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## A HISTORY OF PERSONAL SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN MILANESE IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER NORTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS

### 1. Introduction

The Milanese dialect has undergone a great deal of change with regard to subject-pronoun organization: between the Middle Ages and the Modern era, it went through a period where the subject clitic (*scl*) system was far more developed than it is now.

I shall give consideration to the following issues:

- (i) like other medieval varieties, the Milanese dialect went through a period of asymmetrical *pro-drop*, whereby the pronominal subject may be lacking in main clauses, but it is almost always present in embedded clauses; clitic complements follow Tobler-Mussafia (TM) Law;
- (ii) during the medieval stage of Milanese dialect, stressed complement pronouns, which would become modern subject pronouns, were also used as subjects on the left periphery of the sentence;
- (iii) in the documents dating from the 14th-15th centuries a process begins whereby the order between subject pronouns and pre-verbal negation changes; the first evidence of clitic *a* also appears;
- (iv) in the same period, the reduction of instances of Tobler-Mussafia (TM) enclisis detracts from speakers evidence for *Verb Second* order: this evidence is lacking on account of the occurrence of a clause structured with the order: “*sì - complement clitic - inflected Verb*” and the reduction of apparent XVS word order: the only evidence of V2 occurs in presence of some initial particles (e.g. *mò, donca*, etc...);
- (v) in the 17th century, the Milanese dialect has a *scl* system much richer than now: the presence of *scls* in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the 6th person (as far as the 4th is concerned, the *scl* of the 1st person applies); by the end of the 18th century, *scls* system has acquired a typology similar to that of contemporary Milanese except for interrogative VS order which still remained (and now is gone).

### 2. 2nd half of 13<sup>th</sup> century: Bonvesin dra Riva's *Vulgarìa*

At this stage, as in other Medieval Romance languages, the basic word order is SVO, which can be found in dependent clauses; in main clauses a derived order XV (...) of *verb second* type (see Benincà 2004: 261 and references) occurs:

- (1) H 213 Bon vin fa l' uva negra  
 good wine makes the grape black  
 "Black grape makes good wine"
- (2) A 205 per lu sont eo regina  
 For him am.1SG I queen  
 "I am a queen for him"
- (3) T67 E ancde mi – diz quello - sempre  
 and also of me – says that-one – always  
 á Zené beffao  
 has January mocked  
 "And of me too – he says – January has always mocked"

In (1) the object (*bon vin*) is immediately followed by the verb without resumptive clitic due to the V2 syntax: this is a feature shared by all medieval Romance languages. Pragmatically, it can have various interpretations: contrastive or unmarked focus, but also theme: see Benincà 2004: 267. In (3) the order *á Zené beffao* is noteworthy: modern Romance languages allow the order AUX-SUBJ only with clitic subjects, with few exceptions<sup>1</sup>. In this case Old Milanese behave like Old French<sup>2</sup>.

### 2.1. Asymmetrical pro-drop

In Medieval romance languages, V2 creates a type of asymmetrical pro-drop (see Benincà 2004: 263 and references): the subject may not be phonologically realized in main clauses, while it is ~~generally~~ realized in dependent ones:

- (4) Q65-66 Quand tu veniss al mondo,

<sup>1</sup> Benincà (1994: 126) cites an example from Ladin of Val Badia: *Plö tert à Col fat pert dla comunità de La Pli* (lit.: "later has Col made part of etc"). Here *Col* is a nominal subject

<sup>2</sup> Benincà (1994: 127) cites: *Un peu après eure de prime fu Mador venuz a cort.*

when you came.2SG to-the world  
 se tu voliss pensar  
 if you wanted.2SG think-about.INF  
 negota ge portassi *pro*,  
 nothing there brought.2SG  
 negota n poi *pro* portar  
 nothing from-there can.2SG bring-INF  
 “When you were born, if you would think on it,  
 nothing you brought with you, nothing you can  
 bring away”

In medieval Northern Italian dialects, the XP (or more XPs) which precedes the verbs in main clauses may be located in the various projections of a *split-CP* situated in the *left periphery* (Benincà 2004: 270-1 quotes examples also from other medieval Romance languages):

- (5) S III 372 [A lé] [per tug li tempi]me rend *pro* e  
 [to her][for all the times] me surrender.1SG and  
 me consegno.  
 me give.1SG  
 “Now and forever I surrender and give myself to her”

(5) shows that the V2 syntax of Italian Romance appears less rigid than in other Romance languages: V1, V3, V4 is very common in all the languages of medieval Italy (see Benincà 2004: 275); [A lé] and [per tug li tempi] are constituents located in the left periphery of the sentence.

## 2.2. Position of clitic complements: Tobler-Mussafia Law

As in other medieval Romance languages, clitic complements follow Tobler-Mussafia Law, so, for example, there is no fixed position for clitics that combine with the imperative mood<sup>3</sup>:

- (6) I104-105 Donca argorda 't del ben  
 so remind.2IMP you of-the goodness

<sup>3</sup> See also Dante, *Purg.* I, 81-82: “per lo suo amore adunque a noi **ti** piega / Lasciane andar per li tuoi sette regni”.

tu he per mi trovo /  
 you have.2SG by me found  
 Apress zo te dementega  
 after that you forget.2IMP  
 del mal k' è strapassao  
 of-the evil that is gone

“So remember the good you found through me/ then forget the evil that is gone”

According to Benincà (1994: 232), **two conditions should be observed** in order to have enclisis of the complement pronoun: (i) it is necessary that the verb be shifted to C° and (ii) if the SpecCP (SpecFocP in cartographic terms, see Benincà 2004: 275) is empty, there is enclisis. On the contrary, when SpecFocP is occupied by phonologically realized or abstract elements, enclisis is impossible, as shown in (7)-(8) (from *Monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor*):

- (7) 8.t.28<sup>4</sup> me uoj-tu dar la tauerna?  
 to-me want-you give.INF the tavern  
 “Do you want to give me the tavern?”
- (8) 17.r. 17<sup>5</sup> et così lo mis-e' ço  
 and so it.OBJ put-I down  
 “And so I put it down”

In the first example, SpecCP should be occupied by a *wh*-operator, in the second one SpecCP is occupied by a “filler of SpecCP”, which is often the particle *(co)si*. Benincà (2004: 285) reformulates the TM generalization: “When the verb is in C° and is preceded by an element that has to be in a Spec of the Focus field, enclisis is impossible”.

### 2.3. Reciprocal order of complement clitics and subject pronouns

When complement clitics and a subject pronoun co-occur in the same main clause, they occupy different positions:

(i) in most cases the subject pronoun in the nominative case is placed immediately before the complex: (NEG) – complement clitic – inflected verb:

<sup>4</sup> Levi (1904: 23).

<sup>5</sup> Levi (1904: 31).

- (9) A 321 Da po ke De saveva anz k'  
 since then that God knew.3SG before that  
**el m'** havess creao  
 he me had.3SG created  
 "As God knew before he created me"

(ii) when the subject pronoun immediately follows the verb on account of Verb Second syntax, the clitic complement generally occurs between the initial XP (and after the negation particle, if there is one) and the inflected verb:

- (10) A 48 Per quel no 't faz eo torto  
 For that not to-you do.1SG I wrong  
 "So I don't do wrong to you"

- (11) L 120 Nient **ghe** vol el far  
 nothing to-him wants he do.INF  
 "He wants to do nothing for him"

As stated above, complement clitics must be placed according to TM Law, which is probably the Old Romance result of Wackernagel's law (Wackernagel 1892) – see Salvi (2004: 24) – i.e. the Indo-European law which rules processes of enclisis. On the contrary, the occurrence of subject clitics in the Romance varieties in which they appear seems to be related to another process (as already hypothesised by Meyer-Lübke 1897: 333): pre-verbal subject pronouns, formerly in the nominative case, gradually "draw close" to the structure of verbal inflection; more specifically, Northern Italian dialects seem to have reanalyzed subject clitics as a "competing head that replaces some of Agreement syntactic functions" (see Poletto 1995: 296). As for post-verbal subject pronouns, which will lead to the formation of an "interrogative conjugation", their position is a consequence of verb movement due to the V2 syntax of interrogative clauses. If this hypothesis is correct, the process that led to development of clitic pronouns having subject function has nothing to do with complement clitics subject to TM Law: Romance subject clitics were probably never ruled by TM Law (see also Colombo 2016: 166).

#### 2.4. Oblique personal pronouns used as subject in Bonvesin

Oblique pronominal forms could also be used as subjects in particular contexts. These contexts have in common the fact that the pronominal subject probably is not in SpecAgrP:

(i) with clausal gerunds<sup>6</sup>, e.g.:

- (12) P251 Sapiand lu ke 'l demonio  
 by-knowing him that the devil  
 zo feva a tal tenor  
 that did.3SG in such way  
 "As he knew that the devil did so in that way"

(ii) in case of subject in the left periphery<sup>7</sup>, e.g.:

- (13) B 504 Conven ke lu dai medici  
 It-is-good that him by doctors  
 deves fi medegao  
 should be treated  
 "It is good for him to be treated by doctors"

More precisely, the form *lu* (lit. "him") of non-nominative origin, appears in about forty examples as a subject:

- (14) T 20 Lu malfazando regna  
 him by-wrong-doing reign.3SG  
 "He reigns by wrong-doing"

Bonvesin's language allows null subjects, so sentences in which *lu* behaves like a subject can be consistent with the asymmetric *pro-drop* displayed by medieval languages: we can assume that *lu* is placed in a position different from SpecAgrP, as shown by the fact that *lu* may appear before *el* (see below), while *pro* should be in SpecAgr:

<sup>6</sup> Pires (2006: 58-59) notes that subjects in absolute clausal gerunds could receive either Nominative or Accusative case in English, so the determination of specific case morphology of subjects in clausal gerunds seems to involve more complex mechanisms than a single default case, e.g.: *Mike expected to win the game, he/him being the best athlete in the school.*

<sup>7</sup> Pires (2006: 59) notes that a similar possibility also exists for certain topic DPs in English, which are not realized in a standard structural case position, e.g.: *Mike/him, I have never met.*

- (15) P 1-4 Eufimian da Roma fu nobel cavalé  
 Eufimian from Rome was noble knight  
 Poënt era-*pro* e richissimo e  
 Mighty was.3SG and very-rich and  
 molt amig de De  
 very friend of God  
 Ai peregrin, ai poveri molt era-*pro* lemosné:  
 to-the pilgrims to-the poor very was.3SG almoner  
 Per questa via teniva-*pro* e lu e la muié  
 In this path kept.3SG and him and the wife  
 “Eufimian from Rome was a noble knight, he was mighty  
 and very rich and very dear to God. He was very charitable  
 to pilgrims and poor people; both he and his wife used to  
 keep to this path”

Similarly to *lu*, the oblique form *lor* can also be used as a subject:

- (16) P 92 E lor in divers parte  
 and them to different parts  
 se 'n van-*pro* per lu trovar  
 RIFL from-there go3PL to him find.INF  
 “And they go in different directions to find him”

However, *el* is still used as a subject as well: most of the instances of a 3rd person subject in Bonvesin appear in the following context:

(i) (*ke*) - *el* – (NEG) – complement clitics – inflected verb:

- (17) T 50 E' squasso giaza e neve  
 I shake1sg ice and snow  
 k' el m' á lasá per pegno  
 that he to-me has left for pledge  
 “I shake the ice and snow that he left me as a pledge”

(ii) inflected verb – *el*'l (V2 or interrogative context):

- (18) N 76 Anc n' abia el ben d'avanzo,  
 even-if of-that have.SUBJ3SG he well enough,  
 perzò no dé 'l fá stragio

for-that not must he make.INF massacre  
 for-that not must he make.INF  
 “Even if he has more than enough, notwithstanding he  
 must not make a massacre”

(iii) *el* occurs in the following context in fewer than twenty sentences too:  
*el* – *XP\** - *inflected verb*:

(19) I 29 La passion k' av Criste  
 The Passion that had.3sg  
 e k' el per ti portava  
 and that he for you bore.3SG  
 portava  
 “The Passion which Christ had and bore for you”

(19) shows that there can be a constituent between *el* and the inflected verb:  
 so we can think that *el* is not yet a clitic pronoun in Bonvesin’s language.

### 2.5. Cooccurring of *lu* and *el* in the same sentence

Taking into account that ancient nominative pronouns would become subject clitics in modern dialects, at least two examples in Bonvesin’s text are very interesting:

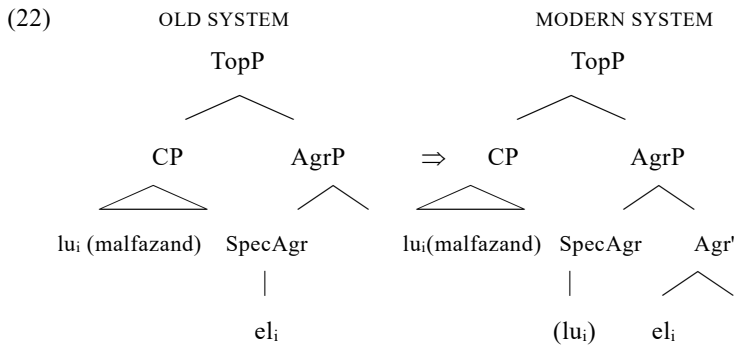
(20) T 80 **Lu<sub>i</sub>** malfazand, **el<sub>i</sub>** ten  
 him by-wrong-doing he keep.3SG  
 nu oltri in servitura  
 us others in servitude  
 “He keeps us in servitude through wrong-doing”

(21) P 179 **Lu<sub>i</sub>** 'n voiand vana gloria  
 him not willing vain glory  
**el<sub>i</sub>** è da illó partio  
 he is from there left  
 “He, unwilling to vainglory, left from there”

In these contexts *lu* and *el* are co-referent within the same sentence: *lu*, which is within a dependent clause in the gerund mood, is likely to be placed in Topic Field and is co-referential with the pronoun *el*, which can be in SpecAgrP of the main clause. This context looks like an antecedent stage of a case of Vanelli’s (1988: 55) “reduplication”, that is the co-occurrence of a



free subject pronoun and the corresponding subject clitic pronoun (*ti te parli* and sim.) of modern varieties. In order to explain the difference between the old stage and the new one (see Vanelli 1998: 64-65), a process of re-analysis of this context – where *lu* should be thought formerly in a TopP and *el* in SpecAgrP – is likely to be necessary as claimed in Roberts (2007: 39-40). This stage led in turn to a new one in which *lu* is in SpecAgrP and *el* in a more complex Agr° (Poletto 1995: 314). The now observable variation between Northern Italian *pro-drop* and non-*pro-drop* dialects should depend on the analysis of *lu* as placed in a SpecTopP or in SpecAgrP:



Bonvesin’s subject pronoun system according to Contini’s 1941 edition

	Stressed obl. pronouns used as subjects	Nominative pr. – XP - V	Nominative pr. In SpecAgrP
1	mi	eo	eo, e'
2		tu	tu, 't
3	lu / le	el / ella	el, 'l, 'lo / ella, 'la
4		nu	nu
5		vu	vu, voi
6	lor	i	i / el

### 2.6. Bonvesin’s language in Contini’s 1941 edition compared to other editions

So far we have taken into consideration Contini’s 1941 edition of Bonvesin’s *Vulgaria*. However, Bonvesin’s language, as edited by taking into account other variants from other manuscripts, presents various kinds

of subject pronouns, which already show signs of an evolution that will lead to the subsequent system. In Wilhelm's 2006 edition of *St. Alexis* – based on Trivulzianus 93 – (here *W*), Wilhelm notes that Contini's edition of the same text (here *C*) contains an inventory of pronominal subjects (or in subject function) that is very small compared to the multiplicity of variants documented in the manuscript from Milan, e.g. for 3<sup>rd</sup> persons:

- (23) W 198 Eufimian so padre **al** ave incontrado  
 C 198 Eufimian so patre el av illó incontroa  
 [Eufimian so padre].OBJ he had (there) met  
 “he had met (there) his father Eufimian”
- (24) W 94 che quele terre onde **ay** van  
 that (in) those lands where SCL.3PL go.3PL  
 facen pregonamento  
 make.3PL call  
 C 94 k'in quel terr o **i** van  
 “That they should make a proclamation in those lands  
 where they go through”

Notice that some forms that are apparently weakened (*al*, *ela*, *ay*) appear in SpecAgrP, which seems to anticipate further developments, i.e. the development of a system of *subject clitics*.

Personal subject pronoun system in Bonvesin's *St. Alexis* (Wilhelm's edition)

	Stressed oblique pronouns used as subjects	Nominative pron – XP – V	Nominative in SpecAgr
3	lu, luy / le	el / ella, ela	el, al, i, 'l, 'lo / ella, ela 'la
6	lor, loro	i, ei	i, illi, il, eli, ei, ay, ai/el

### 3. Documents between the 14th and 15th century

Beginning with the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the language policy of the Visconti Court has been oriented towards the Tuscan dialect, so for the period between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century we can find mostly few texts on a religious topic, both in poetry and in prose, which are written in a Western Lombard dialect without any other linguistic specification of

their origin, except for one, which Colombo (2016: 17) believes should be classified as Old Milanese. They are *Margarita Lombarda*, (*Meditazione sulla Passione*, *Esposizione del decalogo* and *Passione trivulziana*).

*Margarita Lombarda* is a poem dating from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this text main clauses are still analyzable in terms of V2, which is however often difficult to recognize, because:

(i) there are few cases of apparent V2 with phonologically realized subject;  
 (ii) the instances of Tobler-Mussafia enclisis, which should be possible only if the inflected verb is already in C° (see Benincà 1994: 232; 2004: 275) and therefore should constitute positive evidence of V2, are rarely present because of the frequent use of lexical elements like e.g. *si/se* < SIC, which trigger proclisis of clitics, instead of enclisis (see Benincà 2004: 266).

Examples of TM enclisis:

(25) 325 e va se 'n  
 and he-goes (him)self from-there  
 denanze al so dé  
 before to-the his god  
 “And he goes before his god”

(26) 638 E fazo ge fare multi peccady  
 and make.1SG to-them make.INF many sins  
 “And I make them commit many sins”

Sentences introduced by (XP)(e) *si* (*sè*) < (ET) SIC, which triggers proclisis:

(27) 21 Sì l' adorava como so dé  
 so it.OBJ worshipped.3SG as his god  
 “So he worshipped it as his god”

(iii) in preverbal position, arguments different from the subject are rarely attested:

(28) 345 E cossi po tu anche guarire  
 and so can you also heal.INF  
 “And so you can also heal”

(29) 649 perzo m' e tu fato cossi tristi  
 therefore me have.2SG you made so sad  
 “Therefore you have made me so sad”

### 3.1. Subject pronoun – NEG – V > NEG – subject pronoun – V

At this stage, the negative particle is still placed between the subject-pronoun and the inflected verb:

- (30) 657 Ch' e' no t' olza avri la bocha  
 that I not you hear.1SG open.inf the mouth  
 "That I should not hear you opening your mouth"

However, there are also some instances where we can find the order *NEG - subject pronoun - verb*:

- (31) 599 si che no l' ave miga pagura  
 So that not she had.3SG NPI<sup>8</sup> fear  
 "So that she had no fear at all"

From the point of view of geolinguistic considerations, the change from the order *subject pronoun - NEG - verb* to the order *NEG - subject pronoun - inflected verb* occurred in a continuous dialectal area which includes Lombard dialects as well as Venetian ones, but it was never encountered anywhere else, i.e. it never included the Piedmontese dialect or Emilian dialects. In *Margarita* we first find an incoherent order *subject pronoun-NEG / NEG-subject pronoun*. in case of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms, thereafter the *NEG-pronoun-verb* order extends consistently in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular but not yet in 2<sup>nd</sup> singular, while towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the change is completed in Milanese for all the verbally-inflected persons. With other XPs, the position remains unchanged (in particular with the forms of the stressed pronoun), so this change seems to be a clue of the structural greater "proximity" of pronominal forms to the verbal inflection, and then a clue of their clitic statusness, see Rizzi (1986: 398): "[...] the negative clitic and the subject clitic are members of the same clitic cluster".

Inventory of pronominal forms used as subject in *Margarita*

	Stressed oblique pronouns used as subjects	Preverbal subject pronouns	Postverbal subject pronouns
1		eyo, ei', e'	

<sup>8</sup> Negative polarity item.

2		tu	é-tu, ve-te, ví-to
3	luy	el, al, l', i', e' / ella, ela, ala, la, el', al', l'	fè-l
4		nu	
5		vuy, vu	aví-vo
6	loro	eli, il, ai, li, (e'?) / le	

### 3.2. Appearance of the clitic *a*

In *Margarita* this verse is pointed out by the editors (Wilhelm *et al.* 2011: 148):

- (32) 117 po' ch' a' no l' è de so piazimento  
as that *a* NEG it is of her liking  
“As it isn't to her liking”

In Vai (1996: 70) I pointed out that the presence of the preverbal negation particle in the *Prissian* allows the clitic *a* component to be isolated within the clitics of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, so: *al/ai* beside *a-no-l* / *a-no-i*, so that we can hypothesize that these pronouns are made up of two parts: an invariable clitic particle *a* plus the personal subject clitic components *li/i*, cf. Benincà (1994: 121-2)<sup>9</sup>. In this way *Margarita* makes it possible to backdate the evidence of this analysis to two centuries earlier. Colombo (2016: 163-167) cites other instances of *al, ai* (and *a no l, a no i*) from old Northern Italian dialects. There are two major hypotheses about the origin of the clitic particle *a*:

*1<sup>st</sup> hypothesis*: origin from a pronoun Lomb. *a* = Florentine *e* < ILLE or similarly<sup>10</sup>. From a syntactic point of view, the comparison with the florentine particle *e* seems to be plausible, particularly with the “analogical” *e*— distinct from “primary” *e* - according to Brandi e Cordin (1981: 75), since this *e* may co-occur with subject clitics too, e.g.<sup>11</sup>:

- (33) e 'dɔrmo e ɔ ddor'miho

<sup>9</sup> According to Salvioni *ala* = *a* + *la*: “*ala dis*” is not different from *a te diset* [...]; *a* goes together with *te*, but it doesn't replace it”.

<sup>10</sup> We can think to a path *el* > *e* > *a* or *el* > *al* > *a* for Milanese, which presupposes phonetic erosion due to the high degree of grammaticalization of this pronominal form. Colombo (2016: 161–162, n. 100) hypothesizes some kind of phonological reduction on the basis of cases like “*e tanto com più la persona ama la cossa quando e' la posede, de tanto el è più dolore quando el la perde*”, maybe through reanalysis.

<sup>11</sup> From Manzini and Savoia (2005).

(e) tu d'dörmi	(e) t a ddor'miho
e 'dörme / (e) la 'dörme	(e)λλ/la ddor'miho
e si 'dörme	e s e ddor'miho
(e) vu ddor'mihe	(e)v a'vehe dor'miho
e 'dormanò / (e-l)le 'dormanò	λλ/lanno dor'miho

There are however some difficulties in considering pronoun *el* as antecedent to clitic *a*: while in Milanese the particle *a* seems to be a stand-alone element already by the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, there is little evidence of a phase where *e* is similarly extended to all the pronominal persons: in actual fact, in Milanese *e* is the clitic stable for the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, while we can observe few definite instances of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular *e* < ILLE/ILLI: an uncertain instance in Fabio Varese II.1.9 -10: *Par mezz ai beccarij, par mezz al foss / e se sent i becché co' i sù folsciasg* “between butchers and ditches, one can hear butchers with their knives”; another instance in *Prissian* 163.1: *i Latin antighament e fauenn ben a scriu i longh* “formerly Latins were right to write long vowels”. There are indeed some instances in other Lombard dialects and only one certain example in Margarita 669 <la onde e fasiua la grande guera><sup>12</sup> “where he (*e*) made the great war”.

2<sup>nd</sup> hypothesis: *Zerreissung* of *al*.

Lorck (1893: 164) thought that in the old dialect of Bergamo, where he found cases similar to those we have seen so far in Milanese, a subdivision (*Zerreissung*) should have occurred in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and plural pronouns, so that the subject pronoun *al/ai* was divided in two constituents and the negation particle *no* occurred in between:

- (34) III 157 Per que **a-no-la-y** volse consentire<sup>13</sup> = **ala no ye**  
 “Because she didn’t (*a-no-la-y*) want to allow them”
- (35) V 62 Per che **a-no-y** vols in lu credi<sup>14</sup> = **ay no**  
 “Because they did not (*a-no-y*) want to believe in him”

### 3.3. *Meditazione sulla Passione and Esposizione del Decalogo (from Como)*

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm *et al.* (2011: 69).

<sup>13</sup> Lorck (1893: 73).

<sup>14</sup> Lorck (1893: 78).

A *Meditation on the Passion* written in prose, ~~included in a 15th-century~~ codex discovered in a library in Como is also noteworthy in our analysis, because in that period written texts from Como were linguistically quite similar to Milanese<sup>15</sup> (indeed, linguistically speaking, this text only contains West-Lombard linguistic features). Also an *Exposition of Decalogue* was found in the same codex. In these texts some cases of V2 may still be observed too<sup>16</sup>:

(36) 4.22 Doncha era-lo inimigo no amigo  
therefore was.SCL.3SG enemy not friend  
“Therefore he was an enemy, not a friend”

(37) 6.6 Mo i uo fagio bene  
now have.2PL SCL.2PL done well  
“Now you have done well”

So, in these and other instances V2 is determined by the occurrence of certain elements: *doncha, mo, ben, or, qui, illora*.

Inventory of pronominal forms used as subject in *Passione* (and *Decalogo*)

	Stressed oblique pronouns as subjects	Preverbal subject pronouns	Postverbal subject pronouns
1	mi	eio, ei', e	o-e
2	ti	tu	e-tu, si-tu, po-tu, dis-tu, poris-tu
3	lu	elo, el, al, ell-, -ll-, e	a-l, e-llo, era-lo, foss-elo, respox ello / domanda-la, uiuera-la
4		nui	
5		uu	i-uo
6	loro	illi, li, el, ei?	in-li

### 3.4. *Passione Trivulziana*

The text of another *Passion* is ~~part of a Codex from~~ Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan (Codex Trivulziano 1993). Colombo (2016) believes that this text is to be dated in a period from around the 14th century to the

<sup>15</sup> See Stella (1994: 194-195).

<sup>16</sup> Numbers refer to the pages and lines of AGI IX.

first half of 15th century, and the place of composition (on the basis of phonological and morphological features) should be Milan or the surrounding area. Also in this text we can see some cases of residual V2 after *ben*, *doncha*, *mo*, *quilò* (but less systematically than in *Passion* from Como)<sup>17</sup>:

- (38) 87 Mo poris tu dire  
Now you could say (lit.: *now could you say*)  
109 e ben lo poi-vo vedere  
And you can indeed see it (lit. *and well it can-you see*)  
121 e s'el vore morire doncha è-'l mato  
And if he wants to die, so he is mad (lit.: *so is he mad*)  
140 Quilò poris tu dire  
Here you could say (lit.: *here could you say*)

In this text we still find examples of TM enclisis:

- (39) 7 Guardòsse l'un l'altro  
They looked at each other (lit.: *looked.3SG-OBJ.CL.RIFL*)  
133 e nudrigòve  
And he fed you (lit.: *fed-2SG.OBJ.CL*)  
171 e pià una sponga e bagniala  
and he took a sponge and wet it (lit.: *and wet-3SG.OBJ.CL*)

Like in other medieval texts, the context for TM enclisis is often removed because of the presence of particle *sì*, which triggers proclisis, as in:

- (40) 131 Toiilo vu e *sì* lo crucifiché.  
Take him yourselves and crucify him (lit.: *him-crucify*)

Here we have enclisis with IMP.2PL *Toiilo*, but proclisis with IMP.2PL *crucifiché*, due to the presence of *sì*. Taking into account that main clauses are often introduced by *sì* after a topicalised constituent (also consisting of a clause, e.g. as *is* is the case for clauses introduced by *quando* “when”), the reduction of instances of Tobler-Mussafia (TM) enclisis, due to the presence of the particle *sì*, detracts from speakers positive evidence of V2 order (the resulting order being *sì* - *complement clitic* - *inflected verb*, with proclisis).

Colombo (2016: 163) analyses *a'l / a'l' / a'y* as composed of *a+l*, *a+i* too, and interestingly notices the minimal pair: (132) “*s'ela no te fosse*

<sup>17</sup> Numbers refer according to Colombo (2016).



dada” vs. (153) “ke *no la* podesse cadere”, where we can see the order *ela no* against *no la* in the same text, i.e. the same change of order synchronically that we will observe diachronically in the history of Milanese.

Inventory of pronominal forms used as subject in *Passione Trivulziana*

	Stressed oblique pronoun as a subject	a	Preverbal subject pronouns	Postverbal subject pronouns
1	mi		e', eiio, ei', ey', i', io	
2	ti		tu	e-to, vo'-tu, vé-tu, sé-tu
3	lu <sup>18</sup>	a	elo, ello, ell', e <sup>19</sup>	a-l, era-lo, è-l, disse-lo
4			nu	
5			vu, vui, vuy, (vu altri)	savi-vo, determiné-vo, avise-vo, sì-vo, vorì-vo, poi-vo
6	loro		illi, elli	

#### 4. Lancino Curti (1460-1512)

As said before, the language policy adopted by the Milanese Court inclined to the prominence of Tuscan as a language, so that written Milanese started to be used only on parodistic and playful occasions. At this stage, in Lancino Curti's Sonnets clitic subject pronouns *eli* and *te* of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular also appeared, which were morphologically differentiated from tonic *mì* and *tì*<sup>20</sup>:

(41) III.8 Te vedaré t' è habiù  
 SCL.2SG will-see.2SG SCL.2SG have.2SG had.PA.PPLE  
 un bel cermeson  
 a fine head

<sup>18</sup> (62): “ke per quello **lu** era venudo al mondo, azò k'el rezevesse morte”.

<sup>19</sup> (163): la persona ama la cossa quando e' la posede.

<sup>20</sup> Lancino Curti's texts are quoted (with same numbering) according to Isella (1979).

“You will see that you had a large head”

(42) IV.6 Avè ardiment de vorè  
 have.INF impudence of want.INF  
 ti di mà  
 you speak.INF ill  
 “Having the impudence for you to want to speak ill”

(43) I.7 e so ch' avereve  
 SCL.1SG know.1SG that have.COND.1SG  
 an mi quai cos sgià scrig  
 also I something already written  
 “I know that I already would have written something too”

(44) I.15 Quel ch 'i ò scrig  
 what that SCL.1SG have.1sg written  
 i ò qui  
 SCL.1SG have.1sg here  
 “I have here what I have written”

Sometimes clitic *a* spreads, also substituting other clitics:

(45-) II.9 Dison ch' a in sempiede  
 say.3PL that *a* are.3PL craps  
 tut quel ch' al dix  
 all that that SCL.3SG<sup>21</sup> says  
 “They say that all he says are crap”

(46) IV.5 A 't par a ti, sbrasciò,  
*a* to-you.CL seems to you, servant (?)  
 un bel mesté?  
 a good thing?  
 “Does it seem to you a good thing, menial servant?”

### 5. The *Rabisch* (1589) and *compà Baciòcch's frottole*

The *Rabisch* (“Arabesques”) of the “Milanese Academy of Blenio Valley” (headed by Giovan Paolo Lomazzo) is a collection of poems written by the associates in ‘facchinesca’ language (a kind of artificial dialect similar to that of the porters who came to Milan from the Ticino valleys, in particular

<sup>21</sup> Otherwise: *a* + SCL.3SG.

from the Blenio Valley). Essays from 61 to 64, by the academician Jerome Maderno (academic nickname: *Compà Baciòcch*), are written in a Milanese folk dialect. The inventory of subject clitics found in Maderno is substantially similar to the forms that are attested up to Maggi's works: the persistence of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. clitic *e/i* (sometimes replaced by the clitic *a*), 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. clitic *i*, frequent use of the clitic *a* even together with personal pronoun clitics<sup>22</sup>:

(47) II, 61 2-3 *i' o sentù on gran spavent /*  
 SCL.1SG have.1SG heard a great fright /  
*Dov' e' cred che malcontent*  
 where SCL.1SG think that discontent  
 "I have heard a big fear, where I think that  
 discontent"

(48) II, 64 25 *E se a i ham da fa on lavó /*  
 and if a SCL.1SG have.1PL to do.INF a work  
*El farem s' el poram fa*  
 OBJ.CL do.FUT1PL if OBJ.CL can.FUT1PL do.INF  
 "And if we have to do a work / we 'll do it if we  
 can"

(49) II, 61 31-32 *S' a i ghe dan*  
 if a SCL.3PL IND.OBJ.CL give.3PL  
*per sòrt on scròl /*  
 by chance a shake  
*A i ghe vùn*  
 a SCL.3PL IND.OBJ.CL want.3PL  
*mett su dra sa*  
 put.INF on of-the salt  
 "If, by chance, they give them a shake, they want  
 to put salt over them (i.e.: "they will preserve them in salt")"

### 5.1. Contexts which seem to promote the occurrence of clitic *a*

These contexts seem to promote the occurrence of the clitic *a*:

(i) main clause preceded by dependent clause:

(50) II, 61 325 *s' o fallà a me ne pent*

<sup>22</sup> Numbering according to Isella (1993).

If have.1SG erred *a* me of-it.CL regret.1SG  
 “If I made a mistake, I regret it”

(ii) (hanging) topic:

(51) II, 61 230 I nodé del criminal / A i  
 the notaries of-the criminal (trial) *a* SCL.3PL  
 ghe vùn taià le al  
 IND.OBJ.CL want.3pl cut.inf the wings  
 “As for the notaries of criminal trial / they want to cut their  
 wings”

Sometimes *a* occurs in contexts more similar to that which was observed by Benincà for Paduan *a*, that is at the beginning of a brand new sentence:

(52) II, 63 88 sgg.:  
 PEDRETT  
 A te romparò po' el nas  
 a IND.OBJ.CL2SG break.FUT1SG *po*<sup>23</sup> the nose  
 “I will break thy nose”

ZAN  
 A te romparò el gavasc  
 A IND.OBJ.CL2SG break.FUT1SG the throat  
 “I will break your throat”

## 5.2. Placement of scl co-occurring with the negative particle

As it has already been pointed out, the order inside the complex NEG – SCL gives us some clues about the structure of AgrP:

(53) II, 61 96 A no i vùl che ona baretta /  
*a* NEG SCL.3PL want.3SG that one bar  
 “They don’t want one bar to be...”

(54) II, 61 183 i ho pû intes, che  
 SCL.1SG have.1SG also heard which  
 no i è foll  
 neg SCL.3PL is fibs

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps a particle like those analyzed in Poletto&Zanuttini (2010)?

“I have also heard, and they are not fibs...”

In about the same period, we can get some information by means of a translation of Boccaccio’s tale “The King of Cyprus”, as having been translated into a few Italian dialects by Lionardo Salviati in his *Avvertimenti della lingua sopra’l Decameron*, published in 1584:

(55)

In lingua Milanese:

[...] che **no**l’auerau fac negotta: perche ol Re era tant dapuoch, che **no**l feua gnanc ment a inghiuri che gheren’ fag a lui

In lingua Padouana:

[...] era d’una uita si sdramazza, e così da puoco ben, che ello no solamente **el no** fasea uendetta [...]

Here we have further confirmation that at the end of the 16th century the process SCL-NEG > NEG-SCL (at least, in the case of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular) was already completed in Milanese, while Paduan still seems not to display it.

### 5.3. 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural verbal forms distinguished from 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms only by subjectclitics

In Maderno there are numerous instances of 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. verb forms identical to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. As for the modern Milanese dialect, this is possible only when i) an unaccusative verb precedes the subject or ii) in subject relative clauses. In Maderno, other contexts allow this kind of agreement too, provided that the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. inflected form is preceded (with few exceptions) by the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. clitic *i*:

(56) II, 61 58    Quei che    vend    pù    tant    imbratt  
 Those    who sell-3SG then    many    ornaments  
 “then, people that sell many ornaments”

(57) II, 61 131-133 I    becher    ch’ hin    pù    i    bon /  
 the butchers    who are    then    the good  
 No i    ghe    fa tròp    apiasè  
 NEG SCL.3PL IND.OBJ.CL do.3SGtoo-much pleasure  
 S’ a i tol via quel    ch’ a    ’s dè  
 if a SCL.3PL take.3SG awaywhatthat a one must

“Butchers – who are then good! – one does not do them a favour if one takes away from them what it is necessary”.

Inventory of subject pronouns in *Girolamo Maderno (Rabisch II, 61-II, 64)*

	Stressed pronouns	<i>a</i>	Subject clitics	Interrogative forms
1	mì	<i>a (o)</i>	e/i	ho-i
2			te	
3	lu	<i>a (o)</i>	l	
4		a	i	
5				
6	lor	a	i	

***Cheribizo*: Isella (2005: 118-154); Morgana (2012: 64-65)**

*Cheribizo* is a poem consisting in 338 lines, written in a semi-popular variety of dialect. It was probably conceived inside Giovan Paolo Lomazzo’s Academy (see Isella, 2005: 121) and, according to Isella (2005: 124), the anonymous author is to be identified with Bernardo Rainoldi. *Cheribizo* is a poem in praise of the greatness of Milan, however, the poet did not want to use neither the normal dialect spoken in the city of Milan, nor the vernacular of Blenio Valley adopted by the other academicians: he preferred, instead, to make use of the artificial Bergamasque dialect already used in some comedies. This work is interesting for the history of the personal subject pronouns in Milan, because here we can find attestations of 2PL subject clitics (probably a spreading of *a*)<sup>24</sup>:

(58) vv. 9-10 S’ a voli ben mangià  
 If SCL.2pl want.2PL well eat.INF  
 cori a Milan  
 run.IMP2PL to Milan  
 s’ a voli ach ben vestif  
 if scl2pl want.2pl also well dress

#### 6. Fabio Varese (1570-1630)

<sup>24</sup> Numbers refer to Isella (2005: 127-154).

Fabio Varese was a musician and a kind of “poète maudit”, author of *Canzoni*. He probably died during the plague which Manzoni has given an account of. In his language we can observe some instances of the co-occurrence of accented pronouns (or other DPs) together with correspondent clitics<sup>25</sup>:

(59) II.1.12 Ti te favet la sempiae la coiona  
 you SCL.2SG did.2SG the fool and the idiot  
 “You used to act the fool”

From the syntactic point of view, this sentence corresponds perfectly to the modern usage but, unlike modern dialect, the co-occurrence of DP and *scl* is still optional at this period:

(i) with *scl*:

(60) I.1.21 Ma quest el è nagott  
 “But this *scl* is nothing”

(61) VIII.2 quel che fa l’ incognit l’ è on coion  
 Who that does the incognito *scl* is an idiot  
 “who plays at incognito is an idiot”

(ii) otherwise, also without *scl*:

(62) V.10 quel moros Ø è un pó poltron  
 “That boyfriend Ø is a bit laggard”

(63) XI.9 Quest non Ø è madrigal  
 This NEG Ø is madrigal  
 “This is not a madrigal”

### 6.1. Co-occurrence of SCLs and negation

In this period, in case of co-occurrence of *scl* and negation, the reciprocal order still differs according to different persons: in case of 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. there is still the old word order *scl-neg-Verb*:

<sup>25</sup> Numbering refers to Stella et al. (1979) edition.

- (64) X.4 E mi só te no dis la veritá  
 and I know SCL.2SG NEG tell.2SG the truth  
 “And I know you do not tell the truth”

On the contrary, in case of 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing., the new word order *neg-scl-Verb* is stable:

- (65) XVIII.11 no la s' contenta  
 NEG SCL.3SG REFL is-satisfied  
 “She is not satisfied”

So we can conclude that the process *scl-neg-V > neg-scl-V* was completed earlier for the 2<sup>nd</sup> than for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

Inventory of subject pronouns in *Fabio Varese*:

	Stressed pronouns	a	Subject clitics	Interrogative forms
1	mì		e'	so-j
2	tì		te, t'	vû-t
3	lù / lé	a	el, l' / la, l'	fa-la
4				
5	vù			
6	lor	a	i	

### 7. Ambrogio Biffi: *Prissian from Milan (1606)*

In 1606 Biffi published the “Prissian da Milan de la parnonzia milanese”, which is an essay about the phonology of the Milanese dialect of his time, and probably the most important text written in a kind of scientific prose in Milanese literature. In this text we can still observe the use of the 1<sup>st</sup> sing. clitic *eli* (which is very frequent, but sometimes for the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. just the accented form *mì* might appear); like in other Northern Italian dialects, *eli* can also be extended to 1PL:

- (66) 152.15 e s i auess temp e  
 And if SCL.1SG had.SUBJ1SG time SCL.1SG  
 vel fareu vedè  
 to-you-it.CL made-COND.1SG see.INF  
 “And if I had time, I would show it to you”

- (67) 157.14 e se ben la schriuem noma d' ona sort



and ifwell OBJ.CL write.1PL only of one way  
 e vartirem  
 SCL.1SG notice.FUT1PL  
 “And even if we write it just in one way, we will point  
 out...”

### 7.1. SCL *al*, *ai* = *a + l*, *a + i*

SCL *al* is separable in /*a + l*/, e.g.:

(68) 57 ch’ a nol chad sforzal naghòt  
 that a NEG.SCL need force.OBJ.CL nothing  
 “that it does not need to force it at all”

However, when used as subject, the combination “*a + l*” is constant; also *ai* is separable in /*a + i*/, e.g.:

(69) 56 A no i l’ an foss  
 a NEG SCL.3PL OBJ.CL have.3PL maybe  
 mostrà tanc braù schriciù  
 showed so-many good writers  
 “Did not so many good writers show that?”

### 7.2. Co-occurrence of scls with DPs

When the subject is a preverbal DP there are two possibilities:

(i) *DP – a - scl – inflected Verb*:

(70) 151.3-4 Quij fiù d’ ingegn ch’ han comenzà [...],  
 those boys of talent that have.3pl begun  
 ai ven metènn in tel chò  
 a+SCL3PL to-you.cl put.pa3pl in the head  
 “Those canny types who began [...], *a*-SCL.3PL put in  
 your mind...”

But also (ii) *DP – Verb* (without SCL):

(71) 151.11 e an che i nost Ø se sijen metù in vs  
 “And even if ours Ø took the habit”

From these examples we can suppose that subject clitics can co-occur with a DP, which is presumably placed in TopP. We can also find at least one case of pronominal reduplication co-occurring with an accented subject pronoun in *Prissian* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural:

- (72) 152.17 ma che lor ai l' an lechà inscì  
 But that they a+SCL.3PL OBJ.CL have licked so  
 “but that they have licked it this way”

SCL is present when the DP subject is postverbal, in case of an expletive SCL with impersonal verbs like “it seems”, “it needs”, “it is said”, with “there is”, with “to be” and “to have”, and with appositive *e* clauses. However, in most of these cases, SCL is an optional and non-mandatory element. Moreover, like in Maderno’s poems, we find numerous instances of verb agreement in the singular with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural subject: this is still possible in ~~modern~~ Milanese dialect but in fewer contexts. In *Prissian* we can find this kind of agreement in:

(i) interrogative and exclamative clauses:

- (73) 152.7 che sa i lor  
 what know.3SG SCL.3PL they  
 cosa sia on bel parlà?  
 what is a fine speech  
 “What does they know what a beautiful speech is?”

(ii) with subject postposed to the inflected verb:

- (74) 157.26 Es parnonzia come fava i Latin  
 one pronounce.3SG as did.3SG the Latins  
 “It is pronounced as the Latins did”

#### Inventory of subject pronouns in *Prissian*

	Stressed pronouns	<i>a</i>	Subject clitics	Interrogative forms
1	mi		e, i	
2				
3		a	(a)l, la	
4	nun		e	
5				

6	lor	a	(a)i, i	sa-i, a-i
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### 8. Carlo Maria Maggi (1630-1699)

As far as the morphological aspect is concerned, Maggi's SCL system is still similar, where the attestations allow a comparison with, to *Prissian's* one:

The form *al* is still divisible into *a + l*<sup>26</sup>:

(75) Ff II 271 C' al senta Meneghin s'  
 that *a*+SCL3SG hear.SUBJ3SG Meneghin if  
 el fa conzett  
 SCL3SG does reasoning  
 "May you listen to Meneghin, if he is reasoning  
 well"

(76) Mm II 658 C' a ne la se dubitta  
 that *a* NEG SCL.3SG REFL doubt  
 "That she may not doubt"

However, the combination of *a + i* for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural does not occur anymore; in those cases where the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural. SCL occurs, its form is *i*, or sometimes only *a* occurs:

(77) Bb Pr II 53 Da mett pagura ai fang quand i se stinnen  
 To put fear

"To frighten the children when they (SCL.3PL + REFL)insist"

(78) Mm III 975 A me pàren prodezz da biridoeù  
*a* to-me.cl seem.3PL feats of thoughtless  
 "They seem to me the exploits of heedless  
 people"

#### 8.1. Co-occurrence with DPs

<sup>26</sup> Numbering here refers to comedy, act and verse, as per Isella (1964) edition.

1) When the DP subject occurs before the verb:

Subject clitics are normally present in anaphoric function:

- (79) Mm Pr II 35-36 La vedeva l' è come la gallina, /  
 the widow SCL.3SG is like the hen,  
 semper la ruspa, e semper  
 always SCL.3FSG pokes and always  
 la rangogna  
 SCL.3FSG complains  
 “The widow is like the hen, she is always poking around and always complaining”

When the subject of the verb is a DP there are two possibilities:

(i) *DP – scl – verb*

- (80) Cm III 634 I paroll d'i pastogg i corren via  
 “The words of the tales SCL.3PL run away”
- (81) Ff I 463-4 La tosa sbagutti/ la vegnè in volt  
 the girl dumbfounded/ SCL.3FSG turned in her face  
 “Dumbfounded, the girl’s face turned (like a brazier of fire)”

(ii) *DP – verb (without scl)*

- (82) Bb I 285 Quand el sò spenditor / Ø compær in su'l Verzé  
 “When her shopping-man / Ø appears at the market”
- (83) Mm III 910 Ma el valor Ø è prudent  
 “But (the) valour Ø is prudent”

Subject clitics repeated in coordination are very frequent:

- (84) Mm II 463 Subet al streng i ogg  
 suddenly a+SCL.3SG closes the eyes  
 e al se stremiss  
 and a+SCL.3SG REFL frightens  
 “He suddenly closes his eyes and gets frightened”

From these examples we can conclude that DP can still be in complementary distribution with *scl*. If *scl* and DP co-occur, probably DP is in TopP.

2) When the DP subject occurs after the verb, we still have two possibilities:

(i) *scl* – verb – DP

(85) Ff I 706 Quand al ven San Miché  
 when a+SCL.3SG comes Saint Michael  
 “When St. Michael comes (to pay the rent)”

(ii) *verb* – DP (without *scl*)

(86) Cc 710 d’onde ven Ø sta tremenda stravasciæ?  
 “whence comes Ø this terrible collapse?”

(87) Cm Int I 93 Ø Hin i simbij de tugg i prum usanz  
 “They are the apes of all the first customs”

## 8.2. Co-occurrence of *scls* with NEG

Subject clitics are firmly placed for all persons between preverbal negation and the inflected verb:

(88) Mm Pr II 173 Tì, che no t’ hé volsù  
 you, who NEG SCL.2SG have.2SG wanted  
 “You, who did not even want (to bear)”

(89) Mm Pr II 60 No t’ hé nagott de bon  
 NEG SCL.2SG have.2SG nothing of good  
 “You have nothing good (but the clack)”

(90) Mm Pr II 49 che s’ al s’ intedarà  
 that if a+SCL.3SG refl understand.FUT  
 no ’l sarà pocco  
 NEG SCL.3SG be.FUT little  
 “That if this is understood it will be no small matter”

(91) Mm Pr II 77 Che no ’l po’ god nagott

that NEG SCL.3SG can enjoy nothing  
 “That he can’t enjoy anything”

### 9. Cherubini’s notes (1856)

As an appendix to the 5th volume of *Milanese – Italian Dictionary* in the essay “Nozioni filologiche intorno al dialetto milanese”, Cherubini makes some interesting observations about changes that occurred in Milanese dialect between the 18th and 19th century:

(i) at the end of the 18th century the 3PL *scl i* went out of use, but was still being used in peripheral areas during Cherubini’s time (nowadays it is present in some dialects apart from Milanese).

(ii) he considers verbal forms without subject pronoun elements as non grammatical, such as *corri* (I-run), *corret* (you-run), *corr* (she/he-runs); *córrem* (we-run), *corrii* (you-run), *corren* (they-run), all of these being replaced by: *mi corri*, *ti te corret*, *lu el corr*; *nun correm*, *volter corrii*, *lor corren*. He notices that, while until the end of the 18th century Biffi could say *El natural Ø sporsg squas semper a tæù i cos par el so drizz* (“Natural things almost always appear in the right way”) and Maggi could say: *Mi ghen doo vintott sold, lu Ø se reffigna* (“I give him twenty eight coins and he...”), in the 19th century, Cherubini must say: “*El natural el sporsg*, etc.”; “*Lu el se reffigna*, etc.”, i.e. with the obligatory presence of the 3SG *scl*.

(iii) Cherubini still notes interrogative forms like *FornireT?*, *forniraL?* (“will-finish 2SG.SCL?”, “will-finish *scl*3SG.SCL?”), while in the same period peripheral dialects (e.g. Brianza dialects) extended this peculiarity also to 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural: *Fornira-i?*, “finish-they?”; *E-i sæu quij fiæu lì?*, “is-they yours those children there?”. In Cherubini’s opinion, these idioms were “denied to Milanese by the nature of its dialect”, however, contrary to his opinion, these forms used to be part of the urban inventory during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### 10. The fate of clitic *a* in contemporary Milanese

The clitic *a* has not completely disappeared in contemporary Milanese: I could record it used by some speakers in Vai (1999). The clitic *a* is still present in existential constructions, e.g. it can appear optionally as 3PL clitic: *lur (a) gh’an* “they (*a*) have”. It can be used together with other clitic pronouns in certain exclamative sentences, e.g.: *(cum’è) a te se mövet?! and: a gh’è rivà l Mario!* “Mario has arrived”. In this last case, with a postponed singular or plural subject; this use is also-attested for other Northern Italian dialects as well (see Benincà 1994: 25-26). Further research is

~~needed in order to clarify~~ the syntax of the clitic *a* and above all to clarify whether it corresponds to a single form or (at least two) different homophonic shapes: one corresponding to the clitic *a* studied by Benincà, and the other being a substitute of the older SCL.3PL *i*<sup>27</sup>.

### 11. Conclusions

#### The phenomena surveyed in the present article lead to the following conclusions:

- (i) Bonvesin's pronominal system already shows some instances of pronominal reduplication, a phenomenon which is linked to the origin of the *scl* system;
- (ii) in Milanese the change *scl* – *NEG* – *V* > *NEG* – *scl* – *V* begins at the end of the 14th century and ends in the 17th century;
- (iii) *scls* can be in complementary distribution with DPs at least up to the end of 17th century;
- (iv) from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the system of obligatory *scls* is reduced to the 2nd and 3rd persons: singular; a clitic *a* can replace (although not obligatory) the old 3PL SCL *i*.
- (v) at least from the 18th century *scls* become obligatory (as also stated by Cherubini);
- (vi) in Delio Tessa's poems (Isella: 1985) there are still cases of interrogative inversion, e.g. Isella (1985: 33): *dov'ell?* "where is it (*scl*)?"; Isella (1985: 125): *Come valla?* "how is it (*scl*)?"; (Isella 1985: 338): *In dov'eel mo?* "where is he (*scl*) now?", which now ~~have disappeared.~~

### Corpus

AIS = Jaberg, Karl – Jud, Jakob, Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, Zofingen 1928-1940.

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<sup>27</sup> As for the Ticinese dialect, Sganzini (VSI, vol. I, p. 5) noticed: "Nella 3<sup>a</sup> pers. pl. *a* va penetrando per influsso del lombardo comune, soprattutto nei centri e nelle regioni a sud del Ceresio".

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