

A concise history of personal subject pronouns in Milanese

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1. Introduction

In Renzi-Vanelli (1983), in the six-system classification based on the presence of subject clitics (henceforth *scl*) in assertive sentences of SV(Object) type, Milanese dialect is included in system 5, that is: *scl* in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing., a lack of *scl* in the case of postponed inflected verbs and in the case of impersonal, meteorological and existential verbs; a lack of inversion in interrogative clauses. This characterization fits contemporary Milanese dialect. However, over the centuries, 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 *scl* system was far more developed than it is now.

Among the various stages that occurred during the course of this evolution, I shall give detailed consideration to the following:

- i) In common with other medieval varieties, Milanese dialect went through a period of asymmetrical *pro-drop*, wherein the pronominal subject may be lacking in main clauses, but it is almost always present in embedded clauses.
- ii) During the medieval phase of Milanese dialect stressed complement pronouns, which would become modern subject pronouns, may also have been used as subjects on the left periphery of the sentence.
- iii) As far as the system of Old Milanese is concerned, I assume the existence of a double series of subject pronouns, a strong one and a weak one, whose difference may be unmarked in the writing system; instead, this system should hold true at least for the transitional phase between the Middle Ages phase and the system in place since the end of the 15th century.
- iv) In the documents dating from the 14th-15th centuries a process begins whereby the order between subject pronoun and pre-verbal negation changes; the first evidence of *scl a* also appears;
- v) In the same period, the drastic reduction of Tobler-Mussafia (TM) enclisis detracts from speakers evidence of V2 order (this evidence is lacking on account of the occurrence of a clause structured with the following word order: “*sì*- complement cl - inflected V” and the reduction of evident XVS word order. Instead, there are many clauses which can be mistaken

for cases of free inversion. The only evidence of V2 occurs in presence of some initial particles (*mò, donca*, etc...). Word order in main clauses is now similar to the SVO order of secondary clauses.

vi) In the 17th century, the Milanese dialect *scl* system corresponds to system 3 in Renzi-Vannelli's classification: 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 inversions which still remains).

2. Bonvesin dra Riva's "vulgaria"

2.1. V2 in basic word order SVO

At this stage, as in other Medieval Romance varieties, the basic word order is SVO, which can be found in dependent clauses; in main clauses a derived order XV (...) of V2 type occurs (so SVO as well), where if $X \neq S$ then XVS occurs, eg:

- (1) H 213 Bon vin fa l'uva negra (linear order: object-VS)
 Good wine makes the grape black
 "Black grape makes good wine"
- (2) A 205 per lu sont eo regina (linear order: PrepP-VS)
 For him am I queen
 "I am a queen for him"
- (3) T67 E anc de mi – diz quello - sempre á Zené beffao (linear order: Adv-Aux-S-pprtc)
 And also of me – says that-one – always has January mocked
 "And of me too – he says – January has always mocked"

Generally in Medieval varieties V2 creates a type of asymmetrical *pro-drop*: the subject may not be phonologically realized in main clauses, while it is realized in dependent ones:

- (4) Q 65-66 Quand tu veniss al mondo, se tu voliss pensar, /
 When thou came to the world, if thou wanted to think-about
 negota ge portassi *pro*, negota n poi *pro* portar

nothing there brought-2sg nothing from-there can-2sg bring.

“When you were born, if you would think on it, nothing you brought with you, nothing you can bring away”

Unlike old French, in medieval Northern Italian varieties, the XP (or more XPs) which precedes the V in main clauses may be located in the various projections of a CP situated in the left periphery:

Left Periphery

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

2.2 Position of clitic complements: Tobler-Mussafia law

As in other medieval Romance varieties, clitic complements follow TM law, so e.g., there is no fixed position for clitics that combine with the imperatives:

- (6) I 104-105 Donca argorda 't del ben tu he per mi trovaio /
So remind-thyself of the goodness thou have by me found
Apress zo te dementega del mal k'è strapassao
After that thyself-forget the evil that is gone
“So remember the good you found through me/ then forget the evil that is gone”

- (7) I 124 Perdona 'n e ne scampa
Forgive us and us rescue
“Forgive us and rescue us”

According to Benincà (1994: 232), in order to have enclisis of the complement pronoun i) it is necessary that verb must have shifted to C and ii) if the SpecC (SpecFocP in cartographic terms) is empty there is enclisis. When SpecFocP is occupied by realized or abstract elements, enclisis is impossible; in that case then clitics pronounced in initial position in direct interrogative clauses without a complementizer also follow TM law, e.g. in *I monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor*:

(8) 8t.28, Levi (1904: 23) me uoj-tu dar la tauerna?

To-me want-thou to give the tavern

“Do you want to give me the tavern?”

(9) 17r. 17, Levi (1904: 31) et così lo mis-e'. ço

And so it put-I down.

“And so I put it down”

In the first example SpecC should be occupied by a *wh* operator, in the second one SpecC is occupied by a “filler of SpecC”, which is often the particle *(co)si*.

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) if the subject pronoun is preverbal, it may appear at the beginning of the clause (or after *ma* “but, however”, *sed* “if” etc.) and an XP (or more XPs) may occur between the subject and the complex formed by, i.e. *cls* and the inflected V:

10) G 167 Ma eo de quii tri vitij no posso fi blasmadha

But I of those three vices cannot be blamed

“However I cannot be blamed for those three vices”

ii) in other cases, the subject pronoun in the nominative case is placed immediately before the complex:

(NEG) - *complcl* – *inflected V*, e.g.:

(11) A.321 Da po ke De saveva anz k'el m'havess creao

Since that God knew before that he me had created

“As God knew before he created me”

(12) SIII.546 El se 'g revolz lo core

It itself to-him addresses the heart

“His heart addresses to him”

iii) when the subject pronoun immediately follows the verb on account of V2 syntax, the clitic complement generally occurs between the initial XP (and after the negation particle, if there is one) and the inflected verb

(13) A 48 Per quel no 't faz eo torto

For that reason not to-thee do I wrong

“So I don't do wrong to you”

(14) L 120 Nient ghe vol el far

Nothing to-him wants he to do

“He wants to do nothing for him”

Complement clitics must be placed according to a pattern (the so called Tobler Mussafia's law, henceforth *TM*), which is probably the Old Romance result of Wackernagel's law - see e.g.: Salvi (2004: 24) - 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: pre-verbal subject clitics, formerly in the nominative case, gradually “draw close” to the structure of verbal inflection; as for post-verbal subject pronouns, which will lead to the formation of “interrogative conjugation”, their position is a consequence of verb movement due to the syntax of interrogative clauses.

2.4. Ancient cases of subject pronoun incorporation

Moreover, the most ancient cases of pronoun incorporation that led to the formation of new verbal endings seem more difficult to analyze as a peculiarity of North Italian dialects since, for some tenses and moods (especially the imperfect and the perfect indicative, the imperfect subjunctive and conditional), entirely similar cases are observable also in Southern Italian dialects, see Rohlfs §§ 452-453 ; Rohlfs § §. As for Bonvesin, this process appears completed only in the 2nd person plural in a form of the conditional mood:

(15) T 549

In gran dissension incontinent serissevo

In great disagreement always would-be-2PL+you

De questa signoria vu no v'acordarissevo

On this lordship you would-not-agree-2PL+you

Zascun vorav ess rex e in gran tenzon starissevo,

everyone would be king and in great combat would-be2PL+you

Per vostra gran superbia mala via tenirissevo

For your great pride bad path would-keep-2PL+you

“You would be always in disagreement /about this lordship you would never agree/

Each of you would be king and you would be in great combat/Because of your great pride you would be on a bad path”

2.5. Pronouns used as subject in Bonvesin

Vanelli (1998: 64-65) calls “Old System” the system of pronominal forms used as subject in medieval Northern Italian varieties, as opposed to “Modern System”, that is, the system of pronouns used as subject attested by the same varieties of dialects the 15th century onwards:

Old System:

free subject pronoun in nominative case = *el* (or sim.)

free pronoun other than nominative case = *lu* (or sim.)

Modern System:

free subject pronoun = *lu* (or sim.)

Clitic pronoun = *el* (or sim.)

However, even in the Old System stressed oblique pronominal forms could be used as subjects in particular contexts. These contexts have in common the fact that the pronominal subject probably would not be in its standard position of SpecAgr, e.g.:

i) with non-finite verbal forms, e.g.:

(16) P 251 Sapiand lu ke 'l demonio zo feva a tal tenor

by-knowing him that the devil that did-3SG in such way

“As he knew that the devil did so in that way”

ii) in the case of another subject conjoined to the first one:

(17) P 4 Per questa via teniva e lu e la muié;
on this path kept and him and his wife
“He and his wife used to keep to this path”

iii) in the case of subject in the left periphery, e.g.:

(18) B 504 Conven ke lu dai medici de vess fi medegao.
It is necessary that him by doctors should be treated
“It is necessary for him to be treated by doctors”

El is still used as a subject as well most of the 1,300 instances of a 3rd person subject in OVI for Bonvesin appear in the following context:

i) (*ke*) - *el* – (*NEG*) – *complcls.* – *inflected verb*

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

(20) T 189 E’ ’g pasc li soi cavai dond el no me sa grao
I to-him pasture his horses, whence he doesn’t to-me acknowledge gratitude
“I pasture his horses for him, for what he won’t be grateful to me”

Also:

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

(21) N 76 Anc n’abia el ben d’avanzo, perzò no dé ’l fá stragio
even if of-that has he well enough, notwithstanding should not he make massacre
“Even if he has more than enough, notwithstanding, he must not make a massacre”

(22) L 120 De zo k’el ghe demanda, nient ghe vol el fá
of-what that he to-him requests, nothing wants he to do
“What(ever) he asks him for, nothing does he want to do”

iii) *el* occurs in the following context in fewer than twenty sentences:

el – XP - inflected V:*

(23) I 29 La passion k'av Criste e k'el per ti portava
the Passion that had Christ and that he for thee bore
“The Passion which Christ had and bore for you”

(24) S I 116 dond el temor avesse
whence he fear should-have
“Which he should fear”

(25) S II 207 Sed el zos da la croxe ben poëss desmontar
If he down from the cross indeed could dismount
“If he could dismount from the cross”

2.6. *The form lu as a subject*

The form *lu* (lit. “him”) of non-nominative origin, appears in about forty examples as subject:

(26) T 20 Lu malfazando regna
him by wrong-doing reigns
“He reigns by wrong-doing”

(27) T.226 E lu sê zos e canta
and him sits down and sings
“And he sits down and sings”

(28) S I 538-539 e 'l so fiol pregemo / Ke lu ne dïa gratia
and his son let's beg that him to-us should-give grace
“And let's beg his son that he should give us grace”

Taking into account that Bonvesin's language allows null subject, sentences in which *lu* behaves like a subject can be consistent with the asymmetric *pro-drop* of medieval varieties:

we can assume that *lu* is placed in a position different from SpecAgr, while *pro* should be in SpecAgr:

(29)

P 1-4

Eufimian da Roma fu nobel cavalé

Eufimian from Rome was noble knight

Poënt era-*pro* e richissimo e molt amig de De

mighty was-he and very rich and very friend of God

Ai peregrin, ai poveri molt era-*pro* lemosné:

to pilgrims, to beggars very was-he almoner

Per questa via teniva-*pro* e lu e la muié

in this path kept and him and his 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”

(30) P 11 E lu da nona zeva-*pro* al desc

and him from nones went to dining table

“And he would go to dinner from nones on”

In order to explain other instances, we may have recourse to *pro* also in the case of dependent clauses:

(31) T 396 K' e' sia metuo in cova e lu pro debia ess premé

that I should be put in queue and him should be awarded

“That I should be put in queue and he should be awarded”

Sometimes *el* and *lu* alternate in order to differentiate anaphoric reference (like It. *questo...quello*), e.g.:

(32)

B 997-100

Intant a quest parolle al rex fo nuntiao

meanwhile with these words to-the king was announced

Si com lo so fraëllo molt era rancurao

so how his brother very was angry

De zo ke lu [ie. *il rex*] ai poveri tant era humiliāo

of what that him (*lu* = “the king”) in front of poor people was so humiliated

E com el [ie. so fraëllo] in so visio molt n’era vergonzao

and how he (*el* = “his brother”) very ashamed of that was

“Meanwhile with these words it was announced to the king that his brother was very angry because he was so humiliated in front of poor people and he was very ashamed of that”

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

(33) P 92 E lor in divers parte se ’n van per lu trovar

and them to different ways go-3PL to him find

“And they go in different directions to find him”

Etc.

Sometimes also *mi*:

(34) H 167 Tant sont eo plu segura e mi e la roba mia

So much am I safer and me and my things

“I am so much safer both I and my things”

2.7. Cooccurring of *lu* and *el*

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

(35) T 80 Lu_i malfazand, el_i ten nu oltri in servitura

him by wrong-doing, he keeps us in servitude

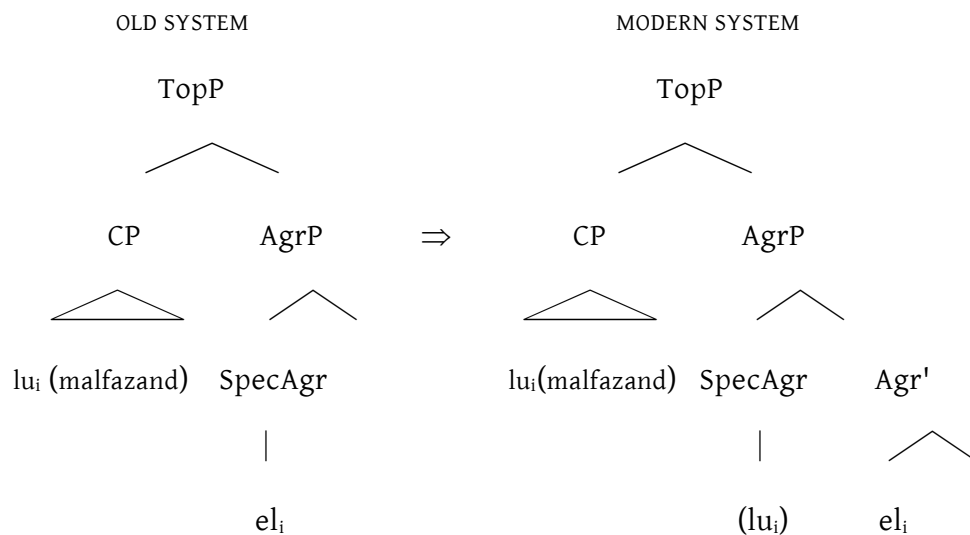
“He keeps us in servitude through wrong-doing”

(36) P 179 Lu_i ’n voiand vana gloria el_i è da illó partio

him unwilling to vainglory, he has away 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-referent with the pronoun *el*, which can be in SpecAgr 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, a process of re-analysis of this context - where *lu* should be in a TopP and *el* in SpecAgr - is likely to be necessary as in Poletto (1995) and Roberts (2007: 39-40). This stage in turn led to a new one in which *lu* is in SpecAgr and *el* in a more complex Agr^o. The now observable variation between Northern Italian *pro-drop* and *non-pro-drop* varieties should depend on the analysis of *lu* as placed in a TopP or in SpecAgr:



It is therefore possible that a strong form and a weak one would correspond to the same graphical form <el>: a weak form in contexts like *el* - (NEG) - *cl* - *inflected V* and a strong form in contexts like *el* - *XP** - *inflected V* - see Salvi (2004: 123) among others on the basis of Cardinaletti (1992) about languages that have only one morphological type of personal pronouns, which, however, show two syntactic uses, along with differentiated prosodic status.

2.8. Expletive constructions

In Bonvesin's text we find also some sentences of expletive constructions, although they would be assumed to be typical of *non-pro-drop* languages. We can observe some sentences introduced by *el* with the verb always conjugated in 3rd pers.sing. male):

i) with predicative nominals:

(37) O 81 Respond lo Satanax «el no è meraveja...»

replies the Satan *it* not is marvel

Satan replies «it is no marvel...»

(38) O 101 « El è ver », dis lo messo, «ke i boi eran arando»

«*it* is true» says the messenger «that oxen were ploughing»

ii) with impersonal constructions:

(39) O 319-320 sed el fará mesté /de sostenir angustie

“but *it* will be necessary / to endure grief”

(40) A 281 El par k'el foss alegre dra mia grand grameza

“It seems that he were glad of my great misery”

iii) with postponed subjects:

(41) T 65 Quand av parlao Fevré, el parla Marz irao

when had spoken February, it speaks March angry

“After that February had spoken, March speaks angrily”

(42) L 210 Intant el fo venudho una sí grand oradha

meanwhile *it* had come a so big storm

“meanwhile such a big storm broke out”

(43) H 210 el fa la negra pegora blanc lag e'd grand dolceza

it makes black sheep white and very sweet milk

“Black sheep make white and very sweet milk”

(44) SIII 98 Ma el g' è le olcellete cantand a grand baldor
but *it* there is little birds singing with great joy
“But there are little birds that sing with great joy”

In Old French, which is also an *asymmetrical pro-drop* language, besides *pro-drop* main clauses, we find some cases of sentences introduced by an expletive *il*, as noted by de Bakker (1995),

(45) Si retourne *pro* maintenant a l'abeie *Queste* 35.30
“So he returned at once to the abbey”

(46) Mes puis que vos ne me veistes mes, vos di je *qu'il m'avint une* des plus merveilleuses
aventures dou monde *Queste* 208
“But since you saw me last, I tell you that one of the most marvellous adventures has befallen me”

(47) En cel pré avoit un rastelier *ou il menjoient* cent et cinquante toriaus. *Queste* 149.15-16
“In this meadow there was a rack at which one hundred and fifty bulls were feeding”

The first sentence is *pro-drop*, as expected. In the second sentence, we find a clause introduced by the expletive *il* and with a postponed feminine singular subject. In the third sentence, a clause introduced by *il* has the verb in the plural form and the postponed subject is an oblique plural¹. Setting aside the problem of case assignment to the postponed subject, Silva-Villar (1996) has claimed that, as was observed in Scandinavian by Faarlund), a similar diachronical path (*Expletive Sequence*) can also be found in Romance languages:

Ø-Exp > Topic-Exp > Subject-Exp

¹ Mathieu (2009: 348-349) observes that Old French showed two types of expletive constructions: one in which the verb agreed with the postverbal subject, with the subject surfacing in the nominative case, eg:

Il morront maint vaillant chevalier (*chevalier* nom.pl)

'There will die many brave knights.'

and another in which the verb agreed with the expletive, while the postverbal subject is in the oblique case (the case of modern French):

Il entroit chevaliers en masse (*chevaliers* obl.pl)

'There enter knights in great numbers'

Therefore, we can assume that Bonvesin’s Milanese could have an expletive *el* somewhere in the Topic Field and, at a later stage of Milanese dialect, *el* as the true expletive subject, e.g.:

(48) Mm II 316 El ghe vœur lù

el there wants he

“It takes him”

So to sum up, we can outline Bonvesin’s subject pronoun system according to Contini’s 1941 edition:

	Stressed obl. pronouns used as subjects	Nominative pr. – XP - V	Nominative pr. in SpecAgr
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

2.9. 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. 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 - (hereafter PW), Wilhelm notes that Contini's edition of the same text 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 3rd persons:

	Stressed obl. pronouns used as subjects	Nominative – XP – V	Nominative in SpecAgr
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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

Notice that some forms that are apparently weakened (*al, ela, ay*) appear in SpecAgr, which seems to anticipate further developments, e.g.:

(49) PW 198: Eufimian so padre al ave incontrado

(C: Eufimian so patre el av illó incontrao);

“his father Eufimian he had met there”

(50) PW 160: ch' i ge mostra quel homo ch' è tanto a Deo placente

(C: Ke ge mostra quel homo k'è tant a De placente)

“That he should show him that man who is so dear to God”

(52) PW 91: ch' ei per tuto el mondo lo debien pur cerchare

(C: e k'i per tut lo mondo lo deblan pur cercar)

“that they should look for him throughout the whole world”

(53) PW 94: che quele terre onde ay van facen pregonamento

(C: k'in quel terr o i van fazan pregonamento)

“that they should make a proclamation in those lands where they go through”

(54) PW 102: chi van cercando Alexio, per el quale ai fin mandati

(C: ke van cercand Alexio, per ki i fin mandai);

“who are going about looking for Alexis, whom they were sent for”

2.10. *Bonvesin's subject pronouns compared with romansh subject pronouns*

According to Vanelli (1998: 116) Romansh shows two different pronominal systems depending on whether one takes into account the written language or the spoken dialects. In written language, Romansh seems to retain an analogous stage of free pronominal system similar to the system of Old Milanese:

(55)

I: S *jeu*, Sm *ia*, Eb *eu*

II: S *ti*, Sm *te/ti*, Eb *tu*

III: in all varieties *el/ela*

IV: S *e* Eb *nus*, Sm *nous*

V: S *e* Eb *vus*, Sm *vous*

VI: in all varieties *els/elas*

The spoken dialects have developed, in addition to free pronouns, unstressed pronominal forms too. On the basis of Widmer (1959), we can outline the situation of Sursilvan:

Inventory of subject pronouns in Sursilvan (forms of written language are bracketed together with the year of publication):

	Stressed subject pronouns	Unstressed preverbal subject pronouns	Postverbal subject pronouns
1	<i>yáw</i> (1648: <i>jou, jau</i>)	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>
2	<i>tí, ti, te</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>-ti, -t</i>
3	<i>el / ella, èla</i>	<i>al</i> , (1924: <i>l</i>) / <i>la, l</i> / (1615: <i>eigl</i>), <i>ił, ł</i> , <i>il, i</i>	<i>-al / la / i</i>
4	<i>nus, nóus</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>-s, -sa</i>
5	<i>vūs, vous</i>	<i>úş, s</i>	<i>vus, us</i>
6	<i>ei</i> (1648: <i>els</i>) / <i>elas</i> (1675: <i>elles</i>)	<i>i</i> , (1648: <i>gl</i>) / <i>las</i>	<i>i / las</i>

i) *al* is a weakened form of *el* (*a* is the unstressed vowel in Romansh), Actually, this form does not appear in the oldest texts, but it is frequent in the dialects, e.g.:

(56) *al è stáws adina in bien karščáwn*

W68 (Disentis, S)

He has always been a good man

ii) *l* is the normal outcome of Lat. ILLE in pre- and post-verbal position in a vocalic context, see from “*Grammatica romontscha per Surselva e Sutselva* (1924)”:

(57) “Enstagl *el, ella, els, ellas*, entupein nus las fuormas scursanidas *l, la, ei, las*. Per ex.: L’ei vegnius”.

“Instead of *el, ella, els, ellas* we find the shortened forms *l, la, ei, las*, e.g.: he has (lit. *is*) come”

iii) *la* is the shortened form of stressed *ella*, both in the written language and in dialects:

(58) *che nus laschien ir la caravana sco’la mondi* W71 (a. 1956)

That we let the carovan go as it goes

iv) *l* may be the shortened form of ILLA in the written language and in dialects:

(59) *ša l’ a deč kwáy kun in tsert resentimén, lu stón ins capí éla* W72 (Disentis, S)

If she has said that with a bit of a grudge, then one must understand her

v) In the 3rd pl. form Romansh uses the outcome of the Nominative ILLI beyond the Accusative ILLOS

(60) *Lg han priu naven ilg Segner* W102 (S, a. 1648)

They have taken away the Lord

i is the shortened form of the outcome of ILLI:

(61) *paupers era sco’i ein stai*

W106 (S)

Poor also as they have (lit. are) been

Els is the normal outcome of Lat. ILLOS in recent written tradition and in dialects. Similarly to the singular, the normal outcome of ILLOS can be weakened to *als*:

vii) *las* is the unstressed 3rd plf form of *ILLAS*, (both pre- and postverbally), which in some dialects may also be weakened to *las*, *lās*:

(62) *ins što prëndar las fiáštās škō las krōdan*

W113 (Disentis, S)

one should take holidays as they come

2.11. Hypothesis: the system of Sursilvan unstressed pronouns has weak forms as is shown in Bonvesin's later codes

Romansh unstressed pronouns are typical of the spoken varieties, but some of them even penetrated the written language. The behaviour of this double system seems to be different from that of the Northern Italian dialects: in Romansh the elements of the stressed and unstressed series are in complementary distribution, without reduplication. This situation is comparable to 14th and 15th-centuries editions of Bonvesin: in this case too the apparently weak pronominal forms of the spoken language have not penetrated the more abstract system as it was rebuilt by Contini (1941). We have seen that in Bonvesin subject pronouns in the nominative case *el* have two main preverbal positions: either free or in a rigid position between complementizer, negation and complement *cls*. It can be assumed that the series of weak pronouns, which would then develop into clitics, must have arisen from a series of unstressed ones rigidly placed in this position (like the weak pronouns of Cardinaletti 1992).

3. Varieties documented between the 14th and 15th century

3.1. The Margarita lombarda

The *Margarita lombarda* is a poem from the northern area dating from the end of the 14th century. It is also one of the few documents written in the Western Lombard variety of the 14th century. The constituent order is SVO, notably 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 (about ten out of 840 verses);

ii) TM enclisis instances, which should be possible only if the inflected verb is already in C, and therefore should constitute positive evidence of V2, are rarely present because of the

frequent use of lexical elements like *sì*, *se*, *or*, etc., which trigger proclisis of clitics (the following numbering refers to the Wilhelm et al. edition):

(63) 325 e va se 'n denanze al so dé
And goes-himself from-there before his god
“And he goes before his god”

(64) 638 E fazo ge fare molti peccady
And make1sg to-them commit many sins
“And I make them commit many sins”

Sentences introduced by (XP) *sì* (*sè*) < SIC², eg.:

(65) 21 Sì l'adorava como so dé.
so it worshipped-3sgm as his god
“So he worshipped it as his god”

(66) 719 sè la fe apichá a una verzela
so her had-3sgm hanged to a branch
“So he had her hanged to a branch”

Sentences introduced by *e sì* < ET SIC:

(67) 46-47 e sì tegnia la fe' nostrana / e sì aveva grande temore
And so (she) kept our faith/and so had-*pro* great fear

iii) in preverbal position arguments different from the subject are rarely attested. The following instances are analyzed as V2, either with a phonologically realized subject, or with *pro-drop*, or, in the case of V1, as preceded by a null topic, according to Benincà (2004: 290):

(68) 77 E clama quel duy soy serventi

² See also Rohlfs §760.

and calls that-one-subj. those two servants of him

“And that one calls two servants of him”

(69) 321 ma no poteva pro luy pensare

but not could-*pro* him think

“But he could not think”

(70) 345 E cossi po tu anche guarire

and so can thou also heal

And so you can also heal”

(71) 649 perzo m' e tu fato cossi tristi

therefore me have thou made so sad

“Therefore you have made me so sad”

(72) 770 fe 'l to la testa a quanti ai son

made-3sg he cut off the head to as many as were there

“He had all bystanders' head cut off”

As TM enclisis is a sufficient condition to have V2 (not a necessary condition, as we can find instances of V2 together with complement clitics in proclisis, in the case of SpecFocP occupied by whatever filler) and nevertheless in this phase we can observe rare instances of V2 with a phonologically realized subject, consequently we may presume that the speaker could not get enough positive evidence for V2 syntax; so it may be that, at that stage, instances of *pro-drop* V1 are interpreted similarly to stylistic inversion, of which we have two clear examples in this text:

(73) 342 O Margarita que hay fato tu?

o Margarita what have done thou?

“O Margarita, what have you done?”

(74) 343 del me pensero, que hay trá tu?

of my mind, what have drawn thou?

“What have you decided about my mind?”

⇒ main clause order is re-interpreted as the SVO one of the dependent clause.

3.2. *Subject-pronoun – NEG – V > NEG – subject-pronoun – V*

At this stage, the negative particle is still placed after the subject-pronoun:

(75) 657 Ch' e' no t' olza avri la bocha

that I not thee hear-1sg open the mouth

“That I should not hear you opening your mouth”

(76) 663 che tu no me piaixe

that thou not me please-2sg

“That I do not like you”

(77) 336 Che eyo ve digo ch' el no poteva

That I tell you that he could not

However, there are also some instances where we can find the order *NEG - subject pr. – V*:

(78) 503 che no l'ave may si rea cena

that not she had ever so bad dinner

“That she never had such a bad dinner”

(79) 599 si che no l'ave miga pagura

so that not she had *miga* fear

“So that she had no fear at all”

From the point of view of geolinguistic considerations, the change in the order: *subject pr. - NEG – inflected V > NEG – subject pr – inflected V* occurred in a continuous dialectal area which includes Lombard dialects as well as Venetian ones, but it never obtained anywhere else, i.e. it never included Piedmontese dialect nor Emilian dialects. In West Lombard dialect we first find (end of the 14th century an incoherent order (*prn-neg/neg-prn*) in the case of 3rd person singular forms, thereafter the pronoun-verb order extends consistently to the 3rd person singular but not yet to 2nd singular, while towards the end of the 17th century the

change is accomplished in Milanese for all the persons of verbally-inflected persons. The position remains unchanged as regard the other XPs (in particular the forms of the accented 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 *cliticness*, cfr. 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 obl. pron. used as subjects	preverbal subject pronouns	postverbal subject pronouns
1		eyo, ei', e'	
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	

3.3. Appearance of clitic a

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

(80) Margarita 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 a clitic *a* component to be isolated within the clitics of 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural, so: *al/ai* beside *a-no-l / a-no-i*, so that we can hypothesize that these pronouns are composed of two parts: an invariable clitic particle *a* plus personal subject clitic components *l/i*, cf. Benincà (1994: 121-2). In this way *Margarita* makes it possible to backdate the evidence of this analysis to two centuries earlier.

As we have already observed in *Saint Alexis* contained in the same codex *Trivulziano*, other weakened pronominal forms appear: 3rdsg *al/ala*, 3rdpl *ai*.

(81) 17 *che al no credeva in Deo veraxe*

“That he (*al*) did not believe in the true God”

(82) 770 *fè 'l tó la testa a quanti ai son*

made-3sg he to cut off the head of as many as were there

“He had all bystanders’ heads cuts off”

(83) 480 *Ch’ala fiza zutada al vento*

that *a*-she (*ala*) should-be thrown to the wind

“That she should be thrown to the wind”

We find also an instance of *a* + (object) *la*:

(84) 183 *e sì come loro ala salutàn*

and so how them *a*-her (*ala*) greeted

“And so how they greeted her”

According to Salvioni *ala* = *a* + *la* “*a la dis* is not different from *a te diset* [...] *a* goes together with *te*, but it doesn’t replace it”.

3.3.1. Some observations on the origin of the clitic particle *a*

There are two major hypotheses about the origin of this particle *a*:

Ist hypothesis: origin from a pronoun (lomb. *a* = fior. *e* < ILLE or sim.). 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* - in Brandi-Cordin (1981: 75), since this *e* may co-occur with *sc/s* too, e.g.:

(85)

e 'dòrmo

e ɔ ddor'miho

(*e*) tu d'dòrmi

(*e*) t a ddor'miho

e 'dòrme / (*e*) la 'dòrme

(*e*)λλ/la ddor'miho

e si 'dərme e s ε ddor'miho
 (e) vu ddor'mihe (e)v a'vehe dor'miho
 e 'dərmano / (e-l)le 'dərmano λλ/lanno dor'miho

There are however some difficulties in considering *el* as antecedent to *a*: while in Milanese the particle *a* seems to be a stand-alone element already by the late 15th 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 1st pers. sg, while we can observe few definite instances of 3rd pers. sg *e*, e.g. (late 15th century) *a t par ..?* “do you like..?”; since the 16th century we find also *a no i vol* (so *ai = a + i*) “they do not want”. On the contrary, in Milanese there is no comparable phase like **et par*, **e no i vol*, as we would expect in assuming a generalized extension of *e* whence *a* would originate. However, an uncertain instance may be found 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”. Unfortunately, the instance of *e* from Fabio Varese might just be also a conjunction; I think that the instance from Prissian is more likely to be a pronoun, but I cannot decide if it is a weakened form of *el* or of a 3rd pers. pl. form. The expected form is instead present in the dialect of Crema as attested in the mid- 15th century: *e ' no'l g'è*. The particle *e* instead of *a* is also present in a translation of some of Bonvesin’s verses into the dialect of Bergamo, where, in a 14th century codex, the form *el nol* is replaced as *anol* in a later codex. If we discard a path *el > e > a* for Milanese dialect, there remains the possibility of a path *el > al > a*. In both cases, a path $\emptyset < -l < -LLU$ is required, which seems to be possible because of the outcome in 3rd pers. sing. attested forms of *e*, e.g. Margarita 669 <la onde *e* fasiua la guera grande> “where he made the great war”, each case being the possible outcome of phonetic erosion due to the high degree of grammaticalization. Otherwise, as some cases of rustic *o* replacing *a* in Maderno’s texts are found, a further possible path could be: *el > l > u > o > a*, bearing in mind that *u* is the 3rd pers. sing. clitic in marginal areas of Lombardy, e.g. in the dialect of Caveragno).

2nd hypothesis: Zerreiſung 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: in his hypothesis, a subdivision (*Zerreiſung*) should

have occurred in 3rd pers. sing. and pl. pronouns, so that the subject pronoun *al/ai* was divided in two constituents and the negation particle *no* occurred in between:

(86) III 157 Per que a-no-la-y volse consentire = *ala no ye*
“Because she didn’t (*a-no-la-y*) want to allow them”

(87) V 62 Per che *a-no-y* vols in lu credi = *ay no*.
“Because they did not (*a-no-y*) want to believe in him”

3.4. Passion from Como

A *Passion* written in prose, contained 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 Milanese³ (indeed, linguistically speaking, this text only contains West-Lombard linguistic features). The text was edited by Salvioni in AGI IX and analysed by him in AGI XII and AGI XIV, together with another text written in a Western Lombard dialect, the *Exposition of Decalogue*.

The order of constituents is SVO and some cases of V2 may still be observed (the following numbers refer to the pages and lines of AGI IX):

(88) 4.22 Doncha eralo inimigo no amico
“Therefore was-he enemy, not a friend”

(89) 6.6 Mo i uo fagio bene
“Now have-you been right”

(90) 8.20 Or ha yhesu criste dobio dolore quello de la madre el so
“Now has-JC double pain: that of his mother and his own”

(91) 10.4 Qui po tu uede como criste fo apresentao
here can-thou see how Christ was presented
“Here you can see how Christ was presented”

³ See Stella (1994: 194-195).

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

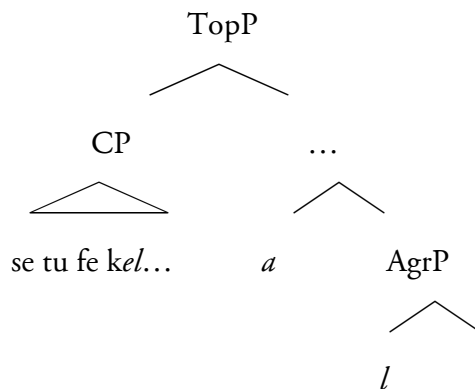
3.4.1. Distribution of *el* and *al*

3rd pers. sing. pronouns *el* and *al* seem to be distributed depending on different functions (and positions) assumed by the particle *a*, e.g.:

(92) 5.33 *se tu fe kel scampa al ta sana ominca infermita de caxa toa*

“If thou enablest his survival, he (*al*) will heal every illness from thine house.”

So it seems that a whole clause (*se tu fe ke-l* or *k-el*) *scampa* is in the position of a TopP of the main clause, which then follows introduced by *a-l* (at the moment there are no strong arguments for a more precise localisation of the particle *a* inside the CP layer):



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

	Stressed obl. pron. 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? ⁴	a-l, e-llo, era-lo, foss-elo, respox ello / domanda-la, uiuera-la
4		nui	
5		uu	i-uo
6	loro	illi, li, ei? ⁵	in-li

4. Lancino Curti (1460-1512)

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the language policy adopted by the Sforzas inclined to the preminence of the Tuscan as language, so that written Milanese continued to be used only on parodistic and playful occasions. At this stage a clitic subject form of 2SG also appeared, *te*, which was morphologically differentiated from tonic *tì* (the numbering below refers to the Isella edition):

(93) III.8 Te vedaré t'è habiù un bel cermeson

“Thou (*scl: te*) will see thou (*scl: t'*) had a large head”

(94) IV.6 Avè ardiment de vorè tì dì mà

having impudence of willing thou speak ill

“Having the impudence for thee to want to speak ill”

We can observe the same also for the accented 1st pers. sing. pronoun *mì* beside the clitic form *e/i*

(95) I.7 e so ch'averevè an mì quai cos sgià scrig

“I (*e*) know that I (*mì*) already would have written something too”

(96) I.15 Quel ch'i ò scrig i ò qui

⁴ *Et si como lo corpo quando lo spirito e morto e no po auer la uita di questo mundo* 19.7. According to Salvioni here *e* = *el*.

⁵ Compare: *Color che l an acompagna in la soa grameza. ei r an acompagna in la alegreza* 17.26. According to Salvioni (*Annotazioni*) either *ei* is a 3pl subj.pron., or it is to be interpreted as *e i* (ET ILLI) “they will also accompan him”.

what that I (*i*) have written (*i*) have here

“I have here what I have written”

In this case a modern Milanese speaker could not interpret this *i* as 1st pers. sing. clitic, but only as an object pronoun, which at that stage could have been homonymous with the 1st pers. sing. one:

(97) I.3 mi no i ò fagi, ma chi i à fag o dig

“I have not done them (*i*), but who has done or said them (*i*)”

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

(98) II.9 Dison ch’a in sempiedè tut quel ch’al dix

say-3pl that *a* (*a* instead of *i*) are-3pl crap all that he (*al*) says are

“They say that all he says are crap”

(99) II.13 S’al voia i tacor ch’in là in di masnin

If *a* him hear-3sg jackdaws, which are there in lairs

“If the jackdaws hear him, etc.”

(100) IV.5 A ’t par a ti, sbirasciò, un bel mesté?

a to-thee seems a good thing to you...?

“Does it seem to you a good thing...?”

The negation particle is still placed between *scl* and the inflected verb in non-interrogative sentences:

(101) III.16 Te non sé manche ben quel che stà in dr’airo

“thou don’t know even what is in the air”

(102) IV.1 Tacon, Tacon, s’te non tax, in fe’d’ Dè

“Tacon, if thou won’t be quiet”

Inventory of subject pronouns in Lancino Curti

	Stressed pronouns	<i>a</i>	Clitic subjects	Postverb. subj. pron.
1	mì, mi		e, i	
2	tì		te, t'	e-t, se-t ⁶
3	lu	a	(a)l, l', 'l / (a)la, l'	e-l ⁷ , a 'l
4				
5	vu			si-vo?
6	lor	a	i	

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

The *Rabisch* of the “Milanese Academy of Blenio Valley” 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 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 to up to Maggi's works: the persistence of the 1st pers. sing. clitic *e/i* (sometimes replaced by the clitic *a*), 3rd pers. pl. clitic *i*, frequent use of the clitic *a* even contemporaneously with personal clitics:

(103) II, 61 2-3: i' o sentù on gran spavent / Dov' e' cred che malcontent

“I (*i*) have heard a great fright / where I (*e'*) think that discontent”

(104) II, 64 25: E se *a i* ham da fa on lavó / El farem s'el poram fa

and if *a* we (lit. *I*) have to do a job / it we 'll do if it we can do”

“And if we have to do a job / we 'll do it if we can”

(105) II, 61 31-32: S'ai ghe dan per sòrt on scròl / Ai ghe vùn mett su dra sa

⁶ Compare the non-interrogative forms: III.8 *t'è*, III.16 *te non sé*.

⁷ Compare the non-interrogative forms: III.9 “l'è”.

“If by chance *a* they (*ai*) give them a shake / *a* they (*ai*) will put salt over them (i.e. they will put them aside)”

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

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

i) main clause preceded by dependent clause;

ii) (hanging) topic:

(106) II, 61 325: s’o fallà *a* me ne pent

“If I made a mistake, *a* I regret it”

(107) II, 61 230: I nodé del criminal / *A* i ghe vûn taià le al

“The notaries of criminal trial / *a* they (*ai*) want to cut their wings”

(108) II, 63 39: S’te me fe quatter carezz / E te’m toi per maritt / *A* ’t voi dà tant polidezz

“if thou (*scl*) cosset me / and thou (*scl*) take me for a husband/ *a* to-thee I will do many kindnesses”

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:

(109) II, 63 88 sgg.:

PEDRETT

A te romparò po’ el nas

“*a* I will break thy nose”

ZAN

A te romparò el gavasc

“*a* I will break your throat”

PEDRETT

No’m menazza

“Don’t threaten me”

ZAN

“No me guarda”

“Don’t look at me”

PEDRETT

A te darò

a to-thee will-give ...

“I will give you...”

ZAN

Te no’m daré

thou (*scl*) won’t give me...

5.2.Placement of *scl* co-occurring with the negative

As it has already been pointed out, the order inside the complex *NEG – Scl* gives us some clues about the structure of AgrP. In these texts some oscillations can still be remarked on:

(110) II, 61 90: E quei spad imborsorà /Ai no vùn più ch’a i se porta

“And those swords / a they (*ai*) don’t want anyone to carry them anymore”

(111) II, 61 96: A no i vùl che ona baretta / Vali più de des real

“*a* don’t they want one bar to be more valuable than ten royals”

(112) II, 61 183 i ho pù intes, che no i è foll

I have also heard, which not they (*i*) are fibs

“I have also heard, they are not fibs”

However, in about the same period, we can get some information in a translation of Boccaccio’s tale “The King of Ciprus”, as having been translated into a few Italian dialects⁸ by Lionardo Salviati in his *Avvertimenti della lingua sopra 'l Decameron*, published in 1584:

(113)

In lingua Milanese:

⁸ Salviati properly uses the terms *volgari* “vernaculars” and *lingua* “language”.

[...] che **nol'auerau** fac negotta: perche ol Re era tant dapuoch, che **nol 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 (at least, in the case of the 3rd pers. sing.) was already completed in Milanese, while Paduan still seems to be untouched by it.

5.3. 3rd pers. pl. verbal forms distinguished from 3rd pers. sing forms only by clitics

In Maderno there are numerous instances of 3rd pers. pl. verbal forms identical to the 3rd 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. However in Maderno other contexts allow this kind of agreement, provided that the 3rd pers. sing. inflected form is preceded (with few exceptions) by the 3rd pers. pl. clitic *i*:

(114) II, 61 19: Che farà i recamador [...]?

“what will (sing.) embroiderers do?”

(115) II, 61 58: Quei che vend pû tant imbratt

“People that sell (lit. 3rd pers. sing.) many sashes”

(116) II, 61 131-133: I becher ch'hin pû i bon / No i ghe fa tròp apiasè / S'a i tol via quel ch'a 's dè

“Butchers – they are good! - they don't (lit. 3rd pers. sing) do them a favour/ if they take (lit. 3rd pers. sing.) away what is necessary”

(117) II, 61 183: I ho pû intes, che no i è foll

“I have also heard, which is not fairy-tales”

As for modern Milanese dialect, Salvioni's observations⁹ are still valid:

i) 3rd pers. sing. form is used instead of 3rd pers. pl. when the subject of the verb is a relative pronoun:

(118) quij che le tratta e le cognoss,

those who have (lit. *has*) relations with her and who knows (this should be 'know' 3rd pers. pl.) her

(119) no gh'è ball che ten

not there is fib which holds

"You can't fib your way out here"

(120)...do convers che je serv, ecc.

Two lay sisters who serve (lit. *serves*) them

ii) in subject inversion:

(121) chi sia quij là

who are (lit. *is*) those

(122) no gh'è ball, ecc." .

there are (lit. *is*) no fibs, etc.

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

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

⁹ Ed. by Isella (1975).

5				
6	lor	a	i	

6. Fabio Varese (1570-1630)

He was a musician and a kind of “poète maudit”, author of *Canzoni*, who 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) with correspondent clitics (the numbering refers to Stella et al.’s edition):

(123) II.1.12: Tì te favet la sempia e la coiona

“thou (accent.) thou (*scl*) used-2sg to act the fool”

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

(124) I.1.21: Ma quest el è nagott

“But this *scl* is nothing”

(126) VIII.2: quel che fa l’incognit l’è on coion

“Who plays at incognito *scl* is a galoot”

Otherwise also without *scl*:

(127) V.10: quel moros Ø è un pó poltron

“That boyfriend is a bit laggard”

(128) XI.9 Quest non Ø è madrigal

“This is not a madrigal”

6.1. Incorporation of the *scl* -t

In Fabio Varese’s text most of the verbs (if at least bisyllabic) stabilizes the incorporation of a *scl* 2nd sing. put behind as an inflectional morpheme -t:

(129) I.2.5 Ch'occor te baiet e t' rompet el cò

which is the need that thou (*scl te*) bark[-*t*] and break[-*t*] thy neck

“what need is there that you bark and break your neck?”

(130) I.2.28 Te t'ingannet

thou (*scl*) deceive[-*t*] thyself

“you deceive yourself”

In most instances of monosyllabic verbs the incorporation of *-t* does not occur:

(131) I.2.7 s'te g'hé parigg basij da innumerà

if thou (*scl ghe*) hast[-] many steps to count

“if you have many steps to count”

(132) II.2.12-13 E quand te ved che te volten el cú / te dis c'hin bolgiroonn e c'hin bagass?

“And when thou (*scl*) seest[-] that they turn their back on thee / dost thou (*scl*) say[-] that they are whores?”

6.2. Co-occurrence of *scls* and negation

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

(133) X.4 E mì só te no dis la veritá

“And I know that thou (*scl*) dost not tell the truth”

On the contrary, in the case of 3rd pers. sing. the new word order *neg-scl-V* is stable:

(134) I.2.21 No l'è i resegott

NEG it is sawyers

“It's not sawyers”

(135) VI.20 andemm che no 'l gh'è temp

let's go that NEG it there is time

“Let's go, that there is no time”

(136) XVIII.11 no la s' contenta

NEG she (*scl*) is-satisfied

“She is not satisfied”

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

Inventory of subject pronouns in Fabio Varese:

	Stressed pronouns	Subject clitics	Interrogative forms
1	mì	e'	soj
2	tì	te, t'	vût ¹⁰
3	lù / lé	al, l' / la, l'	fala
4			
5	vù	i ?	
6	lor	ai	

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 1st sing. clitic *e / i* (which is very frequent, but sometimes for the 1st pers. sing. just the accented form *mì* might appear); interestingly, *e/i* can also be extended to 1pl (the following numbering refers to the number of the page and line of Lepschy’s edition):

(137) 151.9 e vi iò scriuù comè mi dij

*scl*1st sing. – *datcl*2pl - *accclpl* have-1st sing. written as you told me

“And I wrote them as you told me”

(138) 152.15 e si auess temp e vel fareu vedè

¹⁰ This verb still shows alternation; as for the other verbs, –t has already become verbal desinence.

and if + *scl*1st sing. had-1sg time, *scl*1st sing. to-you it would show you
“And if I had time, I would show it to you”

(139) 157.14 e se ben la schriuem noma d’ona sort e vartirem
and even if we write it just in one way, *scl*1st sing. will-point-1pl out
“And even if...we will point out”

7.1. *scl* al, ai = a + l, a + i

Scl al is separable in /a + l/, e.g.: *ch’a nol chad sforzal naghòt* “that *a* doesn’t it need to force anything”; however, when used as subject, the combination “a + l” is constant; also “ai” is separable in /a + i/, e.g.: *A no i l’an foss mostrà tanc braù schriciù?* “*a* didn’t they show so many good writers?”, but when it occurs as *scl* it is constant as *ai*, while in interrogative clauses only *i* occurs:

(140)
“Che sa-i lor...?”
“What do they know?”

7.2. Placement of *scl*

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

i) DP – *a* – *scl* – inflected V:

(141) 151.3-4: Quìj fiù d’ ingegn ch’ han comenzà [...], *ai* ven metènn in tel chò
“Those canny types who began [...], *a-scl3pl.* put in your mind...”

(142) 155.7: che el nost languag *al* è el più pur
“That our language *a-scl3sing.* is the purest”

ii) DP – verb (without *scl*):

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

(144) 153.15: el nost Ø è vegnù da i Grech
“Ours came from the Greeks”

(145) 166.22: I liber chi iò drouà, o nominà quai cosa del so qui dent, in quist.

“The books that (them) I have used, or named something of theirs here inside are those ones”

From these examples we can suppose that *scl* can co-occur with a DP presumably placed in TopP. We can also find at least one case of pronominal reduplication co-occurring with an accented subject pronoun (as we saw in Fabio Varese for the 2nd pers. sing.: *tì te favet*) in *Prissian* for 3rd pers. pl.:

(146) 152.17: ma che *lor ai l’an lechà inscì on pochin*

“But that they *a-scl3pl.* have licked it like this a bit”

β) *scl* is present when subject DP is post-verbal:

(147) *ch’ al sia vantà el so parlà*

that *a-scl3sing.* should-be praised his speech

“That his speech should be praised”

γ) *scl* expletive:

i) impersonal like “it needs”, “it is said”:

(148) 153.12: *al besognarau donch anch che fussem vegnù dai Ghot*

“It (*a+scl3sing.*) would also mean that we must have come from the Goths”

(149) 155.7: *Par la proùma al bisogna sauè, che el nost languag al è el più pur;*

For the first *a-scl3sing.* needs to know that our language *a-cl3sing.* is the purest

“Firstly, it should be known that our language is the purest.”

With “bisogna” even without *scl*:

(150) 157.18: *Ø besognarà che disì*

Ø will-need-3sg that you say”

“It will be necessary for you to say”

(151) 151.14: ch' al pariva ch' al ve shciopass i fasoù

“That *a-scl3sing.* seemed that your beans would explode”

ii) *scl* is present with the existential (like “there is”), but it can also be missing:

(152) 152.3: al ghe ona sort de ghauasgion

“*a-scl3sing.* there is a manner of chatterbox”

(153) 152.10: se Ø ghe quaigherun che voùbbia di quai cosa

“If there is someone who wants to say something”

δ) with “to be” and “to have”

(154) 161.11: quand ale verb o no

When *a-scl3sing.* is verb or not

“Whether it is a verb or not”

(155) 159.17: parche al à el son più visin al, a,

because *a-scl3sing.* has the sound closer to “a”

“Because its sound is closer to ‘a’”

ε) *Scl* with subject relative clause:

i) *scl* is not present in the case of a restrictive relative:

(156) 157.22: quel legn che Ø sta sot ai vid

“The wood that is under the vines”

ii) *scl* is possible with a appositive relative clause:

(157) 152.15: la parnonzia del parlà Milanés ch' alè el più bel che sia al Mond

“The pronunciation of Milanese speech, which *a-scl3sing.* is the most beautiful in all over the world”

(158) 152.16: La lengua Fiorentena, ch'alè nassù dala nosta

“The Florentine language, which *a-scl3sing.* is born from ours”

7.3. Verb agreement in the singular form with 3rd pers. pl.

We have already seen that in Maderno and in conservative Western Lombard varieties (where it can become a rule), numerous instances of verb agreement in the singular with a 3rd pers. pl. subject occur: this is still a possibility in modern Milanese dialect but in fewer cases. In *Prissian* we can find the following contexts:

i) interrogative (and exclamative) clauses:

(159) 152.7: che sa-i lor cosa sia on bel parlà?

“What *does* they know what beautiful speech is?”

(160) 153.1: E quant parol a-i anch' chin nost

“And how many words have-they got, which are ours”

(161) 153.4: E i Senes no n'a-i lechà via...?

“And didn't the Senese lick us away...?”

ii) with subject postponed to the inflected verb:

(162) 157.26: Es parnonzia come fava i Latin

“It is pronounced as did-3sg the Latins”

(163) 165.25: quest son è quel che proferiss i Franzos a di choür,

“This sound is what the French *uses* to pronounce “coeur””

(164) 158.11: con quel son, che fa i Fiorentin a di impaccio

“With the sound that the Florentines *does* to say “impaccio””

Inventory of subject pronouns in Prissian

	Stressed pronouns	a	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

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.

8.1. *Scl* inventory

The form *al* is still divisible into *a + l* (the numbering here refers to comedy, act and verse, as per Isella):

(165) Mm II 768-770 Benchè *el* sia on ignorant, l'è manch *mæ*, /s'*al* fa ingiustizij,
/c'*al* ie fæga navoiant

even if *scl3sing.* is an ignorant, *scl3sing* is less evil, if *a-scl3sing.* does injustices, that
a-scl3sing. objcl3pl. does unwilling

“Even if he is ignorant, it's less evil if he is unfair, but he is unwilling to be so”

(166) Mm II 658 C'a ne la se dubitta

that *a* NEG *scl3sing.f.* doubt

“That she may not doubt”

(167) Ff II 271 C'al senta Meneghin s'el fa conzett

that *a-scl3sing.* hear Meneghin if *scl3sing.* is reasoning

“May you listen to Meneghin, if he is reasoning well”

However the combination of *a + i* for 3rd pers. pl. person doesn't occur anymore; in those cases where 3rd pers.pl. *scl* occurs, its form is *i*, or sometimes only *a* occurs:

(168) Bb Pr II 53 Da mett pagura ai fang quand i se stinnen
“To frighten the children when they (*scl3pl.* + *refl.*) insist”

(169) Mm III 975 A me pæren prodezz da biridoeù
a to-me seem acts of courage of thoughtless people
“They seem to me the exploits of heedless people”

Scl of the 1st pers. sing. *e/i* is still present, possibly preceded by *a*; and also in this case, *a* (or accented *mì*) may occur alone without a personal clitic; as an enclitic, it appears as *-ia* in interrogative clauses:

(170) Ff II 155 Anca mì quand e' sent
“Me too, when I (*scl*) hear”

(171) Ff pr II 22 se dó de quel, ch' *i* ho, cossa vorrì?
If I give of what I (*scl*) have, what do you want?

(172) Mm II 660-1 Ona mattinna, che me særa su, A ghe vuij mett la squitta
One morning that I shut myself up, *a* to-him want-1sg put fear
“One morning, when I shut myself up, I want to frighten him”

(173) Cm I 154 A i ho mò digg inscì par rid on pó
a scl1st sing. have told so to laugh a little bit
“I have told just to laugh a little bit”

(174) Rime VIII 38 A i ho imparæ da on cert Dottor de Bust / Che .l dà gust alla gent l'è el Re
d'i Gust
“(a+scl1st sing.) I have learnt from a certain Doctor from Busto that giving pleasure to people is the King of pleasures”

(175) Ff II 150 E mì prest ghe portæva / Ambassæd
“And I soon used to bring him messages”

(176) Mm III 665 Perché g'ho-*ia* da di, che s'è in trì duca...?

“Why have-I to say that you are three dukes...?”

8.2. Use of *scls*

Scls are normally present in anaphoric function and in “reduplication” with DPs, however in this case *scls* can also be missing:

(177) Mm Pr II 35-36 La Vedeva l'è come la gallina, / semper *la* ruspa, e semper *la* rangogna

The widow *scl3sing.f.* is like the hen, always *scl3sing.f.* pokes and always *scl3sing.f.* complains

“The widow is like the hen, she is always poking around and always complaining

(178) Ff Pr II 32-34 E fé cunt, che i carott Ø sien i pastogg / Che se ben Ø pàren logg / *i* sfrizzen parò via d'i veritè

“And let's suppose that carrots are tales, which even if they seem like jokes, *they* (*scl*) nevertheless blurt out some truths”

Scls repeated in coordination are very frequent:

(179) Mm II 463 Subet *al* streng i ogg e *al* se stremiss

suddenly *a-scl3sing.* closes the eyes and *a-scl3sing.* gets frightened

“He suddenly closes his eyes and gets frightened”

(However: Bb I 212 Se no la sguinza e Ø s'giacca “if it doesn't crack and smack”, perhaps because the two verbs constitute an instance of hendiadys).

8.2.1 Co-occurrence with DPs

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

i) DP – *scl* – verb

(180) Cm III 634 I paroll d'i pastogg i corren via

“The words of the tales *scl3pl.* run away”

(181) Ff I 463-4 La tosa sbaguttì / la vegnè in volt come on brasé de foeugh
the girl dumbfounded, *scl3sing.f.* turned in her face like a brazier of fire
“Dumbfounded, the girl’s face turned like a brazier of fire”

ii) DP – verb (without *scl*)

(182) Bb I 285 Quand el sò spenditor / Ø compær in su’l Verzé
“When her shopping-man appears at the market”

(183) Mm III 910 Ma el valor Ø è prudent
“But (the) valour is prudent”

(184) Cm Int I 152 El pover garzonscell che fa stachett / Ø porta a cà l’insalata in d’on panett
“The poor boy who has little food / takes home the salad in a handkerchief”

(185) Mm III 899 La marascia Ø ha pagura d’infreggiass
“The sword is afraid of getting cold”

From these examples we can conclude that DP is frequently in complementary distribution with *scl*.

If *scl* co-occurs in this context, probably DP is in TopP.

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

i) *scl* – verb – DP

(186) Ff I 177 Quand te mangiet an tì
when *scl2sing.* eatest also thou
“when you eat too”

(187) Ff I 706 Quand al ven San Miché da pagà ‘l figg
when *a-scl3sing.* comes Saint Michael to pay the rent
“When St. Michael comes to pay the rent”

ii) verb – DP (without *scl*)

(188) Cc 710 d'onde ven Ø sta tremenda stravasciæ?

“From whence comes this terrible collapse?”

(189) Cm Int I 93 Ø Hin i simbij de tugg i prum usanz

“They are the apes of all the first customs”

8.2.2. Expletive subjects:

i) with impersonal verbs like the Italian “bisogna” (it needs), “si dice” (it is said/ one says):

(190) Mm Pr II 103 *Al* bisogna sbrigass

a-scl3sing. is necessary to hurry up

"It is necessary to hurry up"

ii) with the 3rd pers. sing. conjugated verbs followed by subject plural DPs:

(191) Mm Pr II 144 C'al ven di temp da fa partì co' i læder

that *a-scl3sing.* comes times to take the side of the thieves

“That there comes the time to take the side of the thieves”

iii) with meteorological verbs it is possible but not necessary:

(192) Cm III 714 Comè i piron del Domm quand *el* voeur pioeuuv

like the spires of the Duomo when *scl3sing.* wants to rain

“like the spires of the Duomo when it is about to rain”

(193) Cm Int I 70 E poeù ve lamenté c'al è prinæ?

“And then do you complain that there (lit.: *a-scl3sing.*) was a frost?”

but:

(194) Ff II 556 ma se Ø pioevv sul seghæ
“but if it rains on the mown (meadow)”

iv) with the existential predicative (like the Italian *c'è* “there is”) *scl* is possible but not necessary:

(195) Cm Int I 170 Al gh'è ben d'i Sior grand, che de modestia / dan de gran bon esempij
a-scl3sing. there is indeed of great Lords who give great examples of modesty
“There are lots of great lords who give great examples of modesty”

(196) Bb I 278 Quand Ø gh'è i quattrin
“When there is money”

(197) Ff I 725-6 E quant manch al ghe n'è, pù sé Ø ghe'n voeur. /
“And the less *a-scl3sing.* there is, the more is needed /
In cà del pover omm Ø gh'è sto magon
in the house of the poor man Ø there is this gloom”

8.2.3. *Scls with quantifiers*

Possible with *tugg* “everybody”:

(198) Ff II 232 Despoeù che tugg Ø han consolæ bertoeù
“As everybody comforted their stomach”

(199) Ff II 235 Tugg i dan su alla pesg
“they all *scl3pl.* start to talk in a bad way”

(200) Ff int I 108 Tugg i diran
“everybody *scl3pl.* will say”

With *nessun* “nobody only one case (as resumptive pronoun?):

(201) Cc 12-14 Che no rezitta pù / Nessun da Meneghin [...] / Se no 'l passa Badia

“That nobody should play as Meneghin [...] if he (*scl3sing.*) doesn’t pass (the exam of) the guild”

Scls with “essere” (to be) and “avere”(to have):

i) without *scl*:

(202) Mm III 910 Ma el valor Ø è prudent

“But valour is prudent”

(203) Bb II 574 Quest Ø è l’imbroij!

“This is the trickery”

(204) Mm III 899 La marascia Ø ha pagura d’infreggiass

“The sword fears (lit. “has fear”) getting cold”

ii) with *scl*:

(205) Cm intII 59 Parchè ’l nost coeur no l’è mæi tant avert, comè quand l’è in ligria

“Because our heart *scl3sing.* is never so open as when it (*scl*) is in cheerfulness”

(206) Mm ball. 3 Quand la sort l’è scorusciæĬ

“When fate *scl3sing.* is adverse”

(207) Bb III 841 Se ben l’ha di fioeù

“Even if he (*scl3sing.*) has children”

8.2.4 Placement of *scls* with *NEG*

Scls are firmly placed for all persons between pre-verbal negation and the inflected verb:

(208) Mm Pr II 173 Tì, che no t’hé volsù gnanch sopportà

thou, who *NEG scl2sing* have-2sg wanted even to bear

“Thou, who didst not even want to bear”

(209) Mm Pr II 60 No t’hé nagott de bon domà la scianscia

NEG *scl2sing.* have-2sg nothing good but the clack

“Thou hast nothing good but the clack”

(210) Mm Pr II 49 che s'al s'intedarà no 'l sarà pocco

that if *a-scl3sing.* will-be-understood NEG *scl3sing.* will-be little

“If this is understood it will be no small matter”

(211) Mm Pr II 77 Che no 'l po' god nagott

that NEG *scl3sing.* can enjoy nothing

“That he can't enjoy anything”

8.3. 3rd pers.sing. inflected verb for plural subject

(212) Mm Pr II 144 C'al ven di temp da fa part co' i læder

that *a-scl3sing.* comes times to be part of thieves

“That moments come to be on the side of thieves”

(213) Cm Int I 170 Al gh'è ben d'i Sior grand, che de modestia / dan de gran bon esempij

“*a-scl3sing.* there are (lit. *is*) lots of great Lords who give very good examples of modesty”

Inventory of subject pronouns in Maggi

	Stressed pr.	<i>a</i>	Subject clitics	Interr. forms
	mì	a	e', i	so-ia, g'ho-ia
	tì		te, t'	se-t ¹¹
	lù/lé	a	el, (a)l, l', 'l / la, l'	e-l, ha-la, e-lla
	nun		e	
	vù	a		
	lor	a	i	e-i

9. Cherubini's notes (1856)

¹¹ The non-interrogative form also occurs without *-t* incorporation: *Se ben no te 'n sé strascia* Mm II 580. Other verbs only show the form with *-t* incorporation.

As an appendix to the V 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 *scl* 3rd pers. plural *i* went out of use, but was still being used in periferal areas during Cherubini’s time (nowadays it is present in some dialectal varieties apart from Milanese).

ii) he notes as non-grammatical forms without subject pronoun elements (“as in Italian”), such as *Corri* (I run), *Corret* (thou run), *Corr* (She/He runs); *Córrem* (we run), *Corrii* (you run), *Corren* (they run), all of these being changed into: *Mi corri*, *Ti te corret*, *Lu el corr*; *Nun correm*, *Violter corrii*, *Lor corren*. He notices that, while until the end of the 18th century Biffi could say e.g: *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 “a forza”: “*El natural el sporsg*, etc.”; “*Lu el se reffigna*, etc.”.

iii) Cherubini still notes interrogative forms like *FornireT?*, *forniraL?* (“will-finish-thou?”, “will-finish-he?”), while in the same period periferal varieties (e.g. Brianza dialects) extended this peculiarity also to 3rd pers. plural: *Fornira-i?*, “finish-they?”; *E-i sæu quij fiæu li?*, “is-they yours those children there?”. In Cherubini’s opinion, this idioms were “denied to Milanese by the nature of its dialect”, but these forms used also to be part of the urban inventory during the 17th century.

10. Conclusions

I) Bonvesin’s pronominal system probably shows free and weak pronouns like in sursilvan;

II) The change *scl – NEG – V > NEG – scl – V* begins at the end of the 14th century and ends in the 17th century;

III) up to the 17th century *scls* can be in complementary distribution with DPs;

IV) from the end of the 18th century the system of *scls* is reduced to the 2nd and 3rd pers. singular;

V) at least from the 18th century *scls* become obligatory (Cherubini’s statement);

VI) in Tessa (1932) there are still cases of inversion: *dov’ell?* “where is he (*scl*)?” *Come valla?* “how is it (*scl*)?” In *dov’eel mo?* “where is he (*scl*) now?”.

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