



## 2.2 On the position of the finite verb

Crucial to the topic of asymmetric pro-drop is to establish whether there is a relation between the distribution of subject pronouns in Mòcheno and the position of the finite verb.

To investigate this, we have to establish whether embedded topicalization (which is generally possible in Mòcheno with a very reduced group of bridge verbs) is grammatical. As shown in (3), embedded topicalization is not possible, and the only XP that can precede the finite verb is the subject. Therefore, both subject and finite do not appear in CP.

- (3) a. \**De mama hòt mer pfrokt, bo as s puach hòt=er kaft*  
the mum has to me asked where that the book has= SUBJ.CL.3SG.F bought  
b. \**De mama hòt=mer pfrokt, bo as en de Luca hòt=er s puach kaft*  
the mum has to me asked, when that to the Lucia has=SUBJ.CL.3SG.F the bookbought  
c. *De mama hòt mer pfrokt, bo as der Mario hòt s puach en de Lucia kaft*  
the mum has to me asked where that the Maria has a book to the Lucia bought  
“Mum asked me where Mario bought Lucia the book.”

## 2.3 Towards an analysis

I propose that subject clitics appear in CP in Mòcheno, and that they must show up in all cases in which i) the finite verb is in C°, and ii) the fronted XP is not the syntactic subject, i.e. the XP agreeing with the finite verb. When the finite verb cannot move to C° because this position hosts the complementiser, as in embedded clauses, the syntactic subject is realised by a pronoun that can appear in a Spec position, i.e. by either a weak or a strong form. This means that the features on C° are inherited by T° in embedded clauses.

This analysis indicates that there is a connection between the position of the finite verb, and the presence of the subject clitic, i.e. between syntax and pro-drop. As we know, this connection does not seem to be absolute, since some languages, such as Old English, do not display it (cf. van Gelderen 2013, Walkden 2013 a.o.), but it surely holds at a large extend for older (Volodina/Weiss 2012, Axel 2007), and now modern, German varieties, and possibly to older Romance languages. Note, that Mòcheno allows us to further precise that the movement of the finite verb to C° is not a sufficient condition for pro to be licensed. In modern German and modern German dialects, in fact, we find the asymmetry in the position of the finite verb (cf. den Besten 1983, Tomaselli 1990), but, nevertheless, no asymmetric pro-drop is present. The idea is that asymmetric is only possible if the asymmetry in the position of the finite verb co-occurs when the agreement  $\phi$  features are on C° and not on T°. This, I suggest, is what happens in Mòcheno, but not in modern German and its dialects, where the agreement  $\phi$  features are always on T°, i.e. subject clitics realise T° and not C°. This is why modern German varieties do not have asymmetric pro-drop.

### Partial References

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