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 passee],*   ***si***   *y vinrent trestout.*
and [when the Easter was passed   SI   there came all
'And when Easter was over, everybody came there.' (clari, p.8)

(2) $[_{ScSP}$ quant le Pasque fu passee $[_{Scs0}$] $[_{CP}$ si $[_{C0}$ 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 Top^0 (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) $[_{TopP}$ vostre mere $[_{Top0}$ si] $[_{FinP}$ ~~vostre mere~~ $[_{Fin0}$ 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.