A Split-DP Hypothesis for Latin and Italo-Romance

Giuliana Giusti[a] and Rossella Iovino[b]

[a]University Ca'Foscari Venice, Italy; [b]University Ca'Foscari Venice, Italy
[a]giusti@unive.it; [b]rossella.iovino@unive.it

Abstract: Rich morphology, lack of articles, free word order, discontinuous noun phrases and generalized null anaphora in Latin are often taken as evidence for either non-configurationality or discourse-configurationality. In this vein, the main innovation in Romance languages would be the development of syntax-configurational structure. The aim of this paper is to provide a formal analysis to show that the possible word orders in Latin are not just dependent on pragmatics but are strictly controlled by syntax. We will investigate the hypothesis that Latin is as configurational as Romance, claiming that Latin has the same hierarchy of inflectional features, the same hierarchy of adjectival modification; the same syntactic procedures to combine lexical and functional elements; the same hierarchy of discourse features. In this perspective, the diachronic change into Old and Modern Romance is to be derived by a single parameter that regards the different bundling of the features constituent of D, namely Case, Reference, Gender and Number.

Keywords: (Non)-configurationality; DP-structure, Word Order, Nominal Left-Periphery, Discontinuity.

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the linguistic change in the nominal domain from Latin to Romance languages, focusing particularly on Italo-Romance. The main aim is to propose a split-DP hypothesis for Latin and Italo-Romance. In doing this, we will deal with some ~~features~~ properties of both languages ~~with respect~~related to configurationality, and investigate how these ~~features~~ properties correlate with the linguistic change.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, a long tradition of linguistic studies has contrasted the configurationality of Romance languages with the alleged non-configurationality of Latin.

On the one hand, Romance languages have definite and indefinite articles, a less rich morphology with respect to Latin, and a very constrained word order; syntactically discontinuous constituents limited to extraction of possessors and floating quantifiers, and null anaphora are limited to subject pronouns. For these reasons, Romance languages are considered full syntax configurational languages and structurally complete.

On the other hand,~~On the one hand~~, Latin is an article-less article and presents reach morphology, great freedom in word order, syntactically discontinuous constituents and generalized null anaphora, in that both subjects, direct and indirect objects can be non-overt. Properties like th~~at~~ese may lead to different approaches to Latin syntax. One could

~~hypothesize~~ that syntactic structure is (almost) completely absent in Latin. Thus, there would be no nominal or even sentential constituents in Latin, the order being due to a sequence of juxtaposed words. This hypothesis ~~would~~ set~~s~~ Latin among the "non-configurational" languages (cf. Hale (1983) for a seminal proposal on Walpiri, an Austronesian language, and Vincent (1988), Ramat (1994), Hewson and Bubenik (2006), and Ledgeway (2012) for a discussion of the (alleged) non-configurationality of Latin). ~~A consequence of this hypothesis concerns the possibility that s~~Syntactically non-configurational languages are usually taken to be "pragmatically based" languages (Mithun 1987), ~~in which the freedom in~~in the sense that word order is determined by semantic and pragmatic principles (Givón 1983). In other words, Latin may be included among "discourse configurational" languages (Kiss 1995 for Hungarian), in which the order of the elements obeys pragmatic functions (progression from *datum* to *novum*, topic or focus fronting, etc., cf. Spevak 2010 for an overview on Latin). A second possibility~~,~~ set in ~~formal linguistic literature~~the minimalist approach (Chomsky 2001), is to hypothesize that ~~Latin~~ syntactic structure in Latin is "partial" or "defective", grounded on the fact that the inventory of functional words is limited (cf. Chierchia 1998, Bošković 2005 and following work for the claim that languages of this kind do not display the DP-layer in the NE and the TP-layer in the clause).

~~On the other hand, Romance languages are article languages, in that they have both definite and indefinite articles, a less rich morphology with respect to Latin, and a very constrained word order; furthermore, they admit neither syntactically discontinuous constituents nor null anaphora, in that only anaphoric subject can be null. For these reasons, Romance languages are considered full-syntax configurational languages and structurally complete.~~

Although Latin ~~and Romance languages appear very~~is different ~~with respect to each other~~from Romance, we ~~aim at investigating the possibility~~ will suggest that Latin is as configurational as Romance. The basic theoretical assumption is that, parallel to the Split-CP hypothesis for the clause (Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997), the nominal expression (from now on NE) also displays a very complex functional structure in its highest layer including a DP that is split to contain a projection hosting discourse features (Giusti 1996, 2010, 2012). According to Giusti (~~2012~~to appear) and Giusti e Iovino (to appear), we will point out that the functional features of the noun (including D) can either be all bundled on the noun, or can be scattered, giving rise to the two apparently different hierarchical structures illustrated in (1):

(1)   (a) Latin: [Left periphery [DP [NP N]]]
        (b) Romance: [DP [Left periphery   [NP N]]]

In Latin (1a), ~~in~~ the absence of ~~an~~ article~~.~~ is due to the fact that the nominal functional features are all bundled on ~~the noun~~N, as the strong nominal morphology that characterizes Latin suggests; because of this, the DP is realized lower than the left-periphery. In Romance (1b), Reference and Case are not bundled on N ~~the noun~~ but ~~are~~ realized on the article; for this reason, Reference and Case are codified in a higher D above the left-periphery.

In providing a configurational account of the syntax of Latin ~~nominal domain~~NE, we ~~will~~ give evidence in favor of the ~~fact~~hypothesis that Latin has the same hierarchy of nominal inflectional features as well as the same hierarchy of modification that we ~~can~~ find in Romance; the same syntactic procedures to combine lexical and functional elements; and the same hierarchy of discourse features. In this perspective, the

diachronic change from Latin to Romance is ~~to be due~~reduced to a "parametric" change that concerns ~~: (i)~~ the way a language realizes syntactic features~~; (ii) the way a language shares syntactic features between the elements of a phrase. As regard the first point,~~ Romance languages~~, for example,~~ realize syntactic features via free morphemes (auxiliaries, articles, prepositions, *etc.*), while Latin mostly prefers bound morphemes (synthetic verbal forms, case morphology, *etc.*). ~~Concerning features sharing in the nominal domain, the noun establishes a syntactic relation its adjectival modifiers via a mechanism of concord, in the sense of Giusti (2008 and following work).~~

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we ~~will~~ illustrate the hierarchical structure of ~~both~~ nominal features (§ 2.1) and of adjectival modification (§ 2.2) in Latin and Italo-Romance. In section 3, we ~~will~~ give an overview of the word order in the nominal constituents in Latin, Old Italian and Modern Italian mainly focusing on ~~N~~ the position of N~~and discussing some relevant examples~~. The data will be discussed in a strictly contrastive fashion, and this will allow us to observe ~~a~~ the progressive loss of ~~the~~ freedom of word order in the passage from Latin through Old Italian to Modern Italian. In section 4, we ~~will~~ focus on the diachronic changes of the nominal left-periphery~~,~~ and ~~we will~~ present our split-DP hypothesis. ~~Finally,~~ ~~S~~section 5 ~~will be~~is devoted to the diachronic loss of discontinuous structures, which can be considered as a direct consequence of the fact that in Romance the left-periphery is lower than the DP.

2. The Hierarchical Structure of Nominal Expressions

2.1 The Hierarchy of Nominal Features

Cartographic approaches to nominal syntax (Cinque 2002, Belletti 2004, Rizzi 2004) assume that functional hierarchies are universal and that each functional feature heads a separate projection (Cinque and Rizzi 2008). In a more minimalist fashion, Giusti (to appear) proposes that nominal features such as Case, Reference, Gender and Number are ~~universal~~hierarchically ordered ~~principles which are realized in the same hierarchical position~~ in all languages, as ~~illustrated~~ in (2), but can be realized in different ways. In Latin (3a), the nominal features are realized as a bundle on N, while in Romance (3b), Case and Reference are split from N and realized on the article, while Gender and Number are redundantly realized on both:~~, and merge the elements present in the hierarchy in a bundle in languages where this is possible~~:

(2)   [Case [Reference [Number [Gender [Noun]]]]]

~~Giusti (to appear) also claims that the structure in (2) is universal and available for both Latin and Romance languages, although it is realized in a different way, as in (3):~~

(3) (a) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D°}$]]$_{[Case, Reference, Number, Gender]}$ [$_{NP}$ puella]$_{[Case, Reference, Number, Gender]}$]
          "the/a girl.nom.sg."
     (b) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D°}$ la/le/una/une]$_{[Case, Ref., Num., Gend.]}$ [$_{NP}$ ragazza/chica/fille] $_{[Num., Gend.]}$]
          the/a   girl

~~In Latin (3a), the nominal features are realized as a bundle on N, while in Romance (3b), Case and Reference are split from N and realized on the article, while Gender and Number are redundantly realized on both.~~

2.2 The Hierarchy of Adjectival Modification

Following Giusti (2009, in prep), we assume that a~~A nominal expression~~NE is formed by merging the head N with a modifying constituent, then the merger may continue with a second modifier, and so on. The adjective closest to the noun more closely restricts the denotation, while an external adjective takes scope above the whole constituent (Cinque 2010 for a cross-linguistic analysis, Devine and Stephens 2006 for Latin). As for the hierarchical layers of adjectival modification, we give the following sequence:

(4)   [Possessive Adj. [Quantity Adj. [Descriptive Adj. [Relational Adj. [Noun]]]]]

In (4), we see that Possessive adjectives like *meus/mio* "mine", *suus/suo* "his/her", *noster/nostro* "our", *etc.* are the highest ~~adjectival~~ modifiers. They are followed by Quantity adjectives like *multus/molto* "many", *omnis* "whole", *etc*.; Descriptive adjectives like *magnificus/magnifico* "magnificent", *communis/comune* "common", *etc*., and Relational adjectives like *forensis/forense* "forensic", *Romanus*/*romano* "Roman", *Graecus*/*greco* "Greek", and so on.

In §3, we ~~will~~ consider the positions occupied by the noun with respect to each adjectival modifier both in Latin and in Italo-Romance.

3. The Position of the Noun in Latin and in Modern Italian

One of the most ~~evident~~ apparent features of both Latin and Italo-Romance is the possibility to realize the noun in different positions.

In Latin, the noun can occupy the low position of the nominal expression as shown in (5). In fact, ~~the noun~~it can appear on the right in the linear order, following different kinds of modifiers: Possessive and Descriptive adjective (5a), Possessive and Relational adjective (5b), Demonstrative and Quantity adjective (5c):

(5)	Dem.	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	Relat.	N
(a)		*tua*		*magnifica*		***verba***
		your-ACC.N.P.		magnificent		word
						(Plaut. *Curc*. 577)
(b)		*meae*			*forenses*	***artes***
		my-NOM.F.P.			forensic	arts
						(Cic. *orat*. 148)
(c)	*hos*		*multos*			***dies***
	these-ACC.M.P.		many			days
						(Plaut. *Pseud*. 8)

This is also the case of Italian, although Italian presents more restrictions: different modifiers can precede the noun (Demonstrative, Possessive, Quantity, Descriptive adjectives), but not a Relational adjective, which must be postnominal (cf. **le mie forensi arti* vs *le mie arti forensi*), as the ungrammaticality of (6b) shows:

(6)	Art./Dem.	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	Relat.	N
(a)	le	*tue*		*magnifiche*		***parole***
	the	your		magnificent		word
(b)	**le*	*mie*			*forensi*	***arti***

	the	my		forensic arts
(c)	*questi*	*molti*		***giorni***
	these	many		days

In Latin, the noun can occupy the middle-low position, preceding a Relational adjective and following different kinds of modifiers: a Quantity adjective as in (7a), a Possessive as in (7b). Furthermore, the noun can follow more than one adjective, as the very complex nominal expression in (7c) shows, where we find both a prenominal Demonstrative and a prenominal Descriptive adjective:

(7)	Dem.	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	N	Relat.
(a)			*multi*		***cives***	*fortes*
			many-NOM.M.P.		citizens	strong
						(Cic. *Sest.* 1)
(b)		*suam*			***rem***	*familiarem*
		his-ACC.F.S.			situation	familiar
						(Caes. *Gall.* 1,18,4)
(c)	*illo*			*communi*	***dolore***	*muliebri*
	that-ABL.M.P.			common	pain	feminine
						(Cic. *Cluent.* 13)

This is also the case of Italian where the sequences admitted in Latin are possible as well, as shown in (8):

(8)	Dem./Art.	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	N	Relat.
(a)	*i*		*molti*		***cittadini***	*forti*
	the		many		citizens	strong
(b)	*la*	*sua*			***situazione***	*familiare*
	the	his			situation	familiar
(c)	*quel*			*comune*	***dolore***	*femminile*
	that			common	pain	feminine

In Latin, the noun can also appear in the middle-high position on the left of both a Descriptive and a Relational adjective in this order, as in (9):

(9)	Dem.	Poss.	Quant.	N	Descr.	Relat.
(a)				***vocabulum***	*anticuum*	*Graecum*
				word-ACC.N.S.	old	Greek
						(Gell. 1,18,2)
(b)				***anulum***	*grandem*	*subauratum*
				ring-ACC.M.S.	big	golden
						(Petron. 32,3)

Nevertheless, this possibility is not allowed for the noun in Italian, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (10) shows:

(10)	Dem./Art.	Poss.	Quant.	N	Descr.	Relat.
(a)	**la*			***parola***	*antica*	*greca*
	the			word	old	Greek

(b) *?*l'*   ***anello*** *grande dorato*
       the   ring   big   golden

In Italian, the nominal expression is well formed if the noun occupies the intra-adjectival position, as in (10'):

(10')   Dem./Art.   Poss.   Quant.   Descr.   N   Relat.

(a) *l'*   *antica* ***parola*** *greca*
      the   old   word   Greek

(b) *il*   *grande* ***anello*** *dorato*
      the   big   ring   golden

Furthermore, in Latin the noun can occupy a position on the left of a Quantity adjective, which occupies a high position in the structure as in (11). In these cases, the noun can precede different modifiers like a Quantity and a Descriptive adjective, as in (11a), and a Quantity and a Relational adjective, as in (11b):

(11)   Dem.   Poss.   N   Quant.   Descr.   Relat.

(a)   ***vita***   *omnis*   *beata*
                life-NOM.F.S.   all   blessed
                                      (Cic. *off.* 3,33)

(b)   ***populum***   *omnem*   *Romanum*
                people-ACC.M.S.   all   Roman
                                   (Liv. 1,28,7)

The high position is not available for the noun in Italian, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (12) shows:

(12)   Dem./Art.   Poss.   N   Quant.   Descr.   Relat.

(a) **la*   ***vita***   *tutta*   *beata*
      the   life   all   blessed

(b) **il*   ***popolo*** *tutto*   *Romano*
      the   people   all   Roman

Also in this case, the only possible order in Italian is the one with the noun occupying the position between the two adjectives, as in (12'):

(12')   Dem./Art.   Poss.   Quant.   N   Descr.   Relat.

(a) **la*   *tutta*   ***vita***   *beata*
      the   all   life   blessed

(b) **il*   *tutto*   ***popolo*** *Romano*
      the   all   people   Roman

Finally, in Latin a noun can ~~even~~ occupy a very high position, preceding a Possessive adjective as in (13) and other modifiers like a Quantity adjective in (13a), a Relational adjective in (13b), and a Descriptive adjective in (13c):

(13)	Dem.	N	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	Relat.
(a)		*consulatu* consulate-ABL.M.S.	*suo* his	*nono* ninth		
						(Svet. *Vesp.* 24,1)
(b)		*bello* war-ABL.N.S.	*suo* his			*Punico* Punic
						(Cic. *Cato* 50)
(c)		*familia* family-ABL.F.S.	*mea* my		*maxima* very big	
						(Cic. *S. Rosc.* 145)

Again, this position is impossible for Italian, as the examples in (14) show:

(14)	Dem./Art.	N	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	Relat.
(a)	**il* the	*consolato* consolate	*suo* his	*nono* ninth		
(b)	**la* the	*guerra* war	*sua* his			*Punica* Punic
(c)	**la* the	*famiglia* family	*mia* my		*grandissima* very big	

The position available for the noun in Italian is either the low position (14'a-c), following Possessive, Quantitative and Descriptive adjectives or the middle-low position, preceding a Relational adjective (14'b):

(14')	Dem./Art.	N	Poss.	Quant.	Descr.	N	Relat.
(a)	*il* the		*suo* his	*nono* ninth		*consolato* consolate	
(b)	*la* the		*sua* his			*guerra* war	*Punica* Punic
(c)	*la* the		*mia* my		*grandissima* very big	*famiglia* family	

~~It is interesting to note that, s~~Starting from the middle-low position illustrated in (7)-(8) for Latin and Modern Italian respectively, it is possible to derive the postnominal mirror order of the adjectives both in Latin and in Romance. Examples are given in (15)-(16), where a postnominal Relational adjective precedes a postnominal Descriptive adjective:

(15)	Dem.	Poss.	Quant.	N	Relat.	Descr.
(a)				*equite* horse-man-ABL.M.S.	*Romano* Roman	*resistente* strong
						(Cic. *Verr.* II 3,36)
(b)				*dolia* jar-ACC.N.P.	*olearia* oil	*nova* new
						(Cato *agr.* 69,1)

| (16)	Dem./Art.	Poss.	Quant.	N	Relat.	Descr.
(a)	*il*			***cavaliere***	*Romano*	*resistente*
	the			horse-man	Roman	strong
(b)	*il*			***vasi***	*oleari*	*nuovi*
	the			jar	oil	new

The Latin data presented in (5), (7), (9), (11), (13) and (15) confirm that Latin admits very free positions for the noun, which can be realized in any pre-adjectival and post-adjectival position. Adjectives obey the hierarchy of adjectival modification both in prenominal and postnominal position; additionally, in postnominal position adjectives can also appear in the mirror order.

Unlike Latin, Modern Italian presents many restrictions ~~in word order~~. As shown in (6) and (8), the noun preferably appears either in the low or in the middle-low position; however, the noun can follow a Descriptive adjective but not a Relational adjective, which must be postnominal. Furthermore, in Modern Italian the noun can precede two postnominale adjectives that must appear in the mirror order. The other positions possible in Latin are not available in Italian, as the ungrammaticality of (10), (12) and (14) shows. Note that Quantity adjective must be prenominal in Modern Italian, while postnominal Possessive adjective are discourse marked (Cardinaletti 1998, Giusti 2008).

In the next section, we give a formalization of the empirical data, proposing some syntactic structures that can explain the different linear orders, and illustrate that the free orders of Latin are not random, but strictly controlled by a precise syntactic structure.

3.1 Deriving Word Order in Latin and Modern Italian

The structure in (17) ~~merges~~ represents the hierarchy of modification proposed in (4)~~.~~, Following Giusti 2009, N remerges with all modifiers and can be realized in any of the remerge positions:~~with that of noun position. In particular, we assume that for each modifier there is a position in which the noun can be realized.~~

(17) [XP APPossP. [XPNP tAPQuant [XP tAPDescr. [XP tAPRelat. [NP
NP N Np NP N NP N]]]]]…
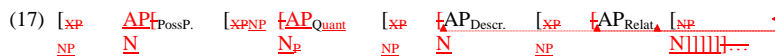
In what follows, we we do not project silent intermediate projections. All the logical possibilities are given in (18), where we give the structure of some of the Latin nominal expressions discussed above:

(18) (a) [NP [PossP. meae] N [NP [APRelat. forenses] [NP artes]]]…
   (b) [PossP. suam [NXP rem] [APRelat. familiarem [NP rem]…
   (c) [XP NP equite Romano ~~[APDescr. resistente] [XP NP e. equite [APRelat. Romano [NP e. equite]~~…
   (d) [NPXP vocabulum] [APDescr. anticuum [XPNP ~~vvocabulum~~ [APRelat. Graecum] [NP ~~v.~~]…
   (e) [XPNP vita [AQPQuant omnis [NXP ~~v.~~ [APDescr. beata [XP v. [APRelat. [NNP v.]…
   (f) [NXP bello [NP. [PossP. suo [XP bello. [NP [QP [XP b. [APDescr. [XP b. [APRelat. Punico] [NP bello.]…

(18a) ~~derives~~ represents the low position of the noun, which ~~remains~~ is realized in its ~~first~~ merge position ~~as shown by the fact that it follows~~ preceded by the Relational

adjective. In (18b), we see ~~a one step movement of~~ the noun realized in the middle-low position ~~before~~ at the left of ~~a~~ the Relational adjective. Example ~~Starting from this order,~~ (18c) illustrates the mirror order of adjectives, which~~. The mirror order can be easily~~is derived ~~by~~ according to Cinque's (2010) ~~proposal that the noun can move~~ by moving ~~(optionally) pied-piping a larger remnant~~an intermediate projection of NP to the left of the descriptive adjective. In (18d), we see the realization of the single head ~~a two step movement of the noun~~N, ~~which moves to the middle high position, occupying the position higher than~~ at the left of the Descriptive adjective. ~~In (18e-f)~~ ~~exemplify the movement of the~~N is realized even higher ~~noun to~~at the ~~high and very high position, in that it appears before~~left of a Quantity and a Possessive adjective respectively.

As we have ~~said~~ shown ~~for~~in (6b) above, Italian does not display the noun in the ~~low~~ first-merge position ~~after~~ preceded by a Relational adjective. The ~~possible and impossible position of N~~ ~~very complex nominal expressions given~~in (19) confirm that the positions possible for the noun in Italian are either the middle-low position between a postnominal Relational adjective and a prenominal Descriptive adjective, as in (19a), or the one in which the noun precedes two postnominal adjectives that must appear in the mirror order (Relational > Descriptive adjective):

(19) a. [~~XP~~[DP [D° le] [~~XP~~ NP {*parole} [NP [PossP. tue [~~XP~~{*parole} [NP [QP tante [~~XP~~ {*parole} [NP [APDescr. bellissime [~~XP~~ **parole** [NP [APRelat. poetiche [~~NP~~ ~~parole~~]…

   b. [~~XP~~[DP [D° le] [~~XP~~ NP [PossP. tue] N [~~XP~~ NP [~~QP~~ APQuant. tante [~~XP~~ NP **parole poetiche** [NP [APDescr. bellissime [~~XP~~ NP **parole** [APRelat. **poetiche** [NP p.arole]

高

<mark>,We can conclude noting that in Modern Italian the more the modifier is high the less the noun can move above it.</mark>

3.2 ~~Two More Positions for t~~The ~~Noun~~ word order in Old Italian

The orders possible in Modern Italian are also possible in Old Italian ~~as well~~. In (20), we give an example in which the noun occupies the middle-low position. It is reasonable that this is the unmarked order for the noun in Old Italian exactly like in Modern Italian:

(20) [~~XP~~ [DP [~~D°~~ [~~XP~~NP [~~Q~~APnum   [~~XP~~   [NP [APRelat. cittadina]   [[~~NP~~   ~~battaglia~~ la]   terza]   battaglia   ]~~…~~]]

Old Italian is less restrictive with respect to Modern Italian in the placement of the noun. ~~Like~~ ~~I~~in Latin, and in Old Italian ~~the noun~~N can be realized ~~in the low position~~ below a Relational adjective, as shown in (21a), as well as ~~in the highest position~~ above the possessive (21b):

(21) a.~~[~~XP [DP [~~D°~~ la] [NP [APRelat. francese] [[~~NP~~casa]~~…~~]]
      the   French   house
      Monte Andrea, *Rime*, son. 101, vv. 10-11.
   b. [~~XP~~ [DP [~~D°~~ uno] [~~XP~~ NP cavallo [NP [PossP. suo] [~~XP~~ ~~cavallo~~ [NP [QP [~~XP~~ ~~cavallo~~ [APDescr. [~~XP~~ ~~cavallo~~ [APRelat. morello] [~~NP~~ ~~cavallo~~]]]~~…~~
      a   horse   his   brown

(*Libro giallo* 308, l4)

As we have seen in ~~the example~~ (6b) and (14) above, neither of these possibilities is admitted in Modern Italian, where ~~the noun is established in an~~N occupies an intermediate position in the modification hierarchy (*la casa francese* lit. the house French, *il suo cavallo marrone* lit. the his horse brown).

4. The Nominal Left-Periphery and the Split-DP Hypothesis

As shown in Giusti and Iovino (to appear), despite lack of articles and very free word order, in many respects Latin behaves like its daughter languages, all of which have articles. They solve this apparent paradox proposing a complex nominal structure made of a DP, which hosts overt demonstratives, and a left-peripheral projection, parallel to the split CP in clauses. This split DP, based on Giusti (1996, 2006), can account both for the freedom of the orders found inside the nominal expression and for the occurrence of discontinuous nominal expressions.

Giusti and Iovino (to appear) also claim that the Latin left periphery appears higher than the DP and can be occupied by maximal projections that are modifiers of the noun and not the noun itself. This proposal can capture the following facts: when present, the demonstrative is the highest modifier (in the unmarked case); when the demonstrative is in second position, in Latin we ~~can~~ usually find ~~a~~one adjective of any class ~~ny class of modifier~~ preceding it; only one element at a time can precede the demonstrative; a noun precedes the demonstrative only if no other modifier is present; an adjective can be extracted out of the nominal expression and dislocated to the left.

Starting from the basic order, which we assume to be *illa vetere disciplina* ('lit that old discipline' cf. Iovino 2012), in Latin the Relational adjective can be dislocated to the left periphery due to its focus interpretation, so we obtain the attested order in (22):

(22) [$_{LP}$ vetere [$_{DP}$ illa [$_{XP-NP}$ [$_{PossP}$] N [$_{XP-NP}$ [$_{AQP}$Quant] [$_{XNP}$ **[APDescr.** ~~vetere~~] [$_{XP-N}$ [$_{APRelat.}$ [$_{NP}$ disciplina]]]]]] ...

(Cic. *Cluent*. 76)

~~Diachronically, from Latin to Romance~~In Italian, Case and Reference are split from N (since they are realized on the article). For this reason, ~~namely on a very high head (Giusti 2001), so that~~the left-periphery ~~appears lower~~is lower than ~~D~~the article, which we merge as the head of D.. Giusti (1996, 2006) has shown that a contrasted adjective can be moved to the left of a high possessive, into a projection which we name LPP (Left Periphery projection, whose head LP is null, and most possibly is the checking position of the contrast feature on the adjective that triggers remerge:

() a. [$_{DP}$ le [$_{NP}$ sue N [$_{NP}$ lunghe trecce [$_{NP}$ bionde ~~trecce~~]]]]
        the her long braids blond
b. [$_{DP}$ le [$_{LPP}$ bionde LP [$_{NP}$ sue N [$_{NP}$ lunghe trecce [$_{NP}$ ~~bionde trecce~~]]]]
        the blond her long braids

In old Italian, the situation is similar, but not identical. we observed a high position of N, already shown in (21b) and in ~~Taking the order in~~(23a), which is not possible in Italian (19a). Interestingly, this position appears to be in complementary distribution with the left peripheral adjective that we observe in (23b)~~to be the unmarked order, we~~

~~observe the possibility of contrasting an adjective, moving it to the left of the possessive, which is the highest element in the adjectival hierarchy and to the right of the article~~:

(23) (a) [PP *co*[DP -*l* [~~DP NP~~ *corno* [NP [PossAgrP *tuo*] ~~corno~~] [NP [AFP *sinistro*] [~~NP corno~~]...

with-the wing your left

(b) [PP *co*[DP -l [LPP *diritto* [NP [PossP *tuo*] corno[~~AgrP *tuo corno*~~] [FP AP *dritto* [NP ~~corno~~]...

with-the ~~win~~right your ~~wing~~ right

(Bono Giamboni, *Vegezio*, book3, chap20, p128)

Thus it seems that the discontinuous realization of Case and Reference, has replaced the left periphery in an internal position and has forced the realization of N in a lower position in modern Italian. The intermediate step witnessed in old Italian seems to present a complementary distribution between a high merge of N and the possibility of contrast an AP into the Left Periphery:

(24) (a) [DP art [NP N [NP [APposs ~~N~~ [...]]]

      (b) [DP art [Left periphery [NP [APposs N [...]]]

~~Note that this is still the case in high registers of Italian.~~

5. The Loss of Discontinuous Structures

The last section is devoted to discontinuous constituents, which in Latin are due to movement to and through the nominal left periphery. ~~On the contrary, discontinuous constituents~~These are impossible in ~~both~~ Old and Modern (Italo-)Romance as a consequence of the fact that the left periphery is entrapped below ~~lower than the~~ article, and is therefore no more a left edge.

In (23), we give ~~the~~ a case in which ~~in Latin~~ the modifier of a genitive (NEj) *huius querellae*) is extracted into the left periphery of the superordinate ~~nominal expression~~ (NEi):

(23) Sed abiit   [LPP huius   [NEi tempus   [NEj ~~huius~~ querellae]]

but   is-far-away this.GEN.F.SG time.NOM.N.SG regret.GEN.F.SG

"But the time of this regret is far away" (Cic. *Cael*. 74)

In (24) we give a case in which the adjectival modifier of the genitive (NEj *pristinae virtutis*) is extracted through the superordinate ~~nominal expression~~NEi, and scrambled ~~in~~to the clause:

(24)[pristinae   [_{VPI} residere   [_{NEi} p.[_{NEj} ~~pristinae~~ virtutis]memoria]]   videtur]
old.GEN.F.SGdwell.INF.PRESvirtue.GEN.F.SG   memory.NOM.F.SG[it]-seems
"the memory of the old virtue seems to dwell ..." (Caes. *Gall*. 7,77,4)

In (25a)-(26a) we ~~note~~ observe that ~~both kind of discontinuous constituents are not allowed in Italian, in that~~ Italian only admits continuous constituents (25b)-(26b):

(25) (a) *Ma è lontano   [_{LPP} questa   [_{NEi} il tempo   [_{NEj} di ~~questa~~ lamentela]]]
              but   is-far-away this.GEN.F.SG time.NOM.N.SG regret.GEN.F.SG
                          "But the time of this regret is far away" (Cic. *Cael*. 74)
       (b) Ma è lontano [_{NEi} il tempo [_{NEj} di questa lamentela]]

(26) (a) *[antica   [_{VPI} risiedere   [_{NEi} della ~~a.~~ [_{NEj} ~~antica~~ virtù] memoria]]   sembra]
             old.GEN.F.SGdwell.INF.PRESvirtue.GEN.F.SG   memory.NOM [it]-
                                                                          .F.SG   seems
                          "the memory of the old virtue seems to dwell ..." (Caes. *Gall*. 7,77,4)
       (b) [_{NEi} La memoria [_{NEj} dell'antica virtù]] [_{VP} sembra risiedere]]…

The presence of a left peripheral position to host fronted elements is incompatible with the assumption spread in the literature that the syntactic structure is either completely absent or incomplete in Latin (§1). Thus, we conclude supporting the hypothesis of a DP-layer parallel to CP in this language.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have shown that Latin word order is very free but it is not unconstrained. It displays syntactic phenomena that can be accounted for by assuming a syntactic configurational approach.

From the diachronic point of view, in the passage from Latin to (Italo-)Romance it is possible observe a progressive loss of possible word orders. In section 3, we have shown that some of the positions available for the noun in Latin are blocked for the noun in Old Italian and more so in Modern Italian. However, in Old Italian the noun has two more possibilities of placement with respect to Modern Italian.

In section 4, we argued that the split-DP hypothesis can account both for the freedom of the orders found inside the nominal expression and for the occurrence of discontinuous nominal expressions. In particular, we discussed the change of the nominal left-periphery from Latin to (Italo-)Romance. In the former, it is higher that the DP, in the latter it is entrapped in the nominal expression due to the creation of the article.

Finally, in section 5, we have considered the loss of different kind of discontinuous constituents, which are completely excluded both in Old and in Modern Italian.

Acknowledgments

Commento [RI8]: Da verificare

References

Abels, Klaus, and Ad Neeleman. 2012. "Linear Asymmetries and the LCA." *Syntax* 15.1: 25-74.

Belletti, Adriana. (ed.) 2004. *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Vol. 3. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bošković, Zeljko. 2005. "Left branch extraction, structure of NP, and scrambling." In *The free word order phenomenon: Its syntactic sources and diversity*, edited by Joachim Sabel and Mamoru Saito, 13-73. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 1998. "On the deficient/strong opposition in possessive systems." In *Possessors, Predicates, and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, edited by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, 17-53. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A' Dependencies*. Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press.

Cinque, G. 1994. "On the Evidence for Partial N-Movement in the Romance DP." In *Paths Towards Universal Grammar: Studies in honor of Richard S. Kayne*, edited by Guglielmo Cinque, Jan Koster, Jean-Yves Pollock, Luigi Rizzi and Raffaella Zanuttini, 85-110. Washington (DC).: Georgetown University Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo (ed.). 2002. *Functional Structure in the DP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. *The Syntax of Adjective. A Comparative Study*. Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo and Luigi Rizzi. 2008. "The cartography of syntactic structure." *CISCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 2: 43-58.

Devine, Andrew M. and Laurence D. Stephens. 2006. *Latin Word Order. Structured Meaning and Information*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Giorgi, Alessandra. 2010. "La struttura del sintagma nominale." In *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*, edited by Lorenzo Renzi and Giampaolo Salvi, 275-294. Bologna: il Mulino.

Giusti, Giuliana. 1996. "Is there a FocusP and a TopicP in the noun phrase?." *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 6.2: 105-128.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2002. "The birth of a functional category. From Latin ILLE to the Romance article and personal pronoun." In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, edited by Guglielmo Cinque, 157-171. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2006. "Parallels in clausal and nominal periphery". In *Phases of Interpretation*, edited by Mara Frascarelli, 151-172, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2008. "Agreement and Concord in Nominal Expressions." In *The Bantu-Romance Connection. A comparative investigation of verbal agreement, DPs, and information structure*, edited by Cécile De Cat and Kathrine Demuth, 201-237, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 131.

Giusti, Guliana. 2010. "Il sintagma aggettivale." In *Grammatica dell'italiano antico*, edited by Lorenzo Renzi and Giampaolo Salvi, 593-616. Bologna: il Mulino.

Giusti, Giuliana. 2012. "On Force and Fin, Case and Num." In *Enjoy Linguistics!*, edited by Valentina Bianchi and Cristiano Chesi, 205-217. Siena: CISCL.

Giusti, Giuliana. To appear.

Giusti, Giuliana and Rossella Iovino. to appear. "Latin as a Split-DP Languages." *Studia*

Linguistica.

Givón, Talmy. 1983. *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-language Study*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hale, Ken L. 1983. "Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages". *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 1.1: 5-47.

Hewson, J. and Bubenik, V. 2006. From case to adposition : the development of configurational syntax in Indo-European languages. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Iovino, Rossella. 2012. *La sintassi dei modificatori nominali in latino*. München: Lincom Europa.

Kiss, É. Katalin. 1995. Discourse Configurational Languages, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2012. *From Latin to Romance. Morphosyntactic Typology and Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press..

Lyons, Christopher. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Luraghi, Silvia. 1998. "Omissione dell'oggetto diretto in frasi coordinate: dal latino all'italiano." In *Sintassi Storica*, edited by Paolo Ramat and Elisa Roma, 183-196. Roma: Bulzoni.

Luraghi, Silvia. 2010. "The Rise (and Possible Downfall) of Configurationality. " In *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics*, edited by Silvia Luraghi and Vit Bunenik, 212-229. London: Continuum.

Mithun, Marianne. 1987. "Is Basic Order Universal?." In *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse*, edited by Russel and S. Tomlin, 281-328, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ramat, Paolo. 1984. *Linguistica Tipologica*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, edited by Liliane Haegeman, 281-337. London: Longman.

Rizzi, Luigi (ed.) 2004. *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Vol. 2. New York: Oxford University Press.

Spevak, Olga. 2010. *Constituent Order in Classical Latin Prose*. Amsterdam /Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vincent, Nigel. 1988. "Latin". In *The Romance Languages*, edited by Martin Harris and Nigel Vincent, 26-78. London: Routledge.