood which was found to let  
 "This carnage lasted until the last drop of blood was found to let, ..." (Montaigne I, 1, id.)

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper it has been argued that given directional government, the universal base, and the proposed conditions on specifier positions it is possible to explain a wider distribution of null subjects than is possible under directional government alone. The historical data in turn support the validity of the proposed principles.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of these and other aspects of OF grammar see Adams (1987a,b) and references cited there.

<sup>2</sup> As much as possible I have used original materials in carrying out this study. When secondary or tertiary sources are used, they are noted in the

EMBEDDED Pro

citations along with the original. The translations of the cited passages from OF to English are mine; all inaccuracies thus rest on me.

▫ Subject pronouns in OF were full constituents, not clitics; they could therefore satisfy the V2 requirement, as in (1g), for example.

◀ The main-subordinate clause asymmetry does not show up in Spanish and Italian because these languages, unlike OF, license free inversion (rightward movement) of the subject. Free inversion, unlike V<sub>1</sub> fronting, is not limited to main clauses.

▫ Vance argues that pro is licensed either under canonical government by Infl (whether or not Agr is rich) or under coindexation with rich agreement (see Vance's (2) (1987b)). This seems to overgeneralize somewhat cross-linguistically and also leaves the strong asymmetry of OF (see (1)-(3) above), with which Vance concurs, a mystery: since Agr is rich in main and in subordinate clauses alike we should expect no asymmetry under her theory. The details of Depuis's analysis have not been made available to me.

◀ See Contreras (1987), Cowper (1987), Diesing (1987), Fukui (1986), Fukui, N. and M. Speas (1986), Kitagawa (1986), Koopman (1987), Koopman and Sportiche (1986), Kuroda (1986), Speas (1986), Sportiche (1987), Zagona (1982).

▸ It is unlikely that pro in WH clauses can be explained in terms of Stylistic Inversion (SI):

- i. L'homme qu' t<sub>i</sub> avait aimé Marie<sub>i</sub>.  
the man that had loved Marie  
"The man that Marie loved."

First, SI was less common in OF than it is in ModF. Second, SI only occurs with full NPs, not pronouns (although the reason for this may be phonological, that is, the need to avoid a phrase-final weak element, something from which empty categories would be exempt). Finally, SI applies only to WH, not to adverbial, clauses; the latter would still require an explanation.

▫ According to Stowell (1985) the empty category is the trace of the WH phrase which passes through C<sup>o</sup> before arriving in Spec. Jaeggli (1985) suggests on the other hand that the index on the empty category is a consequence of Spec-head agreement.

## MARIANNE ADAMS

<sup>9</sup> This is similar to the proposal in Aoun, et al. (1987) to the effect that an indexed Comp functions as a lexical head: when Comp is coindexed with the subject trace, it head governs that trace.

<sup>10</sup> Koopman (1984) motivates subject raising in terms of Case assignment: the subject raises to Spec,IP because Case assignment is directional.

<sup>11</sup> In the late OF and MidF periods subject pronouns began to cliticize. Thus when the subject, NP', is a pronoun one must bear in mind the possibility that after a certain date it need not be a full constituent. Likewise one must exempt cases in which the XP in (22) is a parenthetical or floating quantifier.

<sup>12</sup> Although V1 is rare in OF apart from the contexts noted the following examples have been attested:

- i. S'il n'eüst le cuer aillors, / bien se peüst  
apercevoir / par samblant / que l'amast por voir.  
"...that (she) loved him truly." (Chast. 50-2,  
cited by Foulet p. 323 and Hirschbühler and  
Junker 1)
- ii. Si averiez bien deservi / d'avoir amie en si  
haut leu / qu'en eüssiez honor et preu.  
"...from whom (you) would have honor and  
advantage." (Chast. 62-4, id.)

Note however that although the examples are apparently unfocused and unexpressive, they are nonetheless written in verse.

<sup>13</sup> Briefly, my argument is that the decline in the frequency of pro and the loss of V2 effects in late MidF was due to both syntactic reanalysis (i.e., the frequent use of the subject to satisfy V2 led learners to assume that derived SVO was basic: [S [V [t t 0 ]]] --> [SVO]) and to the cliticization of subject pronouns to pre-V<sub>i</sub> position. The latter, I maintain, had to do with rhythmic changes (e.g. the loss of enclisis, the strengthening of phrase-final stress). These changes together with the syntactic reanalysis led speakers to assume that their language did not obligatorily select Spec,CP. For details, see Adams (1987b, to appear).

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