Stylistic Fronting in Old French[1]

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is two-fold: on the one hand, its purpose is to show that Stylistic Fronting was very productive in Old French; on the other, its rationale is the introduction of a novel hypothesis according to which Stylistically Fronted elements in Old French target a special Topic phrase. This phrase is labelled TopicP+ to distinguish it from TopicP, the position where topicalized elements in V2 structures raise to in Old French. The special topic position accessed by Stylistic Fronting is motivated by the main pattern emerging from a series of carefully studied Old French texts: two elements can undergo SF at the same time, but the two elements cannot both be XPs or both be heads. It is further demonstrated that the subject gap constraint that accompanies Stylistic Fronting in Modern Insular Scandinavian languages is also relevant for Old French and that the most natural way to account for it is to suppose that Stylistically Fronted XPs move through (rather than into, cf. Holmberg 2000) the specifier of Spec-TP. This is made to follow from the fact that TP in Old French is a (strong) phase. The account relies on the splitting of the EPP between two features, [P] and [D], and on the idea that these features may not necessarily come packaged as a bundle. [P] can appear on one head while [D] surfaces on another, with [P] depending on [D]. In the second part of the paper, an explanation is given as to why Stylistic Fronting disappeared from French grammar: the hypothesis put forward is that once verbal agreement lost its pronominal

properties, the EPP could no longer undergo feature fission and spread its features on distinct heads, since the mechanism by which the [D] feature on T^0 is checked by the verb's agreement is a necessary condition for the occurrence of Stylistic Fronting.

1. Introduction

Stylistic Fronting (henceforth, SF) is the leftward movement of an XP or a head into a position that precedes the finite verb when Spec-TP, the canonical subject position, is not occupied by an overt subject DP. The languages that have been studied the most in relation to this process are the Insular Scandinavian languages Icelandic and Faroese (Maling 1980, Barnes 1987, Platzack 1988, Jónsson 1991, 1996, Falk 1993, Holmberg 2000, among others). As for mainland Scandinavian languages, although the stylistic operation was available in older stages (see Vikner 1990 for Old Danish and Platzack 1987, 1988 for Old Swedish), SF is today no longer possible in these languages. SF has also been claimed to be common in Old English and in all dialects of Middle English (Roberts 1993: Chapter 3, Kroch and Taylor 1997, Trips 2003) and Yiddish is another language where it can be found (Diesing 1990, Santorini 1989, 1994). Within the Romance group, SF has been shown to exist in Old Spanish (Fontana 1993) and Old Catalan (Fischer and Alexiadou 2001, Fischer 2000, 2004a). Of particular interest to us is the suggestion made by Dupuis (1989), Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991/2002) and Roberts (1993: Chapters 1 and 2) that Old French (henceforth, OF) probably had SF too.

   The aim of the present paper is to strengthen the claim that OF had SF as part of its grammar. A body of several OF texts was carefully studied and the conclusion is that SF was indeed a very productive process in that language. An illustration of SF appears in (1): the complement of the main verb *en quete* 'in quest' has been dislocated to the left. __ stands for 'subject gap'.[2]

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2. Stylistic Fronting involves inversion, but is not to be confused with Stylistic Inversion (ia), or even Simple Inversion (ib), Free Inversion as in Italian or Spanish (ic), Complex Inversion (id), Locative Inversion (ie), or finally Narrative Inversion (if).

(i)   a.   *Je   me   demande   quand   __   arriveront   les   enfants.*
              I   self ask.1SG   when   arrive.FUT.3PL the   children
              'I wonder when the children will arrive.'
       b.   *Comment   __   fu   ceste   lettre   faitte?*
              how   was   this   letter   made
              'How was this letter made?' (*MirND* XXXVI, in Roberts 1993: 81)
       c.   __   *ha   llamado   Juan.*   (Spanish)
                   have.3SG   called   Juan
              'Juan has called.'

(1)   *come*   *cil*   *font*   *qui*   [*en queste*]$_i$ __ *doivent*
         like   those   do.$_{3PL}$ who   in   quest   must.$_{3PL}$

         entrer   *t*$_i$
         enter.$_{INF}$

         'Like those, who must start the quest, do.' (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 3, p. 23)

On the descriptive level, I give the necessary conditions under which SF was possible in OF; for example, the availability of a subject gap. On the theoretical level, I provide an analysis that spells out the mechanism behind SF in OF, on the one hand, and an explanation as to why and how SF disappeared from the syntax of that language, on the other.

The main pattern that emerges from my study of old texts in OF is that two elements can undergo SF at the same time, but the two elements cannot both be XPs or both be heads. This pattern is exactly what has recently been found in Icelandic (Hrafnbjargarson 2004) and motivates a special category for S(tylistically) Fronted elements. However, whereas Hrafnbjargarson (2004) argues for a Focus Phrase analysis (see also Fischer 2004a for Old Catalan), I put forward the hypothesis that SFronted elements raise to a *Topic* position, albeit of a special kind. The SFronted constituent is a shifted defocalized element with the semantics of an asserted background topic: it cannot be contrastive or presupposed. This Topic phrase is referred to as TopicP+ to differentiate it from TopicP which, as we shall see, hosts topicalized elements raised in V2 contexts. SFronted heads move to Top+^{0} whereas SFronted XPs raise to the specifier of Spec-TopP+. That the CP layer contains more than one dedicated position for topics has recently been argued by Benincá and Poletto (2004). On this view, topics are not recursive as in Rizzi (1997), but belong to set positions.

It is further proposed that SF is not movement *to* (Holmberg 2000), but *through* Spec-TP. In order to reach Spec-Top+, an XP must pass through Spec-TP, which must in that case be empty. Spec-TP is available as an escape hatch, because as will be argued TP is a (strong) phrase in OF (cyclic movement through Spec-TP is therefore required). The connection between the possibility of SF and subject gaps is thus accounted for without the inconvenience of

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     d.   *Comment cette lettre fut-elle faite?*
        how   this   letter   be.$_{PAST.3SG}$-she   made
        'How was this letter made?'

     e.   *Dans le palais semblait ?ent ? danser plusieurs femmes.*
        in   the   palace   seem.$_{PAST.3SG?PL?}$ dance.$_{INF}$ several   women
        'In the palace several women seemed to dance.'

     f.   *Voit le li roi.*
        see.$_{.3SG}$ him   the   king
        'The king sees him.'

postulating movement of phonological matrices *into* Spec-TP as in Holmberg (2000). The proposal nevertheless relies on the idea as in Holmberg (2000) that the EPP can undergo feature fission between [D] (a categorial feature) and [P] (a feature requiring visibility, i.e., a specifier to be filled), with the added twist that: (i) the EPP need *not* undergo fission; (ii) the features [D] and [P] may not necessarily come packaged as a bundle, [D] can appear on T^0 while [P] can be on Top+ (this builds on work from Ritter 1992, 1993, 1995, Taraldsen 1994, Sigurðsson 1996, Béjar 2003 where ϕ-features do not come packaged as unorganized bundles). The optionality of SF does not require any special mechanism to circumvent it as in Holmberg's analysis (especially since, as we shall see, SF and expletives are not in complementary distribution in OF). Either the EPP is split with its features scattered on different heads: then, SF is possible; or the EPP is not split (the EPP is a simple [D] or [D] and [P] form a bundle): then, SF cannot be operative. The last part of the paper proposes the hypothesis that SF disappeared when verbal agreement in OF lost its pronominal properties. Since in the case where the EPP has been split and its features are spread across T^0 and $Top+^0$, the [P] feature is dependent on [D], the possibility of satisfying [D] before [P] is lost.

This is how the paper is organized. Section 2 is a brief introduction to the contexts in which null subjects and SF were possible in OF. Section 3 introduces the OF data that support the analysis presented in Section 4. That section gives an analysis of SF in OF based on the idea that SFronted elements move to the head (if they themselves are heads) or the specifier (if these elements are XPs) of a special Topic phrase. Finally, conclusions and suggestions for further research can be found in Section 5.

2.   V2 and null subjects in Old French

The aim of this section is to give the necessary background for the upcoming introduction of the data and presentation of the SF analysis. Since SF often yields a configuration similar, if not identical to V2, it is important to clarify in what contexts V2 is allowed, on the one hand, and in what environments SF is licensed, on the other. The present section is also a means to introduce examples of SF in OF that have been introduced and discussed before in the literature, but often in tentative terms with no real analysis.

As a V2 language, OF typically required the fronting of a series of preverbal elements leaving the verb in second position. To illustrate, in (2) the adverb *lors* 'then' has been topicalized while the verb appears immediately after it.

(2)   *Lors   descendi   li   rois   aval.*
       then   came.PAST.3SG the   king   down
       'Then the king came downstairs.' (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 3319)

OF was also a so-called *pro*-drop language both with referential and non-referential subjects. The example in (3) illustrates V2 with a (referential) null subject.[3]

(3)   *Lors vienen*   __ *a un huis barré.*
        then came.$_{PAST.3PL}$ to a gate
        'Then they came to a gate (a postern).'
        (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2368)

In OF, V-to-C movement creates the configuration in which the null subject can be formally licensed (in the sense of Rizzi 1986). The connection between the verb movement required for V2 and the availability of referential null subjects in OF has often been made in the literature (Foulet 1919, Adams 1987a, Vanelli, Renzi and Benincà 1985, Roberts 1993, Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991/2000 and other references cited therein).[4]

Cardinaletti and Roberts (henceforth, C&R) implement the connection between V2 and the availability of null subjects in OF by placing the verb in C^0 in main clauses while *pro* appears in the specifier of a lower agreement category (hence, the post-verbal gap in (3)). Since the order found in the VP is VO, OF thus had the basic word order properties found in Modern Scandinavian languages (Roberts 1993).

Following Roberts and Roussou's (2002) – R&R, henceforth – analysis which takes into account more recent views about the internal structure of CP (Rizzi 1997), I assume that in V2 contexts, the fronted XP is in the specifier of a Topic position, the verb in Fin^0 and the subject in TP. Although OF is not explicitly discussed in R&R (2002), it is clear that the ideas they develop for V2 languages can be extended to OF (see Labelle and Hirschbühler 2005 for such an extension).[5]

Now, it is also traditionally thought that contrary to other V2 languages such as Icelandic, OF is an asymmetric V2 language. There are well-known exam-

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3. I take OF to cover the period between the early 11th century and the late 13th century and MidF to span from the early 14th to the late 16th century.

4. This is also the case for German non-referential subjects. They are licensed in V2 contexts as illustrated by (ia) and (ib):

(i)   a. *Mir wurde*   __ *geholfen.*   (German)
        to-me be.$_{PAST.3SG}$ helped
        'I was helped.'
    b. *Hier wurde*   __ *getanzt.*
        here be.$_{PAST.3SG}$ danced
        'There was dancing here.'

5. For the idea that fronted elements in V2 occupy the specifier of a Topic projection see Müller and Sternefeld (1993) for German.

ples, however, that may suggest that V2 was possible in embedded clauses. In particular, Adams (1987a, b) shows that V2 is possible in the complements of bridge verbs. Since there is a connection between V2 and null subjects, it is predicted that null subjects will be possible in such environments, and it is exactly what we find. (4a) and (4b) illustrate the point.

(4)   a.   *Or   voi   ge   bien,   plains   es   __   de*
            now   see.$_{1SG}$ I   well   full   be.$_{2SG}$ of
            mautalant.
            bad-intentions
            'And now I see clearly that you are full of bad intentions.'
            (*Le Charroi de Nîmes*, 295 in Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991/ 2002: 128)
       b.   *Je   cuit   plus   sot   de   toi   __   n'i*
            I   think.$_{1SG}$ more   stupid   than   you   not-there
            a.
            have.$_{3SG}$
            'I think that there is no one more stupid than you.' (Adams 1987b: 17)

However, note that the class of bridge verbs in question is comparable to the class which in V2 Germanic languages typically allows complements with matrix properties. This is illustrated in (5).

(5)   *Er   glaubt   diesen   Film   haben   die   Kinder*   (German)
       he   think.$_{3SG}$ this   film   have.$_{3PL}$ the   children
       gesehen.
       seen
       'He thinks that the children have seen this film.' (Vikner 1995: 66–67)

As argued by C&R (1991/2000) and R&R (2002), since the complementizer *que* is not present in the kind of examples illustrated in (4), these must be cases of German-style embedded V2. I thus assume that embedded sentences in examples like (4) are in fact root clauses, the complements of bridge verbs being able to have root properties independently of V2. The examples in (4) are thus taken care of.[6]

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6. For languages that have a complementizer appearing with V2 in embedded clauses, I assume, following R&R, that there is a higher complement projection which acts like an embedded clause (ForceP), and a lower one which acts like a main clause (FinP). This is similar to what has been proposed by Vikner (1995) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995) with the difference that distinct feature specification is attributed to the relevant C heads. The complementizer in Force[0] is in complementary distribution with verbs in first position (leading to V1 configurations, sometimes referred to as Narrative Inversion, see Footnote 2 for an example).

Following C&R's logic, because OF was an asymmetric V2 language and because the verb in C^0 was responsible for the licensing of null subjects in that language, it is expected that the possibility of null subjects in OF is a root phenomenon only. This is usually what is taken for granted in most of the literature on the topic. There appear, however, to be cases of null referential subjects in adverbial and [+wh] embedded clauses in a range of 12th-century prose and verse texts, as well as in some 13th-century verse manuscripts (cf. Hirschbüh-ler 1990). Consider the examples in (6) from Dupuis (1988) and those in (7) from the corpus that was used for the present study. As we shall see, although it is far from being impossible in prose, SF is most common in verse. This is important, because SF is often used to defocalize the most embedded element in the verse while at the same time permitting rhyming with the preceding verse.[7]

(6)   a.   *Por l'esperance qu'an   lui   __   ont,   …*   (verse)
          for   the-hope   which-in   him   have.3PL
          'For the hope which they have in him, …'
          (*Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion*, in Dupuis 1988: 54)
   b.   *Et si ne sait   que faire   __   puisse*   (verse)
          and   so   not   know.3SG   what   do.INF   can.SUBJ.3SG
          'And so he does not know what he can do.'
          (*Guillaume* 528, in Dupuis 1988: 54)

(7)   a.   *Qant levé*ᵢ *furent*   *t*ᵢ *del   mangier*   (verse)
          when   up   be.PAST.3PL   from-the   eat.INF
          'When they had finished eating' (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 1043)
   b.   *Riens nule que dire*ᵢ __ *li   sache*   *t*ᵢ*;*   (verse)
          things   none   that   say.INF   him   know.SUBJ.3SG
          'What he will say is completely useless.' (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 6929)

Although these examples appear to involve V2 at first sight, I follow C&R in claiming that such examples are not cases of V2 type-topicalization, but of SF, since there is no clear evidence of embedded V2-topicalization cases in OF.

Moreover, there are clear differences between topicalization of the V2 kind and SF (cf. Maling 1980). These are summarized in (8).

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7. From now on, each example will come with a label indicating whether the source of the example is a prose or a verse text.

(8)   *Topicalisation*   *Stylistic Fronting*
       applies to XPs   applies to X°s and to XPs
       is unbounded   is clause-bounded
       uncommon in embedded clauses   common in embedded clauses
       does require focus   does not require focus
       no subject gap required   requires a subject gap
       does not obey the Accessibility   obeys the Accessibility Hierar-
       Hierarchy   chy

The fact that, on the one hand, an infinitive (i.e. a head) has been raised in (6b) and (7b) and that, on the other, a past participle was moved in (7a), suggests that one is not dealing with V2-topicalisation. OF did not allow V2 topicalization of verbs or VPs. Moreover, the kind of inversion illustrated in (6b), (7a) and (7b) cannot apply long-distance (at least there are no attested cases in the texts that were studied for this paper) whereas elements that are topicalized are not normally clause-bound as shown by (9).

(9)   *car   enemis$_i$ pense   il   bien   que   ce*   (prose)
       because   enemies   believe.3SG he   well   that it
       soit t_i
       be.SUBJ.3SG
       'because he believes that there are enemies.'
       (*La Queste de Saint Graal* 112, 1, in Lemieux and Dupuis 1995: 88)

In the next section, I will show that, although a logical possibility, the examples in (6a), (7a) and (7b) cannot receive a remnant movement analysis, according to which it is an XP that raises rather than a head. The other requirements for SF, e.g., the obligatory presence of a subject gap and the Accessibility Hierarchy, will be studied in more detail in Section 3.

   Remaining cases of V2 order in French [+wh] embedded clauses (Dupuis 1989 and Adams 1988) as illustrated in (10) might appear more recalcitrant to an alternative non-V2 analysis.

(10)   a.   *quant a   eus   __   est   li   rois   venus,* …   (verse)
            when   to   them   be.3SG the   king   come
            'When the king came to them, …'
            (*Guillaume d'Angleterre*, in Dupuis 1989: 148)
       b.   *s'a   la   vostre bonté   __   vousist*   (verse)
            if-against   the your   good-will   want.PAST.3SG
            mon pere   prendre garde
            my   father take.INF precaution
            'If against your good will my father wanted to take precautions.'
            (*Huon le Roi – Le Vair Palefroi*, in Adams 1987b: 19)

First, it must be noted, however, that these examples are not frequent. According to Dupuis (1989: 151 f.), they are only attested with any real frequency in the *Quatre Livres des Rois* (a text from around 1170). In other texts, including some from the same period, Dupuis claims that there are very few cases of embedded V2 (in non-bridge complements) with overt subjects. We can thus safely continue to assume that OF was an asymmetric V2 language and therefore that the verb did not move to Fin^0 in embedded clauses.[8] In Section 4, I suggest that the examples in (10) can be analysed as involving SF. The subject is in Spec-*v*P while Spec-TP is empty.

Second, the idea that in (10) we are not dealing with V2-topicalization is strengthened by the fact that null subjects are possible in [+wh] embedded clauses without any inversion, as shown for example by Adams (1987a, b), Dupuis (1988, 1989), Hirschbühler and Junker (1988), Vance (1988), and Hirschbühler (1990). In short, if OF was a symmetric V2 language, then it should have obligatory inversion in embedded clauses. Clearly, it does not as the following example shows.

(11) *Je suis le sire a cui __ volez parler.* (verse)
      I   be.$_{1SG}$ the lord to whom   wish.$_{2PL}$ speak.$_{INF}$
      'I am the lord to whom you wish to speak.'
      (*Aymeri de Narbonne* 4041, in Hirschbühler 1990: 36)

In order to keep constant the idea that null subjects in OF are licensed by a V2 configuration, a special licensing condition could be added to the V2 constraint in order to account for the availability of null subjects in such environments: something like [+wh] C^0 can govern *pro* in the subject position (cf. C&R).

However, it turns out that null subjects in OF are also possible in [-wh] embedded clauses, as illustrated by the examples in (12) and (13). The former set of examples is from a verse text while the latter set is from a prose text.

(12) a. *Et quant Lanceloz voit son eise, Qu'il* (verse)
          and when Lancelot see.$_{3SG}$ her ease that-he
          ne dit rien que molt$_i$ __ ne pleise t$_i$
          NE say.$_{3SG}$ nothing that a-lot not please.$_{3SG}$
          'And when Lancelot sees the pleasure she (the queen) feels at everything he has said.'
          (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 4487–4488)

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8. It does not rule out, however, the possibility that *very* early OF was a symmetric V2 language (see Roberts 1993 and Côté 1995).

    b. *Je* *cuit*   *que* *mors*ᵢ __ *m'a*   *t*ᵢ   (verse)

where the gloss line follows:

    b. *Je cuit que mors*ᵢ __ *m'a t*ᵢ (verse)
       I think.$_{1SG}$ that bitten   me-have.$_{3SG}$
       ou   *visage.*
       on-the face
       'I think that he has bitten me on the face.' (*Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion* 533)

(13) a. *por* *ce* *que*   [*des ore mes*]ᵢ __ *ne*   (prose)
       for this which   now   not
       cuidez   *t*ᵢ *que* *vos* *soiez*   *li* *mieldres*
       believe.$_{2PL}$ that you be.$_{SUBJ.2PL}$ the best
       chevaliers *dou*   *monde*
       knights   of-the world
       'because you no longer consider yourselves as the best knights in the world.'
       (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 4–5, p. 13)

    b. *Et* *distrent*   *cil*   *qui* *onques mes* *ne*   (prose)
       and say.$_{PAST.3PL}$ those who ever   not
       l'avoient   *veu* *que* *hautement*ᵢ __ *avoit*
       him-have.$_{PAST.3PL}$ seen that highly   have.$_{PAST.3SG}$
       comenciee *chevalerie*   *t*ᵢ
       started   knighthood
       'And everyone who has seen him said that he had started knighthood greatly.'
       (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 13, p. 14)

Although, cases of null subjects in main or embedded clauses are not widespread in 13th century texts (*La Queste del Saint Graal* was written in the 13th century), what is nevertheless striking is the fact that, at that period, agreement could not only identify, but also license (in the sense of Rizzi 1986) null subjects in OF. In fact, null subjects outside of V2 contexts are found in main clauses as early as the 10th century (*St Léger*) and 11th century (*Alexis*). Generally, while in verse null subjects are still productive in the 13th century, in prose they become very rare in the first part of the 13th century to then reappear again in Middle French (MidF, henceforth) – Hirshbühler (1990).[9] Note

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9. This leads Hirschbühler (1990) to postulate two sub-stages of the language: "conservative" OF, on the one hand, represented by 12th century verse and prose, and 13th century verse and "innovative" OF, on the other, represented by 13th-century prose. These remarks are important because they are directly relevant to the discussion about agreement in OF found in Section 4.3.

that the fronted category in (12b) is clearly not a case of topicalization, since it is a past participle (thus a head) that is raised. Fronting of such participles or infinitives resembles so-called Long Head Movement (LHM), Lema and Rivero (1991), Rivero (1991), Roberts (1993) in that the verb that contains the full set of ɸ-features (i.e., the main verb of the sentence) remains in situ while it is a lower head that raises. The connection between SF and LHM has not gone unnoticed in the literature (cf. Roberts 1993). However, there are some differences between the two operations. SF is not triggered by a ban on clitic-first orders and it is not restricted to root clauses.

In summary: OF was an asymmetric V2 language. The V2 environment created a suitable configuration for the licensing of null subjects, but null subjects are also found in embedded contexts where V2 configurations are not possible. Finally, when a null subject is available, then it is possible for SF to apply, sometimes creating a configuration that looks like V2, but which in fact turns out to be a very different operation.

3. The distribution of Stylistic Fronting in Old French

The aim of this section is to show that SF was very productive in OF. In fact, OF seems to allow SF much more than Old Scandinavian languages or present day Icelandic, no doubt, as argued by Roberts (1993), because null subjects were more freely available in OF. The present section will point to the similarities, but also the differences between SF in Icelandic and SF in OF (one major difference between OF and Icelandic, which should be mentioned at the outset, has to do with referentiality: in Icelandic non-referential null subjects are the only kind allowed in both main and embedded clauses).

Beginning with relative subject clauses (the ideal context for SF since it always involves a subject gap), the examples in (14) show SF of an intensifier in two different texts while the examples in (15) illustrate SF of adverbs (I will not review again the embedded adverbial, [+wh] and [-wh] examples already introduced in Section 2, i.e., (6b), (7), (12) and (13)).

(14)   a.   *Cardonnereuls   et   pinçons*   (verse)
                goldfinches   and chaffinches
                Qui mout$_i$ __ cantent t$_i$ joliement
                that very   sing.3PL   beautifully
                'Goldfinches and chaffinches that sing very beautifully.'
                (*Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion* 30)

> b. *Li   quex   est   ce,   savoir   le   vuel,*   (verse)
>   the   which   be.3SG   this   know.INF   it   want.1SG
>   *Qui   tanti   __   a   t$_i$ folie   et   orguel*
>   who   so-much   have.3SG   folly   and   pride
>   'Which one of you is it, I want to know, who has so much folly
>   and pride?'
>   (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2593–2594)

(15) a. *Par   dieu   sire   vous   avés   tort*   (verse)
         by   God   sir   you   have.2PL   wrong
         Qui   ensi$_i$ __   l'avés   t$_i$ deskiré
         who   thus   her-have.2PL   desired
         'By God you are wrong my Lord, you who have thus desired
         her.'
         (*Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion* 327)

   b. *Car   cil   qui   autrement$_i$ __   assamblent   t$_i$,*   (prose)
       for   those   who   otherwise   gather.3PL
       de   Nostre   Signor   se   dessamblent
       of   Our   Lord   self   distance.3PL
       'For he who gathers differently, distances himself from God.'
       (*Le Roman de Mahomet* 908)

One generalization that is safe to introduce at this point is that SF is extremely
common in verse texts. Although not impossible in prose literature, it is cer-
tainly rarer in non-verse contexts. SF often appears to be a means of facilitating
rhymes in verse, its other (directly related) function being the extraction of an
element in order to defocalize it. These properties of SF will be accounted for
in Section 4.

Continuing with examples of SF, (16) shows that an adjective has been
SFronted.[10]

(16) *Bien   ot   les   cos   de   la   bataille,*   (verse)
      well   have.PAST.3SG   the   causes   of   the   battle
      Qui   perilleuse$_i$ __   est   t$_i$ et   vilainne,
      that   perilous   be.3SG   and   ugly
      'Going into battle was justified, a battle which was perilous and ugly.'
      (*Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion* 5608–5609)

Next, I turn to the SF of DPs. (17) shows that a wide range of nominals can
undergo the Stylistic operation.

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10. With regard to (16) it must noted that OF violates the Across-the-Board Condition systemati-
    cally.

(17)   a.   *Cil   qui   [toute rikeche]ᵢ __ avoit   tᵢ,* (prose)
             the-one who   all   richness   have.$_{PAST.3SG}$
             Pour homme povres devenoit.
             for   man   poor   became.$_{PAST.3SG}$
             'He, who was rich, became poor.' (*Le Roman de Mahomet* 892)

         b.   *Cuers qui [tel compaignie]ᵢ __ pert   tᵢ*   (prose)
             heart   that such compagny   lose.$_{3SG}$
             Doit   bien plourer le dessevrance.
             must.$_{3SG}$ well cry.$_{INF}$ his separation
             'A heart that loses such company must be crying his separation.'
             (*Le Roman de Mahomet* 96)

         c.   *cil   qui compaignonᵢ __ en   doivent*   (prose)
             those   who   comrade   of-it must.$_{3PL}$
             estre   tᵢ
             be.$_{INF}$
             'Those who must be knight of it (of the Round Table).'
             (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 6, p. 18)

SF of DPs is restricted in Icelandic (see Jónsson 1991), but apparently not ex-
cluded (Holmberg 2000). According to Falk (1993), SF of DPs can be found in
Old Swedish; and according to Barnes (1987), it occurs in Faroese. Apparently,
the possibility of SF is improved in Icelandic if the DP is non-specific/abstract.
If the DP is specific, the sentence is not fully grammatical (Holmberg 2004).
As noted by Holmberg (2004) himself, this is an exception to his (2000) gener-
alization that SF has no semantic effect (this remark is relevant in the con-
text of the discussion in Section 4). More to the point, note that the non-
specific/abstract constraint does not seem to apply in OF. For instance, in (17c)
the DP that undergo SF, i.e., *compaignon*, is not abstract (interestingly, the re-
striction does not apply to Old and Middle Danish either, see Hrafnbjargarson
2004).

    In (18) extraction of PPs is illustrated. SF of PPs is very common, and only
a few examples are given as illustration (dozens of these were found).

(18)   a.   *S'ont   trovee la sale overte*   (verse)
             self-have.$_{3PL}$ found   the room open
             Qui [de tiules]ᵢ __ estoit   coverte tᵢ
             that of tiles   be.$_{PAST.3SG}$ covered
             'They found the room open whose roof was covered with tiles.'
             (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 991–992)

         b.   *Quant les dames et   les damoiselles*   (prose)
             when   the ladies and the young-girls

> *qui* [*avec le reine*]ᵢ __ *estoient   assises* tᵢ
> who   with the queen   be.PAST.3PL sat
> 'When the ladies and the young girls who sat with the queen.'
> (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 17, p. 18)

In (19) we have SF of negative elements. SFronting of negative elements has been claimed to be by far the most common case of SF in Icelandic. Although not impossible, such fronting of negative elements appears less frequent in OF (FORC = 'forclusif', a neutral/traditional term for negative elements in OF).

(19) a. *Et Isangrin, qui pas*ᵢ   __ *ne*   (verse)
          and Isangrin, who FORC   not
          *l'aime   t*ᵢ
          him/her-like.3SG
          'And Isangrin, who does not like him/her.' (*Le Roman de Renart* 27)

      b. *Li   faucons qui point*ᵢ   __ *ne*   (verse)
          the hawks   who FORC   not
          *l'amoit   t*ᵢ
          him-like.PAST.3SG
          'The hawks who did not like him.' (*L'Escoufle* 6830)

      c. *que cele   Qui sa dolor mie*ᵢ __ *ne*   (verse)
          that the-one who her pain   FORC   not
          *cele   t*ᵢ.
          hide.3SG
          '… except the one that did not hide her pain.'
          (*Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion* 1411–1412)

I take *pas*, *mie* and *point* to be heads rather than XPs. As is well-known, these elements were originally nouns (Foulet 1919): *mie* disappeared at some earlier stage of the French grammar, *point* has been unproductive for a few centuries, while *pas* has been reanalyzed as a functional head. In OF, *mie*, *point* and *pas* are bare nouns (Martineau and Déprez 2004, Mathieu 2006b). Evidence for the idea that so-called 'forclusifs' are heads comes from the fact, as we shall see in later examples, that they can appear in second position (the position of the head) in double SF constructions.

   Since stylistic extraction of heads is clearly possible, as illustrated by the above examples and those in (20), we may wonder why in (18), it is not the head (i.e., the past participle, *coverte* and *assises* respectively) that raises instead of the PP. The verbal head appears closer to the target than the adverbial PP.

(20) a. *Einsi vint   à un parlement à Soissons* (prose)
          thus   come.PAST.3SG to a   parliament at Soisson

qui només$_i$ __ *fu* *t*$_i$
which nominated be.PAST.3SG
'Thus he came to a parliament in Soisson which was chosen.'
(*La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 17)

b. *Einsi fu tote la cors troublee por* (prose)
thus be.PAST.3SG all the court troubled by
la novele de çax qui partir$_i$ __ *s'en*
the piece-of-news of those who leave.INF self-EN
devoient t$_i$
must.PAST.3PL
'Thus the whole court was troubled by those who had to leave.'
(*La Queste de Saint Graal* 4–5, p. 19)

This eccentric anti-local behavior can be explained by Holmberg's (2000) implementation of Maling's (1980) Accessibility Hierarchy in terms of (a revised version of) the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995).

(21) *Minimal Link Condition*
A feature F attracts the closest feature that can check F.
Closeness is defined in terms of c-command:
in a configuration $[\alpha \ldots \beta \ldots \gamma]$ where α c- commands β and γ, β is closer than γ to α, if β asymmetrically c-commands γ.

This allows a verb or a complement PP to undergo SF as shown for Icelandic by (22a) and (22b) respectively, since they are sisters, thus equally close to the target.[11]

(22) a. *Peir sem buið*$_i$ __ *hafa t*$_i$ *í Ósló* (Icelandic)
those that lived have.3PL in Oslo
b. *Peir sem [í Ósló]*$_i$ __ *hafa buið* t$_i$
Those that have lived in Oslo.' (Holmberg 2000:464)

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11. On the assumption that the verb and the particle in a verb-particle construction are sisters (cf. Den Dikken 1995), Holmberg's (2000) theory predicts that either the verb or the particle may undergo SF. Since OF has verb particles (Dufresne, Dupuis and Tremblay 2003), it is predicted that these can undergo SF, and this is exactly what we find as shown in (ia). The process is of course optional as illustrated by (ib).

(i) a. *Caus qui seure*$_i$ *li corrent t*$_i$ (verse)
those who up him chase.3PL
'Those who chase him up.'
(*La Philippide*, IX, 47, in Buridant 2000: 751)
b. *Ses enemys qui lui courent sus* (prose)
his enemies that him chase.3PL up
'His enemies who chase him up.'
(Ms., *Chantilly*, 15th century, in Buridant 2000: 751)

On the other hand, (23b) is (correctly) predicted to be ungrammatical, since the PP in this case is not a sister of the verb. (23a) is well-formed (as expected).

(23)   a.   *Peir   sem   hitt$_i$ __   hafa   t$_i$ konuna*   (Icelandic)
             those   that   found   have.3PL   wife
             sína   í   Ósló
             their   in   Oslo
             'Those that have found their wife in Oslo.'
       b.   **Peir sem [í Ósló]$_i$ __ hafa hitt konuna sína t$_i$*
             (Holmberg 2000: 464)

However, it is noteworthy that in OF double SF constructions are possible: two elements can undergo SF. To illustrate double SF constructions, the following examples are given: they show raising of a DP + negation in (24a), a PP + infinitive in (24b), and a DP + a past participle in (24c).

(24)   a.   *Quant   la   pucele   le   salue,*   (verse)
             when   the   young-girl   him   salute.3SG
             Qui   [sa   boche]$_j$ pas$_i$ __
             who   his   mouth   FORC
             n'en   palue   t$_i$ t$_j$
             not-EN   turn-white.3SG
             Ne   ne   li   a   neant   costé.
             neither   not   to-him   have.3SG   nothing   cost
             'The young girl's greeting which was not unpleasant did not cost him anything.'
             (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 1570–1573)
       b.   *Se   lieve   sus,   et   cil   le   voient*   (verse)
             self   get-up.3SG   quickly   and   those   him   see.3PL
             Qui   [avoec   lui]$_j$ aler$_i$ __   devoient   t$_i$ t$_j$;
             who   with   him   go.INF   must.PAST.3PL
             'He gets up quickly and they, who should have gone with him, see him.'
             (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2203–2205)
       c.   *Cele   dame   une   fee   estoit*   (verse)
             that   lady   a   fairy   be.PAST.3SG
             Qui   [l'anel]$_j$ doné$_i$ __   li   avoit   t$_i$ t$_j$,
             who   the-ring   give   to-him   have.PAST.3SG
             'That woman was a fairy who had given him the ring.'
             (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2357–2358)

Note that the order in which SFronted elements appear is XP, then X^0. Interestingly, the reverse order, namely X^0 first, then XP second is not attested.

In addition, no examples of two SFronted heads or of two SFronted XPs are attested in my corpus.[12] These observations will be the starting point of the analysis presented in Section 4: they suggest that Holmberg's (2000) analysis – as it stands – cannot be applied to OF. His analysis of Icelandic SF is a variant of Maling (1980) (see also Platzack 1987 and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990) in that SF is movement to the specifier position that is usually occupied by the subject.[13] The proposal builds on the feature theory of Chomsky (1995) according to which formal/semantic features can raise in the syntax without the need for phonological features to pied-pipe. The idea is that the reverse is also possible: phonological features can raise in the syntax independently from the formal/semantic features.[14] This accounts for the fact that SF has no bearing on interpretation and makes the SFronted element a pure expletive in its derived position. One assumption on which the proposal is based is that SFronted elements and expletives are in complementary distribution in Icelandic. When there is no expletive as part of the Numeration, SF automatically applies.

According to Holmberg's analysis, the movement operation is triggered by a new version of the EPP which is assumed to have two parts: T^0 is associated with [D] and [P]. [D] is a nominal feature that requires raising of a D-marked category: a DP, a pronoun or a pronominal clitic, and, in some languages, the verbal agreement (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, see also Taraldsen 1978, Rizzi 1982, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Nash and Rouveret 1997, Pollock 1996, Roberts and Roussou 2002 and many others). If the [D] feature is checked by the D-marked verbal agreement only, then the subject XP can remain in situ, i.e., in Spec-vP, as in Italian or Spanish. In Icelandic, V-to-T^0 movement operates, and the [D] feature of T^0 can be checked by the verb's agreement. However, post-verbal XP subjects with nothing in the subject position are not tolerated: an expletive must appear in Spec-TP. This is where the second feature associated with T^0 comes in. The feature is dubbed [P]. This uninterpretable feature requires phonological material in Spec-TP either via Merge or Move: null operators cannot satisfy this property.

The differences between Insular Scandinavian and Mainland Scandinavian languages are explained as follows. In Mainland Scandinavian, the verb's agreement is non-existent, therefore V-to-T^0 movement does not apply. Thus,

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12. It should be noted that double SF constructions are in fact possible in Modern Icelandic (see Hrafnbjargarson's 2004 article).

13. The precursors of Holmberg (2000), i.e. Maling (1980), Platzack (1987) and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990), all involve the filling of an empty subject position. Competing theories represented by Jónsson (1991, 1996), Holmberg and Platzack (1995), and Poole (1996) argue that SF is adjunction of the SFronted element to the functional category I. For pros and cons of these analyses, see Holmberg (2000, 2005).

14. The Structure Preserving Constraint is not violated, since what raises is simply the phonological matrix: the formal features remain in situ.

the option of checking the [D] feature of T^0 followed by raising of the phonological matrix of the relevant category in order to check the [P] feature is simply not available; hence, the impossibility of SF in Mainland Scandinavian languages. SF is dependent on the split between the [D] and [P] feature of T^0, hence on V-to-T^0 movement. The theory also predicts that if a language does not have the relevant expletive to be merged in Spec-TP, SF will be obligatory. This is what happens in Old Icelandic according to Holmberg.

The reason why double SF is a problem for Holmberg's analysis is that on his view the co-occurrence of two feature matrices heading distinct chains in the same specifier position is possible, but only so long as they are strictly complementary: one just formal features, the other just [P] features. In the cases of double SF structures, two sets of [P] features are involved.

The second problem for Holmberg's (2000) theory of SF concerns optionality. SF in OF was by no means obligatory, as has been already mentioned in passing, and as the following examples show. In (25a) a PP (*an esil* or *an ma terre*) could have been SFronted, but has instead remained in situ. In (25b) a DP (*la Queste del Saint Graal*) or a past participle *juree* or both could have been raised. In situ examples like those, where SF *could*, but has not applied, are numerous.

(25)   a.   *Que   les   prisons   toz   te   randrai*   (verse)
              that   the   prisoners all   you   give-back.FUT.1SG
              Qui __ sont   [an essil] [an ma terre]
              who   be.3PL   in exile   in   my   land
              'I will give you back all the prisoners that are in exile on my land.'
              (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 78–79)

        b.   *Oiez,   seignor   chevalier   de   la   Table   Reonde*   (prose)
              listen   Sir   knight   of   the Round   Table
              qui __ avez   juree   [la   Queste del   Saint
              who   have.2PL   sworn   the   Quest   of-the Saint
              Graal]
              Graal
              'Listen, Knight of the Round Table who has sworn in the Quest of the Graal.'
              (*La Queste del Saint Graal* 12–14, p. 19)

The fact that SF is optional is true not only for OF, but also for Modern Icelandic, most clearly in subject relative and subject [+wh] clauses. Holmberg has an ingenious solution to the optionality puzzle for Icelandic. The idea that he develops is that there are two strategies for relative clauses: the empty operator strategy and the DP/trace strategy. When the empty operator strat-

egy is selected, SF is triggered to satisfy [P], then the empty operator raises to Spec-CP. The D feature of T^0 is checked by the verbal agreement. When the DP/trace strategy is chosen (this is when SF does not apply), an overt DP subject (or overt WH-pronoun) is merged in VP and is attracted to Spec-TP to check [P] and [D] (the latter redundantly, if the finite verb also checks [D] in T^0)[15] before moving on to Spec-CP. The element in Spec-TP is thus a trace. SF cannot therefore apply for the obvious reasons (there is no longer an appropriate gap in Spec-TP). That there are in fact two strategies for the formation of relative clauses has been proposed independently (recently by Sauerland 1998 among others).

The problem with this idea is that it will not work for OF. Although SF is possible in object relatives when there is a subject gap (a null subject) as illustrated by (26), SF is by no means obligatory in this environment as illustrated in (27).

(26)   a. *Ce   sanc   que [an mes dras]$_i$ __ regart   t$_i$*   (verse)
                  that blood that   in   my   sheet   see.$_{1SG}$
                  'That blood that I see in my sheets.'
                  (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 4800)

        b. *As   espees que nues$_i$ __ tienent   t$_i$*   (verse)
                  their swords that bare   hold.$_{3PL}$
                  'Their swords that they hold bare in their hands.'
                  (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 5025)

(27)   a. *Ja   par la foi   que __ doi   saint Pere* (verse)
                  never by   the faith that   owe.$_{1SG}$ saint Peter
                  if SF had applied:
                  Ja par la foi que [Saint Pere]$_i$ __ doi t$_i$
                  'And by the faith that I owe Saint Peter.'
                  (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 3468)

        b. *L'amor que __ vos   ai   demandee*   (verse)
                  the-love that   to-you have.$_{1SG}$ asked
                  if SF had applied:
                  L'amor que demandee$_i$ __ vos ai t$_i$
                  'The love that I demanded of you.'
                  (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 5508)

The point here is that there cannot be a DP trace corresponding to the gap, since it is not the subject that has raised, but the object. There is thus nothing that blocks movement of a head or an XP in that gap (unless of course we

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15. This idea appears to violate minimalist assumptions, since intuitively economy should ban redundant operations.

postulate cyclic movement of the object DP through Spec-TP where a trace will be left behind, but this does not appear to be possible under Holmberg's 2000 analysis). In short, in (27) visibility has not been satisfied: the [P] feature remains unchecked.

In connection with the optionality problem, it must also be noted that OF had the relevant expletives that could potentially check the [P] feature as illustrated in (28). However, as shown by (29), they needed not be present (in other words, they needed not be selected as part of the Lexical Array in minimalist terms).

(28)   a.   *Mais   certes   il m'est   molt   pleisant.*   (verse)
            but   certainly it to-me-be.3SG much   pleasant
            'It certainly pleases me a lot.'
            (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 4259)
       b.   *D'un   seul chevalier, ce   me   sanble*   (verse)
            of-one only knight   this to-me seem.3SG
            'Of only one knight, it seems to me.'
            (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2445)

(29)   *Car   __   n'afiert   pas   a ma matire*   (verse)
       because   not-go-with.3SG FORC at my matter
       'For it would not go with my business.'
       (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 6267)

What (29) shows is that in the absence of expletives, SF is in no way obligatory (the null Op versus DP strategy advocated by Holmberg cannot be applied here, since these examples are not cases of relative clauses). Either *pas* or *a ma matire* or both could have raised, but they have instead remained in situ. Conclusion: expletives and SFronted elements are not in complementary distribution in OF. In fact, it appears that even Icelandic has V1 impersonal constructions with no overt expletive (Maling 1990: 84–86, Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990: 31–32, Sigurðsson 1990: 51–56).

Next, I deal with subjects gaps in infinitival clauses. Holmberg (2005) notes that, in Icelandic, SF is not found in control infinitival constructions, although the latter clearly involves a subject gap.

(30)   a.   *Ég   ætla   að hafa   lesið Þessa bók   á morgun*
            I   intend.1SG to have.INF read this   book tomorrow
       b.   **Ég ætla að lesið_i hafa t_i Þessa bók á morgun*
            (Holmberg 2005: 7)

It is actually not clear why on Holmberg's analysis this is not possible in Icelandic. Interestingly, however, judging from the following non-finite examples

(an infinitival verb, a present participle and a past participle respectively), the process appears to be possible in OF.[16]

(31) a. *Einz la vialt*   [*par bataille*]ᵢ __ *avoir* t_i (verse)
          thus it want.3SG by   battle   have.INF
          'He wants to obtain it with a battle. '
          (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 3261)

      b. *Et se mist*   *à genoilz mult*ᵢ __   (prose)
          and self put.PAST.3SG at knees   much
          plorant t_i
          crying
          'And she kneeled down crying a lot.'
          (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 21)

      c. *Aprés ce qu'il ot*   *Boves* __ *prises* (prose)
          after this that-he have.PAST.3SG Boves   taken
          'After he had taken Boves.'
          (*Philippide*, II, 1, in Buridant 2000: 750)

Finally, since SF simply requires a subject gap in order to be licensed, it is predicted that SF is also possible in main clauses with null subjects. The prediction is borne out as the examples in (32) show.

(32) a. *Veniri i   pöez* t_i *par covant*   (verse)
          come.INF here can.2PL   by   certainty
          Que a   droite ore   ostel   prendroiz,
          that at   right   hour hospitality take.FUT.2PL
          'You can go there with the certainty that you won't have to accept hospitality before the normal time.'
          (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2288–2289)

      b. *Parlé as* t_i *a ton amant*   (verse)
          spoken have.2SG   to your lover
          Qui por toi se   va   morant
          who for you self go.3SG dying
          'You have spoken to your lover who for you goes dying.'
          (*Aucassin et Nicolette* 24–25)

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16. The following example shows that the normal order for a sentence containing a verb + infinitive + object is V – Inf – Obj.

    (i)   *Et cil   respont   que il ne quiert*   (verse)
          and this-one reply.3SG   that he not ask.3SG
          __ *Avoir   mie   desaventure*
          have.INF FORC   misfortune
          'And he replies that he does not seek to have his own misfortune.'
          (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2650–2651)

These sentences have the properties of SF, not Topicalization: the moved category is not among the categories which can be topicalized, and judging from the interpretation of the sentence in its context, there appears to be no focus or emphasis on the fronted category.[17] Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990), among others, point out that SF is possible in main clauses in Icelandic too. Fischer (2004a) shows that this is also possible in Old Catalan.

Nothing so far prevents SF to apply in main clauses even when V2 topicalization has applied. SF is in fact attested in such environments as illustrated by (33). Other V3 constructions of this kind can presumably receive an SF analysis.

(33) *Aprés   la   biere   venir   voient*   (verse)
      behind   the   coffin   come.$_{INF}$ see.$_{3PL}$
      Une   rote,   et   devant   venoit   …
      an   escort   and   in-front-of   come.$_{PAST.3SG}$
      'Behind the coffin they see an escort coming and in front of it came …'
      (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 560–561)

The final problem with Holmberg's (2000) analysis has to do with the observation that the availability of a gap, and therefore the possibility of null subjects, is not sufficient for SF to apply in a given language. A case in point is Modern Italian, which seems to lack SF, although it allows null subjects (together with V-to-T^0 movement and rich verbal agreement). The same problem also arises for Modern Spanish and Modern Portuguese.

Before closing Section 3, I would like to address an important issue raised by one reviewer. He/she points out that the idea that SF can move both phrases and heads is not without theoretical problems, all the more so since a Remnant Movement analysis is a logical possibility and that it has been used in the literature to cover head movement cases (a welcome result if one wants to adhere to the view that head movement is problematic in a minimalist framework; it violates the Extension Condition, Chomsky 1995). In defence of my proposal, I would like to show first that there are examples that involve the raising of a verbal head while its complement is left behind (see also (32b)). The complement is underlined.

(34)   a.   *Qant   li   felon   losengeor,   Qui   garder*$_i$ __   (verse)
           when   the   wicked   rogues   who   keep.$_{INF}$
           durent t_i
           must.$_{PAST.3PL}$

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17. This is not Narrative Inversion either, since in that construction it is the main verb that appears in first position.

> *mon ami, L'ont deperdu* …
> my friend him-have.3PL lost
> 'When the wicked rogues, who were meant to look after my friend, had lost him.'
> (*Tristan* 1055–1057)

b. *et li corsier et li mesage, qui* (verse)
> and the officer et the messenger who
>
> *semondre$_i$ __ vont t$_i$ lo barnage et ses homes*
> invite.INF go.3PL the baronage and his men
>
> *et ses paranz*
> and his parents
> 'and the officer and the messenger who are going to invite the baronage and him and parents.' (*Enéas* 3899–3902)

If we assume that these and previous head first examples involve German-type VP remnant movement topicalization rather than raising of a simple head, then we run into the following problems. German remnant movement presupposes that VP topicalization and scrambling are independent options in the language, which indeed they are in German (Müller 2000). However, as already mentioned, VP topicalization to Spec-Top does not appear to be possible in OF (it is not available in Icelandic either, Holmberg and Platzack 1995: 223, Holmberg 2000: 470). In addition, it turns out that VP is not a category that is among those that can be SFronted. This is a fact for Icelandic (cf. Holmberg 2000) and this appears to be the case for OF too.[18] Second, although object shift appears to be available in OF (Zaring 1998), scrambling does not seem to be operative in the language.[19] In any case, it must be noted that in (35) the constituent *une femme de hault lignage* 'a woman from a high rank' has not evacuated the VP (or *v*P). The verbal head that has raised past the main predicate of the sentence has left behind an XP which forms a tight unit with that verb (the verbal expression *prendre a marriage*). The complement of the *prendre en mariage* appears after rather than before the constituent *a marriage*.

(35) *et pour cela Vouldroye que vous alissiez* (verse)
and for this want.COND.1SG that you contact.SUBJ.2PL

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18. Holmberg (2000) claims that the P features of the verb and, say, its complement PP are not represented at the VP node. Therefore, the verb on its own and the PP without its selecting verb will always be the closest categories with P features.

19. Although OS resembles scrambling in that clause-bounded leftward movement is instantiated in both cases, there are good arguments for the idea that they are nevertheless separate operations (Haider, Olsen and Vikner 1995, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996).

> *Au   Saint Pere   et   empetrissiez*
> to-the Holy Father and ask.SUBJ.2PL
> *Que prendre*ᵢ __ *peusse*   *t*ᵢ a   marriage
> that take.INF   can.SUB J.1SG in marriage
> <u>*Une femme de hault lignage*</u>
> a   woman of high lineage
> 'and for this I would like you to contact and ask the Holy Father
> whether I can marry a woman from a higher rank.'
> (*L'Estoire de Griseldis* 1926–1929)

Moreover, non-specific indefinite complements of SFronted verbs can be stranded. This suggests that the stranded nominal could not have been scrambled, since as is well-known Germanic scrambling does not tolerate movement of non-specific indefinite phrases. Since OF has Germanic properties, one of them being V2, I take it that scrambling in OF if it existed should resemble Germanic scrambling. In (36a) we have a bare noun (bare nominals typically take low scope and are generally non-specific, Carlson 1977, Van Geenhoven 1998, Farkas and de Swart 2003, among many others) and in (36b) a PP which is part of a complex expression (*prendre a la letre*). The PP *a la letre* is also non-specific, *la* being in this case non-referential (in this respect, *a la letre* functions exactly like *en mariage* in (35)).

(36) a. *Ocis fu   mes amis, sans   faille,*   (verse)
          killed be.PAST.3SG my friends without fail
          *Qui faire*ᵢ __ *me voloit*   *t*ᵢ *honnor*
          who be.INF   me want.PAST.3SG   honor
          'My friends, who wanted to honor me, were killed.'
          (*Le Bel Inconnu* 1616–1617)
      b. *et tu les as   bien entenduz,*   (verse)
          and you them have.2SG well heard
          *qui pris*ᵢ __ *doivent estre* *t*ᵢ a la *letre*
          who taken   must.3PL be.INF   to the letter
          'and you heard them well, those who must be taken literally.'
          (*Le Roman de la Rose* 3124–3125)

For sake of completeness, I introduce a main clause example. (37) shows not only that the verb has left its object complement behind (*qu'ele rien ne seüst*), but also that the clausal object has not evacuated the VP, since it appears after the adjunct PP *par ce sanblant* (note that *de lui* has been dislocated, I take it that this is a case of Object Shift).[20]

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20. The following example can also be analysed as involving OS (see Mathieu, in prep.).

(37)   *Cuidier   li   fist   __   par ce   sanblant* (verse)
        believe.INF to-him make.PAST.3SG   by   this   pretend
        Qu'ele   de   lui   rien   ne   seüst
        that-she   of   him   nothing   not   know.PAST.3SG
        'With this trick, she made him believe that she knew nothing about
        him.'
        (*Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion* 3062–3063)

Finally, the reviewer that challenges my head movement analysis of SFronted
participles and infinitives also suggests that the kind of examples introduced in
(24b) could be analysed as follows. First, scrambling of the PP as in (38b), and
then movement of the whole IP as in (38c).

(38)   a.   *devoient* [IP [VP *aler* [PP *avoec lui*]]]
        b.   *devoient* [IP [PP *avoec lui*]i [VP *aler* ti]]
        c.   [IP [PP *avoec lui*]i [VP *aler* ti]]j *devoient* tj

The problem with this idea is that SF of IP does not appear to be independently
available in OF. Moreover, the order PP (or DP) – verb – main verb is possible
with non-specific indefinites (*bataille*) as shown by (31a), casting doubt on the
idea that the complement of the SFronted verb has been scrambled prior to
remnant movement. On my account, the reason why the object appears to the
left of the infinitive in strings such as main verb – object – infinitive is because
the object undergoes SF.

To summarize Section 3: a wide range of Old French SF examples has been
introduced. The main condition for SF was established, namely the presence of
a subject gap. It was found that in OF both XPs and/or heads could undergo SF.
The environments in which SF was possible were: subject and object relative
clauses, main clauses, embedded [+wh] and [-wh] clauses as well as infinitival
clauses. Finally, certain OF facts seem to suggest that an account of SF in terms
of Holmberg's (2000) analysis is not appropriate: an alternative analysis is thus
needed.

(i)   *Quant   il   de   ci   departiront*
       when   they   from   here   leave.FUT.3PL
       'when they will leave from here.' (Vance 1988:89, also discussed in Roberts 1993:98)

Platzack (1988) discusses similar cases in Old Swedish, and suggests that, since the sub-
ject pronoun in this language cliticizes to C, no subject is actually present in Spec-TP. Thus
Platzack treats such cases as SF (see also discussion of similar cases in Icelandic in Hrafnb-
jargarson 2004, but with a different analysis). The idea is that because the canonical subject
position has been vacated, Spec-TP acts as an escape hatch, and SF can apply. Roberts (1993)
follows the same analysis for (i), claiming that subject pronouns in OF are clitics and that in
this case the subject position is empty, since *il* has cliticized to C. However, this is at odds
with the well-known fact that subject pronouns are not clitics in OF.

4.   An account of Old French SF

4.1.   The theory

The syntactic framework that I assume is a hybrid system that contains features of Holmberg (2000) and Chomsky (2001). The analysis relies on the presence of an EPP feature on T^0. There are several versions of the EPP in the literature and its precise definition is yet to be formulated coherently (not to mention the question as why it exists in the first place or whether it is universal). I will nevertheless assume that the EPP is real. In Chomsky (2001), the EPP is simply seen as forcing the creation of a Specifier (i.e., Merge). In Holmberg (2000), the EPP has undergone feature fission and has two parts: a [D] feature and a [P] feature. On this view, not only a specifier must be created, but visible material must be able to fill it (in the spirit of Platzack 1998, see also Butler and Mathieu 2005). I will refer to this variant of the EPP as 'split EPP'.

I build on these proposals and argue that although the EPP may be split: (i) it need not be; (ii) the [D] feature and the [P] feature do not necessarily come packaged as a bundle (they may be realized on different heads). This is in line with recent work by Béjar (2003)[21] who give many arguments for the idea that φ-features do not necessarily come packaged as an unorganised bundle, but can be spread on different functional heads yielding cyclic agree effects (see also Ritter 1992, 1993, 1995, Taraldsen 1994, Sigurðsson 1996, Haeberli 2002). Since, EPP features are, like φ-features, formal features, it is only natural that they should share the ability of acting independently. This view of features differs sharply from Chomsky's (2001) system. One other notable difference between Chomsky's approach (2001) and the one that I am using in the present paper is the presence of categorical features in the grammar. Not only is the [D] feature of earlier models retained (following Holmberg 2000), but so is the [V] feature that drives V-movement in Chomsky (1995). Both [D] and [V] are monovalent. They appear only if they have positive value (in the spirit of Harley 1994). The lexical variant of the EPP where [D] and [P] do not come as a bundle will be referred to as 'split EPP+' or simply 'EPP+'.
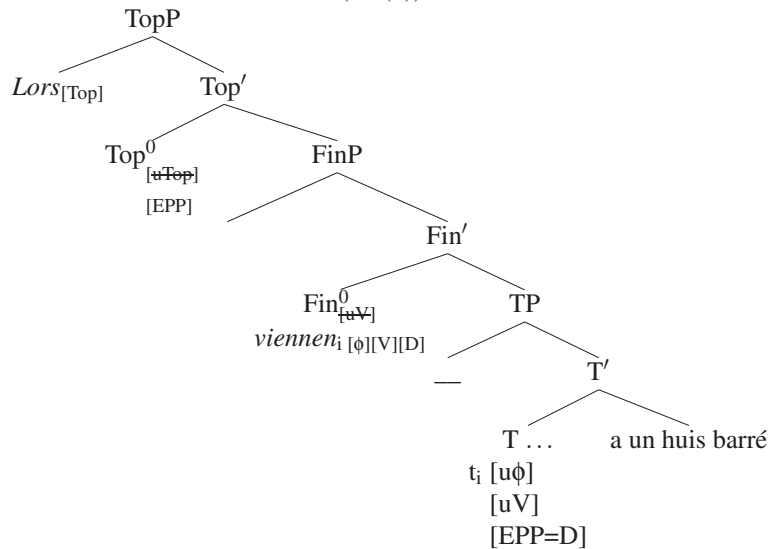
Let us begin with the licensing of null subjects in OF. Here I build on standard assumptions. I assume that, during the relevant periods (see Hirschbühler 1990), verbal agreement was rich enough in OF to check the [D] feature, the uninterpretable φ-features and possibly the Case features associated with T^0 (for a similar idea, see Rinke 2003).[22] This covers the identification condition (in the sense of Rizzi 1986) on OF null subjects. In this case the EPP = [D]; no

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21. See also Béjar and Rezac (2004).
22. For simplicity, however, I leave aside Case features.

visibility condition applies to the T domain (in other words, no specifier need be created). However, at the relevant stages of OF, the verbal agreement could not *formally* license (again in the sense of Rizzi 1986) the null subject in T^0. In order to formally license the null subject, the verb had to move to Fin^0. This movement is driven by a [V] feature on Fin^0. As for the topicalized element, it carries a [Top] feature which is able to value the unvalued feature [uTop] on Top^0. The topicalized element is overtly attracted to the specifier of Top^0 by an EPP feature as shown by (39).

(39)   *Lors vienen a un huis barré* (cf. (3)).

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TopP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
Lors_{[\text{Top}]} \quad \text{Top}' \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{Top}^0_{[\text{uTop}]} \quad \text{FinP} \\
[\text{EPP}] \quad \diagdown \\
\text{Fin}' \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{Fin}^0_{[\text{uV}]} \quad \text{TP} \\
viennen_{i\ [\phi][\text{V}][\text{D}]} \quad \diagdown \\
\underline{\quad} \quad \text{T}' \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{T}\ldots \quad \text{a un huis barré} \\
t_i\ [\text{u}\phi] \\
[\text{uV}] \\
[\text{EPP=D}]
\end{array}
$$
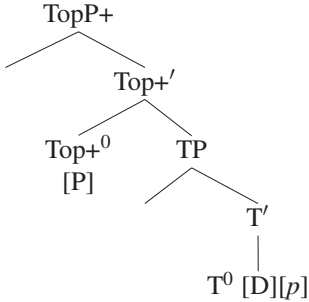
When verbal agreement was capable of not only identifying but also licensing null subjects in OF (and especially MidF), no movement to Fin^0 was necessary. Importantly, the checking of the EPP (=D) feature of T^0 by the verbal agreement allows the presence of a subject in Spec-*v*P (the base position). I follow Alexiadou and Agnostopoulou (1998) in viewing preverbal subjects as topics. On this account, Spec-TP is an A′-position (Bonet 1989, Masullo 1992, Goodall 1999, among many others). In minimalist terms, this means that TP is a (strong) phase (as recently argued by Gallego 2005 for Spanish). Phases are thus open to parametric variation (in English only C and *v* appear to be phases, cf. Chomsky 2001, the status of DP as a phase is unclear).

   In order to account for the SF facts presented in Section 3, I further argue that there is a Topic phrase just above FinP but below ForceP. Let us call it TopP+ to differentiate it from TopP. There is a correlation between the possibility of TopP+ and the availability of EPP+, i.e., a TopP+ phrase cannot be accessed

if the EPP cannot be split. I assume that all languages have the same set of functional features and that what varies is whether and how these features are realized at PF (Roberts and Roussou 2003). This can be seen an implicational universal in the sense of Greenberg (1963): TopP+ is accessible if and only if EPP+ is selected as part of the Numeration. The way this is implemented formally is as follows: the [D] and [P] features of EPP+ need not be associated with a single head, although this is also a possibility (in which case it is the subject that checks both features: the simple 'split EPP' variant). As shown in (40a), [D] can be associated with T^0 while [P] can be associated with the higher phrase Top+^{0} in that order. The feature [P] is thus dependent on the feature [D]. The reverse is not true: the feature [D] is not dependent on the feature [P] since the former (i.e. [D]) can appear on its own (this is when the EPP = D in which case the subject remains in Spec-*v*P and SF is not operative). The various possibilities are summarized in (40b). Logically [P] could also appear on its own and [P] and [D] could appear on different heads in that order (cf. (40c)) – for example, [P] on T^0 and [D] on a higher phrase. However, it is not clear that these options are possible. Since they are not relevant for the present discussion I will leave them aside.

(40)   a.

```
              TopP+
             /    \
                  Top+′
                 /    \
            Top+⁰      TP
             [P]      /  \
                          T′
                          |
                      T⁰ [D][p]
```

   b.   [D]   unary
        [[D] [P]] binary (bundled)
        [P] [D]   binary (unbundled)
   c.   [P]   unary
        [D] [P]   binary

Since TP is a phase, the SFronted element must raise to Spec-TP (a peripheral feature noted *p* is then inserted for the derivation to converge as in (40a)). This is how the subject gap requirement associated with SF is derived. Assuming strict locality conditions, if Spec-TP is not empty, then another element cannot be SFronted. Since the EPP feature has nevertheless been split scattering its features on two different heads, the [P] feature of Top+ is not checked and the derivation crashes. On this account, the Top+^{0} head position is available even if the subject is present in Spec-TP, but on the condition that a [V] feature is

selected (or other relevant head features). The [V] feature is thus independent from the split EPP+ feature.

It must be noted that Top+ is unlike TopP in that it does not host focused or presupposed elements, but simply asserted background topics.[23] These can nevertheless be anaphoric, i.e., textually given. As a way of illustration, consider what Buridant (2000) has to say about OV order in relative clauses: 'dans une période où le choix est possible entre *qui*-O-V/*qui*-V-O, l'ordre S-O-V semble préféré quand sa valeur informative est faible, i.e. quand l'objet est anaphorique, l'ordre inverse quand la relative apporte une information nouvelle' (p. 748), [24] then 'S-O-V pour une information secondaire vs. ordre S-V-O pour une information importante quant à ce qui va suivre (introduction d'un nouveau protagoniste, procès mis en relief, caractéristique majeure, etc.)' (p. 749).[25] As shown by Buridant (2000), the order S-V-O is thus preferred in relation to an antecedent with an indefinite article introducing a new protagonist (41), while the reverse order S-O-V is preferred in relation to a definite antecedent (42).

(41) *Si   cort   meintenant   a   une   espee   qui*   (prose)
      and   run.$_{3SG}$ straight-away   to   a.$_{INDEF}$ sword   that
      ert   seur   un   lit
      be.$_{3SG}$ on   a   bed
      'He runs straight away to a sword left on a bed.'
      (*La Mort le Roi Artu* 86, 10, in Buridant 2000: 749)

(42) *A   ces   paroles   vint   leanz   li*   (prose)
      to   these   words   come.$_{PAST.3SG}$ in   the.$_{DEF}$
      chevaliers
      knight

---

23. Thus, SFronted elements are not unlike appositives. Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet (1990) argue that appositives are not presuppositions, but background assertions. More precisely, they maintain that the content of an appositive relative clause is a background component of what is being asserted, not of what is being presupposed. They show this by reasoning that the truth of an appositive relative clause is not taken for granted. In the case of a presupposition, however, its assumed truth is a precondition for the felicitous utterance of the sentence and places a kind of constraint on discourse contexts that admit the sentence for interpretation.

24. 'In a period where there is a choice between *qui*-O-V/*qui*-V-O, the order S-O-V seems to be preferred when its informative value is weak, i.e. when the object is anaphoric, but the reverse order is preferred when the relative brings with it new information' (my translation).

25. 'S-O-V for secondary information vs. S-V-O order for important information with regard to what follows in the sentence or discourse (introduction of a new character, focus, major characteristics, etc.)' (my translation).

> *qui* [*a l'assemblee*]$_i$ *devoit   aller* t_i
> who   a   the-assembly   must.PAST.3SG go.INF
> 'On these words, the knight who was supposed to go to the tournament
> came in.'
> (*La Mort le Roi Artu*, 12, 22 in Buridant 2000: 749)

In contrast, V2-topicalization in OF (Buridant 2000) is broader in its use. Not only can it be used for anaphoric topics, but it can also be used for focused and contrastive elements.

The proposal is thus that SFronted XPs raise to the specifier position of TopP+ and heads move to the Top+ head (see Benincá and Poletto 2004 for the idea that there are dedicated positions for Topic(s) in the left periphery of the clause, e.g., a position for Hanging Topics, one for Left Dislocated topics, etc). In postulating a Topic phrase rather than a Focus Phrase, my analysis is thus very different from recent accounts like those of Hrafnbjargarson (2004) for Icelandic SF and Fischer (2004a) for Old Catalan SF. According to these authors, SFronted heads move to a Focus Head, while SFronted XPs raise to the specifier of that Focus phrase. Moreover, at least on Hrafnbjargarson's view SF has interpretive effects and possibly affects truth-conditions. On my account, SF does not affect truth-conditions; semantically, raising to Top+ has no effect other than focusing what remains as the most embedded material in the sentence. The focusing effect is directly connected to the fact that SF is also a means of facilitating rhymes in verse (is also sensitive to the metrical structure of the sentence, see Trips 2003 for Old English). That SF has phonological relevance is reminiscent of so-called P-movement as in Zubizarreta (1998). In fact, Holmberg (2000, 2005) argues that SF applies in the phonological component, since according to him, the only semantic effect a sentence with SF has is a somewhat literary or formal flavor.

However, although Holmberg's proposal might at first be taken to indicate that SF happens after Spell-Out in the phonological component, this would be a misinterpretation of Holmberg's theory of SF in Modern Icelandic. First, although it is true that SF does not appear to affect truth conditions, it must be granted that SF is part of narrow syntax in the sense that it involves categorical features and uninterpretable features like [uTop]. Second, SF is sensitive to the kind of elements it attracts, i.e., whether it has the relevant formal and semantic features. As Holmberg puts it, it must be the case that LF can 'see' SF in that SF makes a distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs.[26] Consider again

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26. The other categories that cannot undergo SF in Icelandic are complementizers (finite or infinitival) and prepositions. I have found no cases of SF with complementizers in OF. However, some prepositions, although not others, appear to be able to undergo the stylistic operation. Extraction of *pres* 'near' is possible as attested by (i).

the example that was introduced in (36b): where *pris* rather than *estre* was SFronted.

(43) *et   tu   les   as   bien entenduz,*   (verse)
      and you them have.2SG well heard

      qui pris$_i$ __ *doivent   estre   t*$_i$ *a   la   letre*
      who taken   must.3PL be.INF   to the letter
      'And you heard them well those who must be taken literally.'
      (*Le Roman de la Rose* 3124–3125)

The MLC predicts that it is the infinitive *estre* 'be' rather than the past participle *pris* 'taken' that should raise pre-verbally. However, the infinitive is invisible to the SF calculus. This is reminiscent of what happens in Icelandic. Holmberg (2000) shows that in that language, the auxiliaries *vera* 'be' and *hafa* 'have' are invisible for SF (although they have [P] features). I follow Holmberg's proposal for why SF does not apply to auxiliaries: they lack the relevant semantic features. For example, contrary to past participles they lack aspectual properties.[27]

The conclusion is thus that as part of the derivation of PF, the phonological component has a subcomponent (call it SubPF) with operations which are syntactic in the sense that they operate on syntactic categories (words and syntactic phrases), are dependent on syntactic hierarchic structure, and have access maybe not to individual semantic features but to the presence or absence of semantic features. They nevertheless differ from the operations of narrow syntax

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(i)   *Il   i   avoit   une plache, qui pres*$_i$ *estoit   t*$_i$ (prose)
      it   there have.PAST.3SG a   place   that near   be.PAST.3SG

      du   palais de Bouke de Lion
      of-the palace of Bouke de Lion
      'There was a place that was near the Bouke de Lion palace.'
      (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 86)

I would like to suggest that the relevant distinction between what can and cannot be SFronted is between lexical and functional categories. Complementizers are functional categories and presumably lack certain semantic features, just like auxiliaries do. The status of prepositions as functional elements is not universally accepted. I take that there are two types of prepositions: one lexical and one functional (Rooryck 1996).

27. This shows that Burton-Roberts and Poole's (2006) radical analysis according to which SF is completely relegated in the phonology, thus outside syntax, cannot be right. On their account, phonological features are eliminated from the syntactic computation. The 'core' of the language faculty is argued to lie just in the derivation of LF representations, achieved by the syntactic computation. The idea is that because they are interpretable at LF phonological features make no contribution to this 'core' function. Burton-Roberts and Poole thus take optional phenomena like SF to indicate that a representational approach to phonology should be preferred over other models where phonological features "travel through the syntax" (for a similar proposal, see Jackendoff 1997).
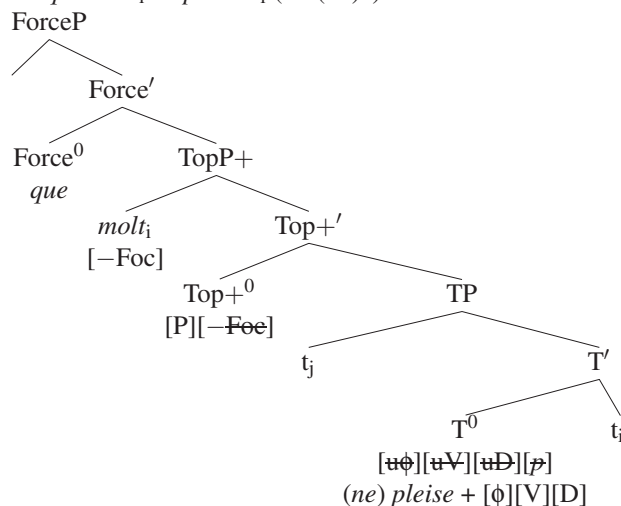
in that they have no effect on LF operations such as scope: they affect only form, not content. In this sense (only) they are phonological. Chomsky (2000, 2001) argues that head movement in general may belong to such a component, as suggested by the fact that it is typically triggered by morphological needs (the need to merge an affix and a head) and does not appear to affect the scope or other semantic properties of the moved head.[28]

4.2. Derivations

Let us now take concrete examples of SF and give detailed representations of their derivations beginning with the case of embedded clauses. In (44) *molt*, which bears a [-Foc] feature, raises to Spec-Top+ and values the unvalued [-Foc] feature (since the function of SF is to defocalize rather than topicalized in the strict sense of the term, I use 'negative' [-Foc] features rather than positive [+Top] features). The XP is overtly attracted to Spec-Top+ because of the [P] feature. This has been made possible because there has been feature fission of the EPP between [D] and [P]. The XP *molt* passes through Spec-TP in virtue of the peripheral feature *p*. The verbal agreement satisfies the D requirement of T^0. Note that in embedded clauses, French does not have a TopP. The only Topic position that is allowed is TopP+; this is how the asymmetry property of French V2 is accounted for. The null subject is here not only identified, but it is also formally licensed by the rich verbal agreement.

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28. However, it is not clear that head movement has no interpretive effects. For example, noun incorporation seems to have effect on truth-conditions. For arguments that head movement is not always semantically inert, see Benedicto (1997) and Zwart (2001). In addition, there appear to be syntactic residues involving head movement that are difficult to reconcile with a PF approach, see Koeneman (2000) and Lechner (2004) for further problematic cases and general discussion. However, if head movement belongs to SubPF, then both types of properties formal/semantic on the one hand, and phonological, on the other, can be accounted for.

(44)   … *que molt*ᵢ *ne pleise* tᵢ (cf. (12)a)

ForceP
    Force′
        Force⁰   TopP+
        que
            *molt*ᵢ   Top+′
            [−Foc]
                Top+⁰   TP
                [P][~~−Foc~~]
                    tⱼ   T′
                        T⁰   tᵢ
                        [~~uφ~~][~~uV~~][~~uD~~][~~p~~]
                        (*ne*) *pleise* + [φ][V][D]

The predictions that the present theory make should be clear: (i) SFronted XPs will not be allowed whenever overt subjects are present; (ii) SF of heads will be possible even when an overt subject is present in the sentence, since heads do not need to pass through Spec-TP. The prediction is borne out as the following example shows (Hrafnbjargarson 2004 shows that SF of heads is also possible in Icelandic even when a subject is present). In this case, the EPP has been split, but both [D] and [P] appear on the same head, i.e., T⁰.

(45)   *L'an   m'a   conté   ce   poise   moi*   (verse)
        L-one   to-me-has   told   this   saddens   me

        *Que   partir*ᵢ   *vos   volez   del   roi   t*ᵢ
        that   leave.ₗₙₓ   you   want.₂ₚₗ   of-the   king
        'I've been told – this is what saddens me – that you want to leave the king.'
        (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 141–142)

It is also predicted that an XP will be able to pass through Spec-TP, and then move to Spec-Top+ just in case: (i) the features [P] and [D] of EPP+ are spread on different heads (namely, T⁰ and Top+⁰); and (ii) whenever a subject is present in the sentence, but for some reasons or other, has remained in situ (i.e., in Spec-*v*P). In (46), the subject *an* 'one' has remained in Spec-*v*P, while *de legier* 'easily' has passed through Spec-TP. Thus, what looks like a V2 structure with an overt subject in embedded clause is in fact an SF configuration.

(46)   *que*   [*de legier*]$_i$ __ *n'i*   *antre* *an* *pas* t_i (verse)
      because   of light   not-there enter one FORC
      'because one does not enter it easily.'
      (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 654)

This could be argued to be a simple case of free inversion with the adverb
occupying the Spec-TP position rather than being in a higher Topic position.
However, the next example shows that a head can raise while the subject is
post-verbal indicating that the infinitive is higher than Spec-TP, since on stan-
dard assumptions the infinitive, because it is a head, cannot occupy the specifier
position of T^0.

(47)   *que*   *herbergier*$_i$ __ *le* *vialt*   *chascuns* t_i (verse)
      because shelter.$_{INF}$ it want.$_{3SG}$ each (one)
      'because each one wants to shelter him.'
      (*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 2462)

The above discussion suggests that apparent counter-examples to the well-
established idea that V2 is allowed only in main clauses in OF can be accounted
for via an SF analysis (for a similar strategy, see Roberts 1993).[29] The same
analysis can be given for examples like those in (10) repeated below as (48)
for convenience. In (48a) *li rois* is *v*P-internal while *a eus* has raised through
Spec-TP to Spec-Top+. In (48b) *mon pere* is inside the *v*P whereas *a la vostre
bonté* has raised to Spec-Top+ through Spec-TP.

(48)   a.   *quant a eus*   __ *est*   *li*   *rois* *venus,* …
          when to them   be.$_{3SG}$ the king come
          'When the king came to them, …' (Dupuis 1989: 148)
     b.   *s'a*   *la* *vostre* *bonté*   __ *vousist*   *mon*
          if-against the your   good-will   want.$_{PAST.3SG}$ my
          pere   *prendre* *garde*
          father take.$_{INF}$ precaution
          'If against your good will my father wanted to take precautions.'
          (*Huon le Roi – Le Vair Palefroi*, in Adams 1987b: 19)

Let us now turn to the case of relative clauses, starting with object relatives of
the kind illustrated in (26a). In (49), *an mes dras* 'in front of one' has raised to
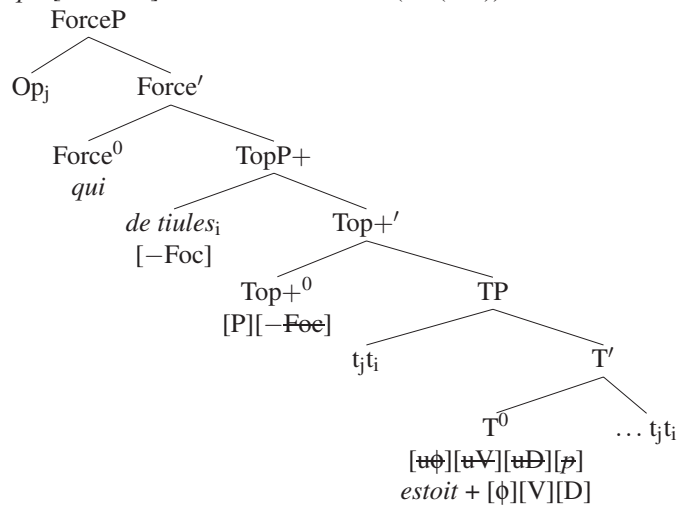Spec-Top+ through Spec-TP.

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29. It has also been argued that MidF was in fact a symmetric V2 language (Lemieux and Dupuis
    1995). However, it is predicted that all examples of embedded V2 in MidF (and in OF) are
    cases of SF.

(49)   *Ce sanc que* [*an mes dras*]$_i$ *regart* t$_i$ (cf. (26a))

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                Op_j     Force'
                        /      \
                   Force^0     TopP+
                    que       /     \
                     an mes dras_i  Top+'
                        [−Foc]     /     \
                              Top+^0      TP
                              [P][−Foc]  /   \
                                       t_i    T'
                                             /   \
                                           T^0    ... t_i t_j
                                   [u̶φ̶][u̶V̶][u̶D̶][v̶]
                                   regart + [φ][V][D]
```
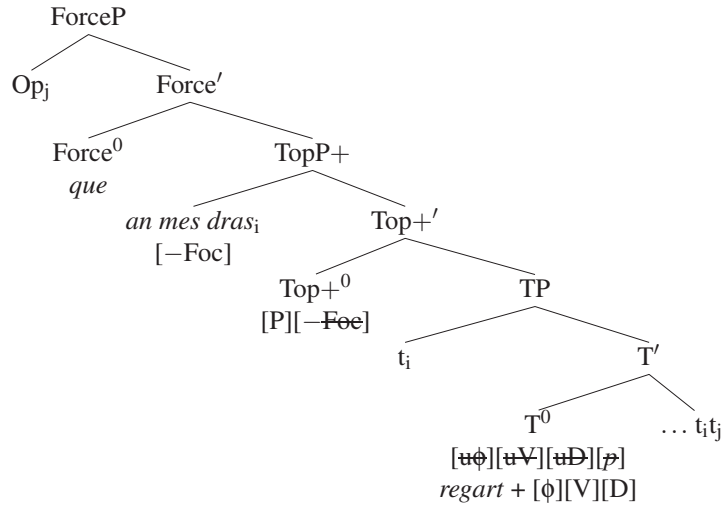
Consider now the case of subject relatives. (50) is the representation for (18a). The only difference between the object and the subject relative is of course that in the case of the subject relative, the null operator originates in Spec-*v*P to then pass through Spec-TP whereas in the case of the object relative the null operator originates as the sister of the verb and does not go through Spec-TP.

(50)   *qui* [*de tiules*] *etaient estoit coverte* (cf. (18a))

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                Op_j     Force'
                        /      \
                   Force^0     TopP+
                    qui       /     \
                     de tiules_i   Top+'
                       [−Foc]     /     \
                              Top+^0      TP
                              [P][−Foc]  /   \
                                     t_j t_i   T'
                                             /   \
                                           T^0    ... t_j t_i
                                   [u̶φ̶][u̶V̶][u̶D̶][v̶]
                                   estoit + [φ][V][D]
```

I assume, following Holmberg (2000), that null operators are invisible for movement of SFronted elements. The reasoning goes as follows. The null operator sits originally in Spec-vP. It is thus the closest element to the probe on T^0. However, the null operator is ignored for SF, probably because as a null element, it is incapable of checking the [P] feature of T^0. Since Op is phonologically null, it does not bar the SFronted XP from Spec-TP.

Next, let us consider a main clause. The PP *après la biere* 'behind the coffin' goes through Spec-TP, checks the [P] feature of T^0, then raises to Spec-TopP+. On the other, since heads do not pass through Spec-TP, *venir* 'come' can raise directly to Top+^{0}. The Head-to-Head Movement Constraint or MLC is not violated, since the main verb of the sentence is never a candidate for SF (SF is thus a case of long head movement).

(51)   *Aprés la biere venir voient une rote* (cf. (33))
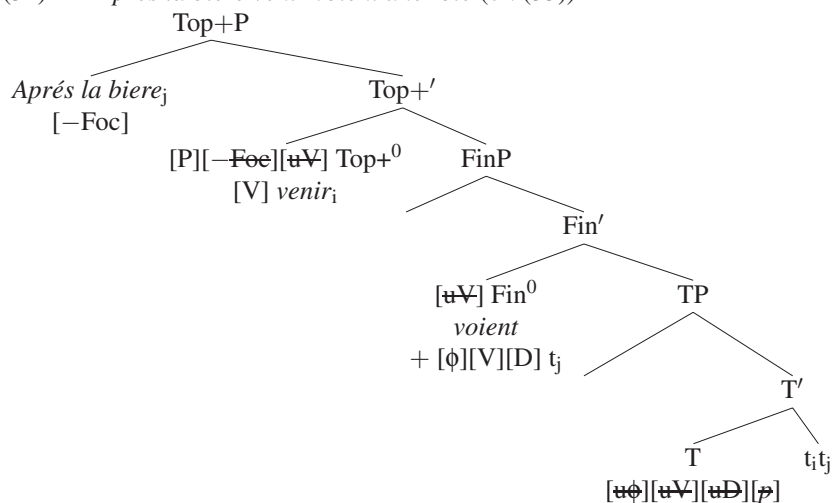
Finally, the optionality problem discussed in Section 3 receives a simple account under the present analysis. SF is dependent on the fission of the EPP and on the spreading of its features across two different heads (namely, T^0 and Top+^{0}). When the EPP is not split into separate features, SF cannot be triggered. As discussed in Section 3, Holmberg's strategy for the elimination of the optionality problem is to propose that either a null operator or a full phrase passes through the subject position. In the former case, the [P] feature is not checked, thus SF can apply, whereas in the latter case, the full phrase checks the [P] feature (and the [D] feature redundantly, since it has already been checked by the verbal agreement); thus, SF is not possible. However, this idea does not work for the case of OF object relatives or impersonal constructions in which no expletive is present or SF has applied. Consider (29) repeated here as (52).

(52) *Car* __ *n'afiert* *pas* *a* *ma* *matire* (verse)
because   not-go-with.$_{3SG}$ FORC at my matter
'For it would not go with my business.'
(*Le Chevalier à la Charrette* 6267)

Whether or not SF is possible depends on whether the split or non-split EPP feature has been selected as part of the Lexical Array (for a similar proposal, see Bošković 2004). In the non-split variant of the EPP, no visibility condition is required (and presumably no specifier need be created). As already mentioned, in this case, the EPP = [D]. This is the case of Italian. Basically, Italian does not have EPP+, it has only EPP. If a language does not have verbal agreement with pronominal properties, it is an XP that checks the EPP+. However, in this case [D] and [P] appear on the same head, namely T^0.

4.3. The diachronic dimension

The popular view about the loss of SF in Mainland Scandinavian stems from the observation made by Falk (1993: 184) that in languages like Old Swedish the loss of V-to-T^0 movement and the loss of SF took place simultaneously in the 16th and 17th centuries. In sum, the generalization is that languages like Danish and Swedish do not have V-to-T^0 movement, thus SF is not available whereas Icelandic has V-to-T^0 movement, thus SF is a possibility in that language. According to Holmberg (2000), once the verb does not raise to T^0, it cannot check the [D] feature associated with T^0, thus SF is no longer possible. Instead, the subject of the sentence checks both the [D] and the [P] feature of T^0. However, since Modern French (MF, henceforth) has not lost V-to-T^0 movement (Pollock 1989), but crucially lacks SF as shown by the impossibility of (53b–d), this account needs a slight revision.[30]

(53) a. *L'homme* *qui* __ *a* *acheté* *une* *voiture*
the-man who have.$_{3SG}$ bought a car
b. **L'homme qui une voiture __ acheté a*
c. **L'homme qui une voiture __ a acheté*
d. **L'homme qui acheté __ a une voiture*
'The man who bought a car.'

What appears to be essential for SF is that, regardless of whether the verb has raised to T^0, the verbal agreement should have the relevant pronominal properties so that null subjects are possible. It must also be noted that even heads cannot raise across a subject in ModF as illustrated by (54).

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30. See Fischer and Alexiadou (2001) for the same argument made in connection with Old versus Modern Catalan.

(54)   *Il   a   admis   que comblé il   a   été*
      he   has admitted that fulfilled he   has been
      'He admitted that he has been fulfilled.'

   In answering the question as to why SF disappeared from the grammar of French, the simple hypothesis that I want to put forward is that SF was no longer possible once verbal agreement lost its pronominal properties (null subjects are not possible in ModF).[31] Since the [P] feature of EPP+ is dependent on [D] when both features are scattered on different heads, it becomes no longer possible for the EPP to be split. It would be interesting to seek a correlation between loss of the verbal agreement's pronominal properties with loss of rich agreement. However, it is notoriously difficult to find a correlation

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31. There are exceptions, but these are set phrases.

(i)   a.   __   *faut   y   aller*
                 must.3SG there go.INF
                 'We have to go.'
     b.   __   *peut   mieux faire*
                 can.3SG better do.INF
                 'He/she can do better.'
     c.   __   *veux   pas*
                 want.1SG not
                 'I don't want to.'
     d.   __   *y   a   de la farine dans le   placard*
                 there have.3SG of the flour in the cupboard
                 'There's flour in the cupboard.'

In OF it was also very common, and this until late, to replace 'il y a' by 'i a' (Joly 2002: 288). Note that putative cases of pro-drop in Quebec French are easily accounted for via vocalic fusion (see Dumas 1974). Consider the examples in (ia) and (ib) taken from *La Grosse Femme d'à Côté est Enceinte* by Michel Tremblay, Actes Sud.

(ii)   a.   *Est bête, mais est bête correct.* (p. 107)
      b.   *Défais-la pas, est belle.* (p. 85)

Dumas (1974: 25) gives the following examples with their phonological transcriptions:

(iii)   a.   [ɛ̀ːkuʃe] *est couchée.*
      b.   [ɛ̀ːpɑːle] *est pas allée.*

Although the example in (iva) might taken as a genuine example of pro-drop, since there is no obligatory special phonological feature associated with it, it must be noticed that null subjects are not possible with other verbs beginning with – s as shown in (ivb). This suggests that Quebec French has no productive system of null subjects.

(iv)   a.   [sɔ̃partˢi] *sont parties.*
      b.   [sɔrt] **sortent.*

I thank Marie-Hélène Côté for discussing these issues with me.

cross-linguistically between rich agreement and the possibility of null subjects. French is particularly problematic, since it is not immediately clear that OF (and MidF) possessed a sufficiently rich verbal agreement system for the identification of null subjects (Foulet 1919, Roberts 1993). Rather it appears that verbal agreement has been the same in French since the 13th century.[32]

The situation in MidF is further complicated by the fact that, although V1 order becomes much more common (Vance 1988, Roberts 1993), at that point the language appears to be a partial pro-drop language, since only some person features, but not others make null subjects possible (other partial pro-drop languages are Irish and Hebrew, Speas 1995). A case in point is Hirschbühler's (1995) analysis of Philippe de Vigneulles' *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* where it turns out that pro-drop is possible with second person plural, but not with first person and second person singular. Moreover, neither third person singular or expletive third person plural allow pro-drop in embedded contexts introduced by a WH element. However, note that SF continues to be licensed in MidF as shown by the following 15th century examples.

(55)   a.   *A   la   pointe   de   son   espee,*   (verse)
                  at   the   tip   of   his   sword
                  Qui __ [de   grant   force]$_i$ estoit   frappee   t$_i$.
                  that   of   great   strength   be.PAST.3SG   hit
                  'At the tip of his sword, which was very strong.'
                  (*Le Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, t. 3, partie 6, XIX 1400)

        b.   *Pas$_i$ __ ne   la   mengera   t$_i$*   (verse)
                  FORC   not   it   eat.FUT.3SG
                  'He won't eat her.'
                  (*Farce française du 15me siècle* 241–260)

One could adopt Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) proposal that null subjects are permitted in all and only languages with morphologically uniform inflectional paradigms. Thus, languages like Spanish are morphologically uniform in that each form in the paradigm includes both a stem and an affix. English is not

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32. Consider the full OF conjugation for a (regular) *-er* verb: chant, chant*es*, chant*et*, chant*ons*, chant*ez*, chant*ent*. If we count the zero-inflection for 1SG as an ending, there are six distinct person inflections, as in Latin, Spanish or Italian. However, in spoken OF (according to Foulet 1919), very early on, these endings were reduced to the three we find in Modern French. This happened as a result of two processes (i) phonetic erosion of final consonants, eliminating 2SG *-s* and 3SG *-t* (the latter already 'hardly more than a memory' in the 12th century, cf. Foulet 1935:275); (ii) an operation of analogy, which added *-e* in 1SG. First, where the stem ended in a consonant cluster such as *-bl*, *-fl*, *-tr*, *-vr*, or [dj], final [e] was used as a supporting vowel. During the 13th century this began to spread slowly to all first person singular forms and became generalized during MidF (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 91).

morphologically uniform, since the paradigm includes forms homophonous with the bare stem. Languages like Chinese and Japanese are morphologically uniform in that all verbal forms lack agreement morphology. Although very appealing at first, the proposal is not without problems. First, as noted by Speas (1995), there are languages like Swedish, which have uniform paradigms with no apparent agreement morphology, yet do not allow null subjects. Second, as noted by Rohrbacher (1993) both European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese have uniform paradigms, yet European Portuguese allows null subjects while Brazilian Portuguese does not.

Thus, instead, the view about agreement that I will adopt here is the one proposed by Rohrbacher (1993) – see also Speas (1995) – who claims that in languages which have 'strong' agreement, each agreement morpheme has its own lexical entry permitting V-to-T^0 movement, while in languages that have 'weak' agreement, the morphemes do not have independent lexical entries forbidding V-to-T^0 movement. In addition, for null subjects to be licensed the following condition must be met: (i) In at least one number and one tense, the 1st and 2nd person features are distinctively marked; (ii) In at least one person of one tense, the number feature [singular] is distinctively marked. These criteria seem to conform to the partial-drop situation of MidF (and by extension to OF), where a distinction is made between the 1st person plural and the 2nd person plural (the present tense *–ons* and *–ez* [e] endings), and where the 2nd person plural is clearly distinctive from the 2nd person singular (*-ez* [e] versus *–es*). Note that, on this view, the verb's forms may all in all show very little overt agreement morphology. The 'richness' of verbal agreement is indirect.

On the assumption that the 1st person plural has been replaced by the 3rd person singular in Spoken ModF, the OF and MidF system mentioned above breaks down, leading to a situation where ModF has two distinctive agreement forms only, with no contrast of the kind available in Old or MidF.[33] Once the above contrasts are lost, the verb's agreement no longer carries pronominal properties and SF is doomed.

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33. By the 17th century null subjects have disappeared completely. They appear only in fixed expressions (*si ferai*, *non ferai*, *gage que P*), with modal verbs or as archaisms usually meant to indicate sarcasm or parody legal style (Fournier 2002) as in (i). In the following example, SF has applied, no doubt adding to the sarcasm or parody of the sentence, since SF was no longer part of the grammar by the 17th century.

(i)　　[*Grand pécheur*]_i　__　*suis*　*t*_i
　　　　great　fisherman　be._{1SG}
　　　　'I am a great fisherman'
　　　　(*Fables*, La Fontaine, VII, 15 in Fournier 2002: 21)

Malherbe condemns the use of preverbal objects or predicates.

As noted by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), the Rohrbacher/Speas approach makes the prediction that in pro-drop languages even infinitival verbs will be [+D] (i.e., have pronominal properties). As a result, infinitivals will not behave differently with respect to V-raising in these languages. This is exactly what we find for Old French, since an infinitive can undergo raising as the example in (56) clearly testifies.

(56)   *Pour ce,   mes chères filles,   est-il bon   de ne*   (prose)
        for   this, my dear   daughters, is-it good C not
        se   haster$_i$ point   t$_i$
        self   hurry   FORC
        'For this, my dear daughters, is it fine not to hurry.'
        (*Livre sur l'Enseignement de ses Filles*, in Pollock 1996: 153)

The fact that the infinitive is capable of checking the [D] feature of T^0 explains why SF is possible in OF infinitival contexts as shown in (31).[34] The EPP+ has been selected: another element must raise to Spec-TopP+ in order to satisfy the [P] feature that is yet to be taken care of.

Finally, it should be stressed that in order for SF to be operative in a given language, it is not sufficient to have the possibility of [D] feature checking by the verb. What a language must have at its disposal is the availability of the EPP+ feature, i.e. the case where [D] and [P] are not packaged as a bundle. The present analysis is superior to Holmberg's (2000) account of SF, since as already mentioned in Section 3, his account does not explain why languages like Modern Italian, Modern Spanish or Modern Portuguese do not tolerate SF.

(ii)   a.   *Je vais   trouver les yeux qui sain$_i$ me peuvent rendre   t$_i$*
              I   go.1SG find.INF the eyes that healthy me can.3PL   make.INF
              'I'm going to find the eyes which can make me healthy.'
              (Am. Diane, II, 2 – 1573 – Malherbe, Commentaire sur Desportes, IV, 273, in Fournier 2002: 107)
        b.   *et   sa   part immortelle que chère$_i$ je tiens   t$_i$*
              and his/her part immortal   that dear   I hold.1SG
              'and his/her immortal part that I hold dear.'
              (*Am. Hipp.*, 5 – 1573 – Malherbe, Commentaire sur Desportes, IV, 326, in Fournier 2002: 107)

34. The examples in (31) are thus not cases of OS as argued in Zaring (1998). According to this author OF violates Holmberg's Generalization in that OS is claimed to apply even with verbs that have not raised to T^0. However, we can keep to Holmberg's Generalization as applying to OF, since the examples in (31) appear to be cases of SF.

5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that Stylistic Fronting was very productive in Old French. It was argued that SFronted elements target a special Topic phrase. This phrase was labelled TopicP+ to distinguish it from TopicP, the position where topicalized elements in V2 structures raise to. It was shown that the subject gap constraint that accompanies SF in Modern Insular Scandinavian languages is also relevant for OF and that the most natural way to account for it is to suppose that SFronted XPs move *through* (rather than *into*, cf. Holmberg 2000) the specifier of Spec-TP. This follows from the fact that TP in OF was a (strong) phase. The account predicts that heads can still raise when an overt subject is present with or without SF raising of an XP. This prediction is indeed borne out. In the last section of the paper, it was argued that SF disappeared from the grammar once verbal agreement lost its pronominal properties. The EPP could no longer undergo feature fission and spread its features on distinct heads, since the mechanism by which the [D] feature on T^0 is checked by the verb's agreement is a necessary condition for the occurrence of SF.

Of interest for future research is the possible connection between SF and Long Head Movement. Despite obvious differences (LHM applies in root clauses only and is triggered by a ban on clitic first order), similarities between the two constructions are in fact worth investigating. Holmberg (2005) points out that LHM and SF have at least the following properties in common: (i) the moved category can be a one-word expression (hence it looks like a head); (ii) the movement has no effect on the semantic interpretation; (iii) LHM and SF both have a last resort feel; (iv) they are clause bound; (v) they are blocked by negation; (vi) they are blocked by a fronted XP, for instance a wh-phrase or a fronted subject. In particular, Holmberg suggests that LHM in Breton could receive the analysis he gives for SF, especially since in that language Breton does not have second position clitics. Thus, at least in that language, the trigger for LHM cannot be the need to find a host for a clitic. On the account presented in this paper, this translates as saying that LHM targets Top+^{0}. Some languages (e.g., ModF) can lack not only SF, but also the [V] feature associated with Top+^{0}, which, as was argued in the present paper, is independent from the possibility of splitting the EPP. Consequently, it is only natural that other languages might allow LHM in the absence of SF. If the idea that LHM is a close cousin of SF is correct, then it would militate further for the component of the grammar dubbed SubPF.

Another candidate for SubPF is the case of so-called Quirky Subjects. There are several arguments for the idea that they occupy the specifier position of Spec-Top+ (Fischer 2004b for Icelandic and Mathieu 2006a for OF). Further research is needed but will no doubt bring further disparate constructions together.

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