Different shades of *si*. Information structure, V-to-C movement and the loss of V2

Christine Meklenborg Salvesen  
*University of Oslo*  
c.m.salvesen@ilos.uio.no

In this paper I will argue that the resumptive particle *si* in Old French is closely linked to V2 word order. *Si* occurs after initial topics, both clausal and phrasal ones. I will argue that when the initial constituent is a fronted adverbial clause, *si* is a specialized resumptive and is a maximal category. With all other initial constituents, *si* is a specialized category and a head. It follows that as a maximal category, *si* has retained its original temporal or sequential reading, while it is completely bleached when it is a head.

In (1) the antecedent is an adverbial clause, that has been base-generated in a clause-peripheral position (dubbed SceneSettingP), and the resumptive *si* is a phrase in the specifier of CP (2).

(1)  
*Et [quant le Pasque fu passe], si y vinrent trestout.*  
And when the Easter was passed *si* came all  
‘And when Easter was over, everybody came there.’ (clari, p.8)

(2)  
\[
[\text{ScSP} \text{ quant le Pasque fu passe} \ [\text{Scs0} \ [\text{CP si} \ [\text{C0 y vinrent} \ ]]]]
\]

In (3) the antecedent is a thematic DP, that has been moved through SpecFinP to its surface position in SpecTopP. The resumptive *si* is the lexicalisation of Top0 (4).

(3)  
\[
[Vostre mere] \ si \ fu moult sage\]
Your mother *si* was very wise\  
‘Your mother was very wise.’ (atrper, p.50, v.1576)

(4)  
\[
[\text{TopP vostre mere} \ [\text{Top0 si}] \ [\text{FinP vostre mere} \ [\text{Fin0 fu} \ ]] \ ]
\]

I will make the assumption that *si* is a C-element and that it is closely linked to Verb Second word order. If the language does not project the CP layer in main clauses, *si* may not occur. By comparing data from different stages of Old French I will trace the disappearance of *si* and see how this patterns with the loss of V2.